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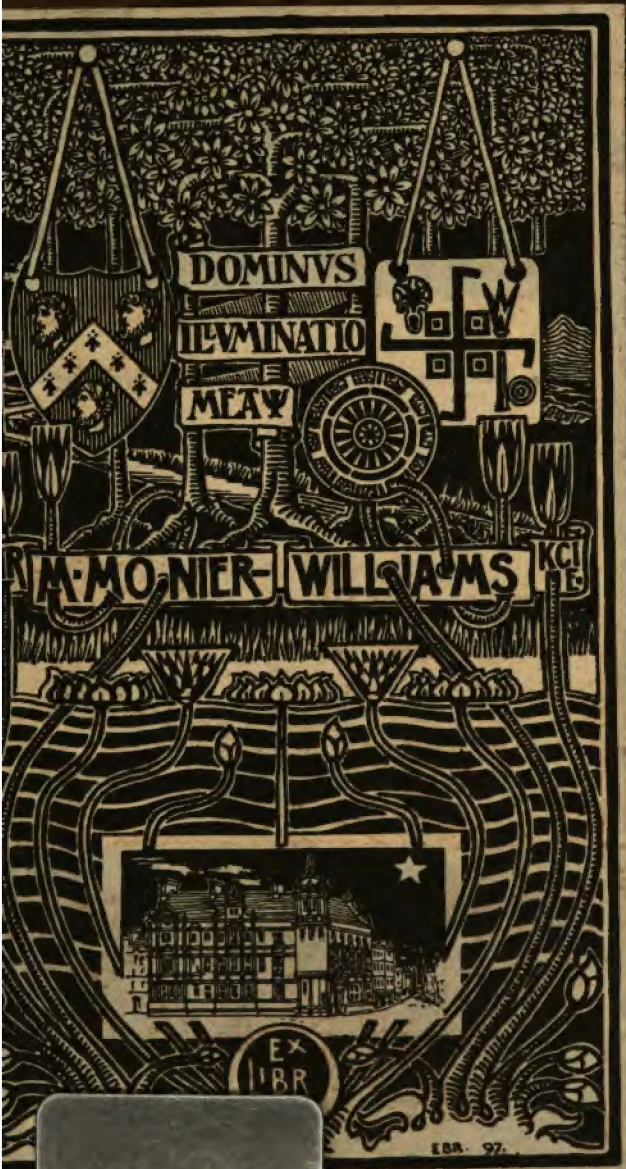
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BOHN'S BRITISH CLASSICS.



GIBBON'S
R O M A N E M P I R E.

WITH VARIORUM NOTES,

VOL. VI.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

WITH VARIORUM NOTES
INCLUDING THOSE OF
GUIZOT, WENCK, SCHREITER, & HUGO.
EDITED,
WITH FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE MOST RECENT SOURCES,
BY
AN ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

VOL. VI

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NOTICE.

IN consequence of the amount of additional illustration which has been found requisite, to bring Gibbon's great work to the present state of historical knowledge, the original limits assigned to this edition have proved inadequate. The Notes are nearly doubled, and the reader who turns to any of the more celebrated chapters, for instance to XLIV (on ROMAN LAW), will have evidence as well of their extent as of their intrinsic value.

A seventh volume has therefore become unavoidable; but as the Text will only occupy about half the volume, scope will be left for an Index more circumstantial and complete than any heretofore published. Seeing these advantages it is hoped the Subscribers to BOHN'S BRITISH CLASSICS will find no cause to complain of the extension.

York Street, December 28th, 1854.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER LI.

THE CONQUEST OF PERSIA, SYRIA, EGYPT, AFRICA, AND SPAIN, BY THE ARABS OR SARACENS. — EMPIRE OF THE CALIPHS, OR SUCCESSORS OF MAHOMET. — STATE OF THE CHRISTIANS, &C., UNDER THEIR GOVERNMENT.

THE revolution of Arabia had not changed the character of the Arabs; the death of Mahomet was the signal of independence; and the hasty structure of his power and religion tottered to its foundations. A small and faithful band of his primitive disciples had listened to his eloquence, and shared his distress; had fled with the apostle from the persecution of Mecca, or had received the fugitive in the walls of Medina. The increasing myriads, who acknowledged Mahomet as their king and prophet, had been compelled by his arms, or allured by his prosperity. The Polytheists were confounded by the simple idea of a solitary and invisible God: the pride of the Christians and Jews disdained the yoke of a mortal and contemporary legislator. Their habits of faith and obedience were not sufficiently confirmed; and many of the new converts regretted the venerable antiquity of the law of Moses, or the rites and

mysteries of the Catholic Church, or the idols, the sacrifices, the joyous festivals, of their Pagan ancestors. The jarring interests and hereditary feuds of the Arabian tribes had not yet coalesced in a system of union and subordination; and the Barbarians were impatient of the mildest and most salutary laws that curbed their passions or violated their customs. They submitted with reluctance to the religious precepts of the Koran, the abstinence from wine, the fast of the Ramadan, and the daily repetition of five prayers; and the alms and tithes, which were collected for the treasury of Medina, could be distinguished only by a name from the payment of a perpetual and ignominious tribute. The example of Mahomet had excited a spirit of fanaticism or imposture, and several of his rivals presumed to imitate the conduct, and defy the authority, of the living prophet. At the head of the *fugitives* and *auxiliaries*, the first caliph was reduced to the cities of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef; and perhaps the Koreish would have restored the idols of the Caaba, if their levity had not been checked by a seasonable reproof. "Ye men of Mecca, will ye be the last to embrace, and the first to abandon, the religion of Islam?" After exhorting the Moslems to confide in the aid of God and his apostle, Abubeker resolved, by a vigorous attack, to prevent the junction of the rebels. The women and children were safely lodged in the cavities of the mountains: the warriors marching under eleven banners diffused the terror of their arms; and the appearance of a military force revived and confirmed the loyalty of the faithful. The inconstant tribes accepted, with humble repentance, the duties of prayer, and fasting, and alms; and, after some examples of success and severity, the most daring apostates fell prostrate before the sword of the Lord and of Caled. In the fertile province of Yamanah,* between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia, in

* See the description of the city and country of Al Yamanah, in Abulfeda, *Descript. Arabiæ*, p. 60, 61. In the thirteenth century, there were some ruins, and a few palms; but in the present century, the same ground is occupied by the visions and arms of a modern prophet, whose tenets are imperfectly known. (Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 296—302.) [This prophet was *Abd el Wahâb*, who originated the *Wahâbys*, a sect which has since become extensive and important. Burckhardt, during his travels in Arabia, collected much interesting information respecting them, which was published (Lond. 1830,) in a 4to volume, under the title of *Notes on the Bedouins and*

a city not inferior to Medina itself, a powerful chief, his name was Moseilama, had assumed the character of a prophet, and the tribe of Hanifa listened to his voice. A female prophetess was attracted by his reputation: the decencies of words and actions were spurned by these favourites of heaven;* and they employed several days in mystic and amorous converse. An obscure sentence of his Koran, or book, is yet extant;† and, in the pride of his mission, Moseilama condescended to offer a partition of the earth. The proposal was answered by Mahomet with contempt; but the rapid progress of the impostor awakened the fears of his successor; forty thousand Moslems were assembled under the standard of Caled; and the existence of their faith was resigned to the event of a decisive battle.

Wahābys. Abd el Wahāb was a learned Arabian, who had visited various schools of the principal cities in the East and assumed the office of reforming the corruptions of Mohametism. His doctrines were not those of a new religion, but may be very briefly defined as a Mussulman puritanism. The political and military organization of his followers was the work of his son-in-law and first convert, Mohammed Ibn Saoud, of Derayah in the province of Hedjd. Persecuted by the dominant sect, they had recourse to arms and obtained continual victories, which greatly increased their influence and numbers. The history of their tenets, progress, and wars, occupies nearly 200 pages of Burckhardt's interesting volume.—Ed.]

* Their first salutation may be transcribed, but cannot be translated. It was thus that Moseilama said or sang:—

Surge tandem itaque strenue permolenda; nam stratus tibi thorus
est.

Aut in propatulo tentorio si velis, aut in abditore cubiculo si malis;
Aut supinam te humi exporrectam fustigabo, si velis, aut si malis
manibus pedibusque nixam.

Aut si velis ejus (*Priapi*) gemino triente, aut si malis totus veniam.
Imo, totus venito, O Apostole Dei, clamabat femina. Id ipsum,
dicebat

Moseilama, mihi quoque suggestit Deus.

The prophetess Segjah, after the fall of her lover, returned to idolatry; but, under the reign of Moawiyah, she became a Mussulman, and died at Bassora. (Abulfeda, Annal. vers. Reiske, p. 63.) [The details of this insurrection, as given by Ockley, Sale, and Price, add no material circumstances to Gibbon's concise summary. Segjah is said to have been a Christian, who, when Moseilama refused to ratify his promise of marriage, was deserted by her followers and retired to Mossule. —Ed.]

† See this text, which demonstrates a god from the work of generation, in Abulpharagius (Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 18, and Dynast. p. 103,) and Abulfeda (Annal. p. 63.).

In the first action, they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men; but the skill and perseverance of their general prevailed: their defeat was avenged by the slaughter of ten thousand infidels; and Moseilama himself was pierced by an Æthiopian slave with the same javelin which had mortally wounded the uncle of Mahomet. The various rebels of Arabia, without a chief or a cause, were speedily suppressed by the power and discipline of the rising monarchy; and the whole nation again professed, and more steadfastly held, the religion of the Koran. The ambition of the caliphs provided an immediate exercise for the restless spirit of the Saracens; their valour was united in the prosecution of a holy war; and their enthusiasm was equally confirmed by opposition and victory.

From the rapid conquests of the Saracens a presumption will naturally arise, that the first caliphs commanded in person the armies of the faithful, and sought the crown of martyrdom in the foremost ranks of the battle. The courage of Abubeker,* Omar†, and Othman,‡ had indeed been tried in the persecution and wars of the prophet; and the personal assurance of paradise must have taught them to despise the pleasures and dangers of the present world. But they ascended the throne in a venerable or mature age, and esteemed the domestic cares of religion and justice the most important duties of a sovereign. Except the presence of Omar at the siege of Jerusalem, their longest expeditions were the frequent pilgrimage from Medina to Mecca; and they calmly received the tidings of victory as they prayed or preached before the sepulchre of the prophet. The austere and frugal measure of their lives was the effect of virtue or habit, and the pride of their simplicity insulted the vain magnificence of the kings of the earth. When Abubeker assumed the office of caliph, he enjoined his daughter Ayesha to take a strict account of his private patrimony, that it might be evident whether he were enriched or impoverished by the service of the State. He

* His reign in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 251. Elmacin, p. 18. Abulpharagius, p. 108. Abulfeda, p. 60. D'Herbelot, p. 58.

† His reign in Eutychius, p. 264. Elmacin, p. 24. Abulpharagius, p. 110. Abulfeda, p. 66. D'Herbelot, p. 686.

‡ His reign in Eutychius, p. 323. Elmacin, p. 36. Abulpharagius, p. 115. Abulfeda, p. 75. D'Herbelot, p. 695.

thought himself entitled to a stipend of three pieces of gold, with the sufficient maintenance of a single camel and a black slave; but on the Friday of each week he distributed the residue of his own and the public money, first to the most worthy, and then to the most indigent, of the Moslems. The remains of his wealth, a coarse garment, and five pieces of gold, were delivered to his successor, who lamented with a modest sigh his own inability to equal such an admirable model. Yet the abstinence and humility of Omar were not inferior to the virtues of Abubeker; his food consisted of barley-bread or dates; his drink was water; he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places; and a Persian satrap who paid his homage to the conqueror, found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the mosch of Medina. Economy is the source of liberality, and the increase of the revenue enabled Omar to establish a just and perpetual reward for the past and present services of the faithful. Careless of his own emolument, he assigned to Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, the first and most ample allowance of twenty-five thousand drachms or pieces of silver. Five thousand were allotted to each of the aged warriors, the relics of the field of Beder; and the last and meanest of the companions of Mahomet was distinguished by the annual reward of three thousand pieces. One thousand was the stipend of the veterans who had fought in the first battles against the Greeks and Persians; and the decreasing pay, as low as fifty pieces of silver, was adapted to the respective merit and seniority of the soldiers of Omar. Under his reign, and that of his predecessor, the conquerors of the East were the trusty servants of God and the people; the mass of the public treasure was consecrated to the expenses of peace and war; a prudent mixture of justice and bounty maintained the discipline of the Saracens, and they united, by a rare felicity, the dispatch and execution of despotism, with the equal and frugal maxims of a republican government. The heroic courage of Ali,* the consummate prudence of Moawiyah,† excited the emulation of their subjects; and the talents

* His reign in Eutychius, p. 343. Elmacin, p. 51. Abulpharagius, p. 117. Abulfeda, p. 83. D'Herbelot, p. 89.

† His reign in Eutychius, p. 344. Elmacin, p. 54. Abulpharagius, p. 123. Abulfeda, p. 101. D'Herbelot, p. 586.

which had been exercised in the school of civil discord were more usefully applied to propagate the faith and dominion of the prophet. In the sloth and vanity of the palace of Damascus, the succeeding princes of the house of Ommyyah were alike destitute of the qualifications of statesmen and of saints.* Yet the spoils of unknown nations were continually laid at the foot of their throne, and the uniform ascent of the Arabian greatness must be ascribed to the spirit of the nation rather than the abilities of their chiefs. A large deduction must be allowed for the weakness of their enemies. The birth of Mahomet was fortunately placed in the most degenerate and disorderly period of the Persians, the Romans, and the Barbarians of Europe; the empires of Trajan, or even of Constantine or Charlemagne, would have repelled the assault of the naked Saracens, and the torrent of fanaticism might have been obscurely lost in the sands of Arabia.†

In the victorious days of the Roman republic, it had been the aim of the senate to confine their consuls and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid

* Their reigns in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 360—395. Elmacin, p. 59—108. Abulpharagius, dynast. 9, p. 124—139. Abulfeda, p. 111—141. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 691, and the particular articles of the Ommiades.

† [The rapid progress of Mahometanism is not wonderful. Of all Eastern races, the Arabs were the most active, hardy, courageous and spoliative. But they had never known their strength; it had been wasted in desultory thieving or sometimes sold by mercenary bands to the Byzantine emperors. Mahomet was the first to perceive what they would be capable of achieving if they could be brought to act in concert. Around them were none but the disheartened, spirit-broken slaves of ecclesiastical despotism, unable to resist and ready to submit. Christianity had not only lost its influence, but, by the corruption of its teachers, had alienated the popular mind. "Their lies, their legends, their saints and their miracles, but, above all, the abandoned behaviour of their priesthood, had brought their churches in Arabia very low." (Bruce, Travels, i. 500.) The people were thus prepared to receive the new religion, which Mahomet designed as a bond of union and excitement of enthusiasm. It was at first no more than a political contrivance. His success allured many to join him, and when their course of external conquest began, the rich spoils, so easily acquired, tempted thousands to swell the train and gratify their habitual love of plunder. Professor Smyth judged very correctly in saying, that at the outset, "Arabia must have been the natural boundary of his thoughts," and that his views and those of his successors expanded with their power. Lectures on Modern His-

maxims of policy were disdained by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigour and success they invaded the successors of Augustus, and those of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the same instant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. In the ten years of the administration of Omar, the Saracens reduced to his obedience thirty-six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of the unbelievers, and edified fourteen hundred moschs for the exercise of the religion of Mahomet. One hundred years after his flight from Mecca, the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic ocean, over the various and distant provinces, which may be comprised under the names of, I. Persia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and V. Spain. Under this general division, I shall proceed to unfold these memorable transactions; dispatching with brevity the remote and less interesting conquests of the East, and reserving a fuller narrative for those domestic countries, which had been included within the pale of the Roman empire. Yet I must excuse my own defects by a just complaint of the blindness and insufficiency of my guides. The Greeks, so loquacious in controversy, have not been anxious to celebrate the triumphs of their enemies.* After a century of ignorance, the first annals of the Mussulmans were collected in a great measure from the voice of tradition.† Among

tory, p. 67.—ED.]

* For the seventh and eighth centuries, we have scarcely any original evidence of the Byzantine historians, except the chronicles of Theophanes (*Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia*, Gr. et Lat. cum notis Jacobi Goar. Paris, 1655, in folio), and the abridgment of Nicephorus (*Nicephori Patriarchæ C. P. Breviarium Historicum*, Gr. et Lat. Paris, 1648, in folio); who both lived in the beginning of the ninth century (see Hanckius de Scriptor. Byzant. p. 200—246.). Their contemporary Photius does not seem to be more opulent. After praising the style of Nicephorus, he adds, *Καὶ ὅλως πολλοὺς ἴσθι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀποκρυπτόμενος τῇδε τῆς ἱστορίας τῇ συγγραφῇ*, and only complains of his extreme brevity. (Phot. Bibliot. cod. 66, p. 100.) Some additions may be gleaned from the more recent histories of Cedrenus and Zonaras of the twelfth century.

† Tabari, or Al Tabari, a native of Taborestan, a famous imam of Bagdad, and the Livy of the Arabians, finished his general history in the year of the Hegira 302 (A.D. 914.). At the request of his friends, he reduced a work of thirty thousand sheets to a more reasonable size. But his Arabic original is known only by the Persian and

the numerous productions of Arabic and Persian literature,* our interpreters have selected the imperfect sketches of a more recent age.† The art and genius of history have ever been unknown to the Asiatics,‡ they are ignorant of the laws of criticism; and our monkish chronicles of the same period may be compared to their most popular works, which are never vivified by the spirit of philosophy and freedom. The *Oriental library* of a Frenchman § would

Turkish versions. The Saracenic history of Ebn Amid, or Elmacin, is said to be an abridgment of the great Tabari. (Ockley's *Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. ii. preface, p. 39, and, list of authors, D'Herbelot, p. 866, 870. 1014.) [See Bohn's Ockley, Introduction, p. xxvi.—Ed.]

* Besides the lists of authors framed by Prideaux (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 179—189); Ockley (at the end of his second volume), and Petit de la Croix (*Hist. de Gengiscan*, p. 525—550,) we find in the *Bibliothèque Orientale Tarikh*, a catalogue of two or three hundred histories or chronicles of the East, of which not more than three or four are older than Tabari. A lively sketch of Oriental literature is given by Reiske (in his *Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalfæ librum memorialem ad calcem Abulfedæ Tabulæ Syriæ*, Lipsiæ, 1766); but his project and the French version of Petit de la Croix (*Hist. de Timur Bec*, tom. i. preface, p. 45,) have fallen to the ground.

† The particular historians and geographers will be occasionally introduced. The four following titles represent the annals, which have guided me in this general narrative.—1. *Annales Eutychiei, Patriarchæ Alexandrini*, ab Edwardo Pocockio, Oxon. 1656, two vols. in quarto; a pompous edition of an indifferent author, translated by Pocock, to gratify the presbyterian prejudices of his friend Selden. 2. *Historia Saracenica Georgii Elmacini operâ et studio Thomæ Erpenii*, in quarto, Lugd. Batavorum, 1625. He is said to have hastily translated a corrupt MS. and his version is often deficient in style and sense. 3. *Historia compendiosa Dynastiarum a Gregorio Abulpharagio, interprete Edwardo Pocockio*, in quarto, Oxon. 1663; more useful for the literary than the civil history of the East. 4. *Abulfedæ Annales Moslemici ad Ann. Hegiræ 406, a Jo. Jac. Reiske*, in quarto, Lipsiæ, 1754; the best of our Chronicles, both for the original and version; yet how far below the name of Abulfeda! We know that he wrote at Hamah, in the fourteenth century. The three former were Christians of the tenth, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries; the two first, natives of Egypt; a Melchite patriarch, and a Jacobite scribe. [Abulfeda, whose original name was Ismail, belonged to the same race as the renowned Saladin, and was born 672 A.H. or 1273, A.D. After having gained some distinction in war, he devoted himself to peaceful pursuits, and took the name of Abulfeda, or Father of Redemption. His history is an abridgment of the great Chronicle of Ebn-al-Athir.—Ed.]

‡ M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. pref. p. xix. xx.) has characterized, with truth and knowledge, the two sorts of Arabian historians, the dry annalist, and the tumid and flowery orator.

§ *Bibliothèque Orientale*, par M. D'Herbelot, in folio, Paris, 1697.

instruct the most learned mufti of the East; and perhaps the Arabs might not find in a single historian, so clear and comprehensive a narrative of their own exploits, as that which will be deduced in the ensuing sheets.

I. In the first year of the first caliph, his lieutenant Caled, the sword of God, and the scourge of the infidels, advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and reduced the cities of Anbar* and Hira. Westward of the ruins of Babylon a tribe of sedentary Arabs had fixed themselves on the verge of the desert; and Hira was the seat of a race of kings who had embraced the Christian religion, and reigned above six hundred years under the shadow of the throne of Persia.† The last of the Mondars was defeated and slain by Caled; his son was sent a captive to Medina; his nobles bowed before the successor of the prophet: the people were tempted by the example and success of their countrymen; and the caliph accepted as the first-fruits of foreign conquest, an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold.

For the character of the respectable author, consult his friend Thevenot. (*Voyages du Levant*, part 1, chap. 1.) His work is an agreeable miscellany, which must gratify every taste; but I never can digest the alphabetical order, and I find him more satisfactory in the Persian than the Arabic history. The recent supplement from the papers of MM. Visdelou and Galland (in folio, La Haye, 1779) is of a different cast, a medley of tales, proverbs, and Chinese antiquities.

* [Anbar was Perisabor, the first place of importance taken by the emperor Julian, in his Persian campaign. See ch. 24, vol. iii. p. 22. —Ed.]

† Pocock will explain the chronology (*Specimen Hist. Arabum*, p. 66. 74), and D'Anville the geography (*l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 125), of the dynasty of the Almondars. The English scholar understood more Arabic than the mufti of Aleppo (*Ockley*, vol. ii. p. 34); the French geographer is equally at home in every age and every climate of the world. [The kingdom of Hira was founded about A.D. 220, and was conquered in 632; it existed, therefore, little more than four centuries (see note, ch. 42, vol. iv. p. 469). The succession of its Almonsars is given by Ersch and Gruber (*Sec. 2. Part 8*, p. 277). About fifty years after their fall, one of their palaces seems to have been converted into the mosque of Ali. Sir R. K. Porter saw its "golden cupola" only at a distance, the disturbed state of the country preventing his nearer approach. But the description given to him of its internally sculptured walls, ill covered by a coat of plaster, proves it to have been an older building, originally used for some purpose accessory to the little grandeur of the kings of Hira. *Travels*, ii. 827. 405. —Ed.]

The conquerors, and even their historians, were astonished by the dawn of their future greatness. "In the same year," says Elmacin, "Caled fought many signal battles; an immense multitude of the infidels was slaughtered; and spoils, infinite and innumerable, were acquired by the victorious Moslems."* But the invincible Caled was soon transferred to the Syrian war; the invasion of the Persian frontier was conducted by less active or less prudent commanders; the Saracens were repulsed with loss in the passage of the Euphrates; and, though they chastised the insolent pursuit of the Magians, their remaining forces still hovered in the desert of Babylon.

The indignation and fears of the Persians suspended for a moment their intestine divisions. By the unanimous sentence of the priests and nobles, their queen Arzema was deposed; the sixth of the transient usurpers who had arisen and vanished in three or four years, since the death of Chosroes and the retreat of Heraclius. Her tiara was placed on the head of Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes; and the same era, which coincides with an astronomical period,† has recorded the fall of the Sassanian dynasty and the religion of Zoroaster.‡ The youth and inexperience of

* Fecit et Chaled plurima in hoc anno proelia, in quibus vicerunt Muslimi, et *infidelium* immensa multitudo occisa spolia infinita et innumera sunt nacti. (Hist. Saracenicæ, p. 20.) The Christian annalist slides into the national and compendious term of *infidels*, and I often adopt (I hope without scandal) this characteristic mode of expression.

† A cycle of one hundred and twenty years, the end of which, an intercalary month of thirty days, supplied the use of our bissextile, and restored the integrity of the solar year. In a great revolution of one thousand four hundred and forty years, this intercalation was successively removed from the first to the twelfth month; but Hyde and Freret are involved in a profound controversy, whether the twelve, or only eight of these changes, were accomplished before the era of Yezdegerd, which is unanimously fixed to the 16th of June, A.D. 632. How laboriously does the curious spirit of Europe explore the darkest and most distant antiquities! (Hyde, de Religione Persarum, c. 14—18, p. 181—211. Freret, in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 233—267.)

‡ Nine days after the death of Mahomet (7th June, A.D. 632), we find the era of Yezdegerd (16th June, A.D. 632); and his accession cannot be postponed beyond the end of the first year. His predecessors could not therefore resist the arms of the caliph Omar, and these unquestionable dates overthrow the thoughtless chronology of Abulpharagius. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 130.

the prince, he was only fifteen years of age, declined a perilous encounter; the royal standard was delivered into the hands of his general Rustam; and a remnant of thirty thousand regular troops was swelled in truth, or in opinion, to one hundred and twenty thousand subjects, or allies, of the great king. The Moslems, whose numbers were reinforced from twelve to thirty thousand, had pitched their camp in the plains of Cadesia:* and their line, though it consisted of fewer *men*, could produce more *soldiers* than the unwieldy host of the infidels. I shall here observe, what I must often repeat, that the charge of the Arabs was not like that of the Greeks and Romans, the effort of a firm and compact infantry: their military force was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers; and the engagement, which was often interrupted and often renewed by single combats and flying skirmishes, might be protracted without any decisive event to the continuance of several days. The periods of the battle of Cadesia were distinguished by their peculiar appellations. The first, from the well-timed appearance of six thousand of the Syrian brethren, was denominated the day of *succour*. The day of *concussion* might express the disorder of one, or perhaps of both, of the contending armies. The third, a nocturnal tumult, received the whimsical name of the night of *barking*, from the dis-

[Clinton has shown (F. R. ii. 262) how imperfectly Abulpharagius was acquainted with Persian history, and (p. 172) that the era of Yezdegerd determines the accession of that monarch to the year 632. Major Price is wrong in fixing it at 635. Sir John Malcolm, in his History of Persia, uses the correct date. Scaliger, Petavius, and others, erroneously make the era of Yezdegerd commence from his death in 652. Ockley (p. 276, edit. Bohn) says rightly that it begins from the time of his accession; but the historian of the Saracens was entirely misled by his authorities, when he placed the deposition of Arzema, or Arzemidocht, in the second year of Omar. This event preceded the death of Mahomet, for Cesra (or according to Eutychius, Pharacorad Chosra) was interposed for one month between her and Yezdegerd. It was the progress of Mahomet, in his last year, that alarmed the Persians.—ED.]

* Cadesia, says the Nubian geographer (p. 121), is in *margine solitudinis*, sixty-one leagues from Bagdad, and two stations from Cufa. Otter (Voyage, tom. i. p. 168) reckons fifteen leagues, and observes, that the place is supplied with dates and water. [Mr. Layard, when descending the Tigris, between Samarra and Bagdad, passed a place "still called Gadesia or Cadesia, near which the great battle was fought." (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 471.) With others it has the name of Kudseah.—ED.]

cordant clamours, which were compared to the inarticulate sounds of the fiercest animals. The morning of the succeeding day determined the fate of Persia; and a seasonable whirlwind drove a cloud of dust against the faces of the unbelievers. The clangour of arms was re-echoed to the tent of Rustam, who, far unlike the ancient hero of his name, was gently reclining in a cool and tranquil shade, amidst the baggage of his camp, and the train of mules that were laden with gold and silver. On the sound of danger he started from his couch; but his flight was overtaken by a valiant Arab, who caught him by the foot, struck off his head, hoisted it on a lance, and instantly returning to the field of battle, carried slaughter and dismay among the thickest ranks of the Persians. The Saracens confess a loss of seven thousand five hundred men; and the battle of Cadesia is justly described by the epithets of obstinate and atrocious.* The standard of the monarchy was overthrown and captured in the field,—a leathern apron of a blacksmith, who, in ancient times, had arisen the deliverer of Persia; but this badge of heroic poverty was disguised, and almost concealed, by a profusion of precious gems.† After this victory, the wealthy province of Irak or Assyria submitted to the caliph, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation of Bassora,‡ a place which ever commands the trade and navigation of the Persians. At the distance of fourscore miles from the gulf, the Euphrates and

* *Atrox, contumax, plus semel renovatum*, are the well-chosen expressions of the translator of Abulfeda. (Reiske, p. 69.)

† D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 297. 348. [Ockley does not name Cadesia, and dismisses this important battle in two lines, but this omission is supplied in Bohn's edit. (pp. 147—150) by extracts from Malcolm, Weil, and Price. The *Darufsh-e-Kawaneh*, or royal standard of Persia, is said to have been enlarged to the dimensions of twenty-two feet in length and fifteen in breadth. When it was seen conspicuously displayed by its captors, the Persians believed that with this palladium the empire was gone from them, and felt themselves already conquered.—ED.]

‡ The reader may satisfy himself on the subject of Bassora, by consulting the following writers:—*Geograph. Nubiens.* p. 121. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 192. D'Anville, *l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 130. 133. 145. Raynal, *Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes*, tom. ii. p. 92—100. *Voyages de Pietro della Valle*, tom. iv. p. 370—391; de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 240—247; de Thevenot, tom. ii. p. 545—584; d'Otter, tom. ii. p. 45—78; de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 172—199.

Tigris unite in a broad and direct current, which is aptly styled the river of the Arabs. In the midway, between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams, the new settlement was planted on the western bank: the first colony was composed of eight hundred Moslems; but the influence of the situation soon reared a flourishing and populous capital. The air, though excessively hot, is pure and healthy; the meadows are filled with palm-trees and cattle; and one of the adjacent valleys has been celebrated among the four paradises or gardens of Asia. Under the first caliphs, the jurisdiction of this Arabian colony extended over the southern provinces of Persia; the city has been sanctified by the tombs of the companions and martyrs; and the vessels of Europe still frequent the port of Bassora, as a convenient station and passage of the Indian trade.

After the defeat of Cadesia, a country intersected by rivers and canals might have opposed an insuperable barrier to the victorious cavalry; and the walls of Ctesiphon or Madayn,* which had resisted the battering-rams of the Romans, would not have yielded to the darts of the Saracens. But the flying Persians were overcome by the belief, that the last day of their religion and empire was at hand: the strongest posts were abandoned by treachery or cowardice; and the king, with a part of his family and treasures, escaped to Holwan at the foot of the Median hills. In the third month after the battle, Said, the lieutenant of Omar, passed the Tigris without opposition; the capital was taken by assault; and the disorderly resistance of the people gave a keener edge to the sabres of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport, "This is the white palace of Chosroes, this is the promise of the apostle of God!" The naked robbers of the desert were suddenly enriched beyond the measure of their hope or knowledge. Each chamber revealed a new treasure secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed; the gold and silver, the various wardrobes and precious furniture, surpassed (says Abulfeda) the estimate of fancy or numbers; and another historian defines the untold and almost infinite mass, by the

* ["Ctesiphon and Seleucia received from the Arabs the name of Al Madain, or the twin cities." Layard, N. and B. p. 571.—Ed.]

fabulous computation of three thousands of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold.* Some minute though curious facts represent the contrast of riches and ignorance. From the remote islands of the Indian ocean, a large provision of camphor† had been imported, which is employed with a mixture of wax to illuminate the palaces of the East. Strangers to the name and properties of that odoriferous gum, the Saracens, mistaking it for salt, mingled the camphor in their bread, and were astonished at the bitterness of the taste. One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of silk, sixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth: a paradise or garden was depicted on the ground; the flowers, fruits, and shrubs, were imitated by the figures of the gold embroidery, and the colours of the precious stones; and the ample square was encircled by a variegated and verdant border. The Arabian general persuaded his soldiers to relinquish their claim, in the reasonable hope that the eyes of the caliph would be delighted with the splendid workmanship of nature and industry. Regardless of the merit of art and the pomp of royalty, the rigid Omar divided the prize among his brethren of Medina: the picture was destroyed; but such was the intrinsic value of the materials, that the share of Ali alone was sold for twenty thousand drachms. A mule that carried away the tiara and cuirass, the belt and bracelets of Chosroes, was overtaken by the pursuers; the gorgeous trophy was presented to the commander of the faithful, and the gravest of the companions condescended to smile when they beheld the white beard, hairy arms, and uncouth figure, of the veteran, who was invested with the spoils of the great king.‡

* *Mente vix potest numerove comprehendi quanta spolia . . . nostris cesserint.* Abulfeda, p. 69. Yet I still suspect, that the extravagant numbers of Elmacin may be the error, not of the text, but of the version. The best translators from the Greek, for instance, I find to be very poor arithmeticians.

† The Camphor-tree grows in China and Japan; but many hundred weight of those meaner sorts are exchanged for a single pound of the more precious gum of Borneo and Sumatra (Raynal, *Hist. Philosoph.* tom. i. p. 362—365. *Dictionnaire d'Hist. Naturelle*, par Bomare. *Miller's Gardener's Dictionary*). These may be the islands of the first climate from whence the Arabians imported their camphor (*Geograph. Nub.* p. 34, 35. *D'Herbelot*, p. 232).

‡ See Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, tom. i. p. 376, 377. I may credit the fact without believing the

The sack of Ctesiphon was followed by its desertion and gradual decay. The Saracens disliked the air and situation of the place, and Omar was advised by his general to remove the seat of government to the western side of the Euphrates. In every age the foundation and ruin of the Assyrian cities has been easy and rapid; the country is destitute of stone and timber, and the most solid structures * are composed of bricks baked in the sun, and joined by a cement of the native bitumen. The name of *Cufā* † describes a habitation of reeds and earth; but the importance of the new capital was supported by the numbers, wealth, and spirit, of a colony of veterans; and their licentiousness was indulged by the wisest caliphs, who were apprehensive of provoking the revolt of a hundred thousand swords. "Ye men of Cufā," said Ali, who solicited their aid, "you have been always conspicuous by your valour. You conquered the Persian king, and scattered his forces, till you had taken possession of his inheritance." This mighty conquest was achieved by the battles of Jalula and Nehavend. After the loss of the former, Yezdegerd fled from Holwan, and concealed his shame and despair in the mountains of Farsistan, from whence Cyrus had descended with his equal and valiant companions. The courage of the nation survived that of the monarch; among the hills to the south of Ecbatana or Hamadan, one hundred and fifty thousand Persians made a third and final stand for their religion and country; and the decisive battle of Nehavend

prophecy.

* The most considerable ruins of Assyria are the tower of Belus at Babylon, and the hall of Chosroes at Ctesiphon: they have been visited by that vain and curious traveller, Pietro della Valle (tom. i. p. 713–718. 731–735). [The buildings of Assyria were more substantial. Their remains have been attentively explored by Sir R. K. Porter and Mr. Layard. The foundations or terraces were cemented with bitumen, to resist the effects of the humid soil, and many of them remain firm to the present day. The bitumen pits of Is, mentioned by Herodotus, exist still at Hit or Heat, four days north-west of Bagdad. Some of the bricks were hardened by the heat of the sun, others baked in large furnaces. In many of the superstructures they were fastened together by rivets of iron, with layers of reeds between them. This explains what is said of Cufā, for which city the materials were chiefly supplied by the ruins of Babylon, and these bricks, made from the clay of the country, were the "earth" that was used.—Ed.]

† Consult the article of *Coufah* in the Bibliothèque de D'Herbelot (p. 277, 278), and the second volume of Ockley's History, particularly

was styled by the Arabs the victory of victories. If it be true that the flying general of the Persians was stopped and overtaken in a crowd of mules and camels laden with honey, the incident, however slight or singular, will denote the luxurious impediments of an Oriental army.*

The geography of Persia is darkly delineated by the Greeks and Latins; but the most illustrious of her cities appear to be more ancient than the invasion of the Arabs. By the reduction of Hamadan and Ispahan, of Caswin, Tauris, and Rei, they gradually approached the shores of the Caspian sea; and the orators of Mecca might applaud the success and spirit of the faithful, who had already lost sight of the Northern Bear, and had almost transcended the bounds of the habitable world.† Again turning towards the west and the Roman empire, they repassed the Tigris over the bridge of Mosul, and, in the captive provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, embraced their victorious brethren of the Syrian army. From the palace of Madayn their eastern progress was not less rapid or extensive. They advanced along the Tigris and the Gulf; penetrated through the passes of the mountains into the valley of Estachar or Persepolis; and profaned the last sanctuary of the Magian empire. The grandson of Chosroes was nearly surprised among the falling columns and mutilated figures; a sad emblem of the past and present fortune of Persia;‡

p. 40 and 153.

* See the article of *Nehavend*, in D'Herbelot, p. 667, 668, and *Voyages en Turquie et en Perse*, par Otter, tom. i. p. 191. [The canal of the Naharwan (Layard, N. and B. p. 470), probably marks the scene of this battle, which Malcolm says was fought near Cufa, A.D. 642.—ED.]

† It is in such a style of ignorance and wonder that the Athenian orator describes the Arctic conquests of Alexander, who never advanced beyond the shores of the Caspian, *Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξω τῆς ἀρκτοῦ καὶ τῆς οὐκουμένης, ὀλίγου δαίν, πάσης μεθιστήκει*. *Æschines contra Ctesiphontem*, tom. iii. p. 554, edit. Græc. Orator. Reiske. This memorable cause was pleaded at Athens, Olymp. 112. 3. (B.C. 330) in the autumn (Taylor, præfat. p. 370, &c.), about a year after the battle of Arbela; and Alexander, in the pursuit of Darius, was marching towards Hyrcania and Bactriana.

‡ We are indebted for this curious particular to the Dynasties of Abulpharagius, p. 116; but it is needless to prove the identity of Estachar and Persepolis (D'Herbelot, p. 327), and still more needless to copy the drawings and descriptions of Sir John Chardin, or Corneille le Bruyn. [The still

he fled with accelerated haste over the desert of Kirman, implored the aid of the warlike Segestans, and sought an humble refuge on the verge of the Turkish and Chinese power. But a victorious army is insensible of fatigue; the Arabs divided their forces in the pursuit of a timorous enemy; and the caliph Othman promised the government of Chorasan to the first general who should enter that large and populous country, the kingdom of the ancient Bactrians. The condition was accepted; the prize was deserved; the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of Herat, Merou, and Balch; and the successful leader neither halted nor reposed till his foaming cavalry had tasted the waters of the Oxus. In the public anarchy, the independent governors of the cities and castles obtained their separate capitulations; the terms were granted or imposed by the esteem, the prudence, or the compassion of the victors; and a simple profession of faith established the distinction between a brother and a slave. After a noble defence, Harmozan, the prince or satrap of Ahwaz and Susa, was compelled to surrender his person and his state to the discretion of the caliph; and their interview exhibits a portrait of the Arabian manners. In the presence, and by the command, of Omar, the gay Barbarian was despoiled of his silken robes embroidered with gold, and of his tiara bedecked with rubies and emeralds. "Are you now sensible," said the conqueror to his naked captive, "are you now sensible of the judgment of God, and of the different rewards of infidelity and obedience?"—"Alas!" replied Harmozan, "I feel them too deeply. In the days of our common ignorance, we fought with the weapons of the flesh, and my nation was superior. God was then neuter: since he has espoused your quarrel, you have subverted our kingdom and religion." Oppressed by this painful dialogue the Persian complained of intolerable thirst, but discovered some apprehension lest he should be killed whilst he was drinking a cup of water. "Be of good courage," said the

magnificent ruins of this great city have been since more accurately described by Professor Heeren in his *Historical Researches* (Asia, vol. ii. pp. 91—154, Bohn's ed.), and by Porter (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 527—530). They are now called by the people of the neighbourhood *Tack-i-Jemsheed*, the Throne of Jemsheed, its traditional founder.
—Ed.]

caliph, "your life is safe till you have drunk this water;" the crafty satrap accepted the assurance, and instantly dashed the vase against the ground. Omar would have avenged the deceit; but his companions represented the sanctity of an oath; and the speedy conversion of Harmozan entitled him not only to a free pardon, but even to a stipend of two thousand pieces of gold. The administration of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth;* and this monument, which attests the vigilance of the caliphs, might have instructed the philosophers of every age.†

The flight of Yezdegerd had carried him beyond the Oxus, and as far as the Jaxartes, two rivers‡ of ancient and modern renown, which descend from the mountains of India towards the Caspian sea. He was hospitably entertained by Tarkhan, prince of Fergana,§ a fertile province on the Jaxartes; the king of Samarcand, with the Turkish tribes of Sogdiana and Scythia, were moved by the lamentations and promises of the fallen monarch; and he solicited by a suppliant embassy, the more solid and powerful friendship of the emperor of China.¶ The virtuous Taitsong,**

* After the conquest of Persia, Theophanes adds, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκέλευσεν Οὐμαρος ἀναγραφῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν οἰκουμένην· ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἀναγράφη καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ κτηνῶν καὶ φυτῶν. (Chronograph. p. 283.)

† Amidst our meagre relations, I must regret, that D'Herbelot has not found and used a Persian translation of Tabari, enriched, as he says, with many extracts from the native historians of the Ghebers or Magi. (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 1014.)

‡ The most authentic accounts of the two rivers, the Sihon (Jaxartes) and the Gihon (Oxus), may be found in Sherif al Edrisi (Geograph. Nubiens. p. 138); Abulfeda (Descript. Chorasani. in Hudson, tom. iii. p. 23); Abulghazi Khan, who reigned on their banks (Hist. Généalogique des Tatars, p. 32. 57. 766); and the Turkish Geographer, a MS. in the king of France's library (Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 194—360.).

§ The territory of Fergana is described by Abulfeda, p. 76, 77. [According to Ockley (p. 215), Yezdegerd "retired to Ferganah, a city of Persia," after the battle of Jaloulah in 637.—Ed.]

¶ Eo redegit angustiarum eundem regem exsulem, ut Turcici regis et Sogdiani, et Sinensis, auxilia missis literis imploraret. (Abulfed. Annal. p. 74.) The connection of the Persian and Chinese history is illustrated by Freret (Mém. de l'Académie, tom. xvi. p. 245—255) and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 54—59, and for the geography of the borders, tom. ii. p. 1—43).

** Hist. Sinica, p. 41—46, in the third part of the Relations Curieuses of Thevenot.

the first of the dynasty of the Tang, may be justly compared with the Antonines of Rome: his people enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; and his dominion was acknowledged by forty-four hordes of the barbarians of Tartary. His last garrisons of Cashgar and Khoten maintained a frequent intercourse with their neighbours of the Jaxartes and Oxus; a recent colony of Persians had introduced into China the astronomy of the Magi; and Tait song might be alarmed by the rapid progress and dangerous vicinity of the Arabs. The influence and perhaps the supplies of China revived the hopes of Yezdegerd and the zeal of the worshippers of fire; and he returned with an army of Turks to conquer the inheritance of his fathers. The fortunate Moslems, without unsheathing their swords, were the spectators of his ruin and death. The grandson of Chosroes was betrayed by his servant, insulted by the seditious inhabitants of Merou, and oppressed, defeated, and pursued by his barbarian allies. He reached the banks of a river, and offered his rings and bracelets for an instant passage in a miller's boat. Ignorant or insensible of royal distress, the rustic replied, that four drachms of silver were the daily profit of his mill, and that he would not suspend his work unless the loss were repaid. In this moment of hesitation and delay, the last of the Sassanian kings was overtaken and slaughtered by the Turkish cavalry in the nineteenth year of his unhappy reign.* His son Firuz, an humble client of the Chinese emperor, accepted the station of captain of his guards; and the Magian worship was long

* I have endeavoured to harmonize the various narratives of Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 37), Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 116), Abulfeda (*Annal.* p. 74. 79), and D'Herbelot (p. 485). The end of Yezdegerd was not only unfortunate, but obscure. [According to the Persian historians, Yezdegerd was assassinated; and the victorious Moslem allowed his dead body to be honourably deposited among the tombs of his ancestors at Persepolis. *Porter's Travels*, ii. p. 45. Yezdegerd, according to Malcolm, protracted a wretched existence for several years after the battle of Nehavend. He died in the year of the Hegira 31, which began Aug. 23, A.D. 651, and his death is therefore generally placed in that year of our era (Ockley, p. 277). Clinton (*F.R.* ii. 263) more correctly places it in A.D. 652, which included nearly eight out of the twelve Arabian months. He, therefore, says "the house of Sassan reigned in Iran for nineteen generations or 426 years," that is from the rise of Artaxerxes in 226, to the death of Yez-

preserved by a colony of loyal exiles in the province of Bucharia. His grandson inherited the regal name; but after a faint and fruitless enterprise, he returned to China and ended his days in the palace of Sigan. The male line of the Sassanides was extinct; but the female captives, the daughters of Persia, were given to the conquerors in servitude, or marriage; and the race of the caliphs and imams was ennobled by the blood of their royal mothers.*

After the fall of the Persian kingdom, the river Oxus divided the territories of the Saracens and of the Turks. This narrow boundary was soon overleaped by the spirit of the Arabs; the governors of Chorassan extended their successive inroads; and one of their triumphs was adorned with the buskin of a Turkish queen, which she dropped in her precipitate flight beyond the hills of Bochara.† But the final conquest of Transoxiana,‡ as well as of Spain, was reserved for the glorious reign of the inactive Walid; and the name of Catibah, the camel driver, declares the origin and merit of his successful lieutenant. While one of his colleagues displayed the first Mahometan banner on the banks of the Indus, the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jaxartes, and the Caspian sea, were reduced by the arms of Catibah to the obedience of the prophet, and of the caliph.§ A tribute of two millions of pieces of gold

degerd in 652.—ED.]

* The two daughters of Yezdegerd married Hassan, the son of Ali, and Mohammed, the son of Abubeker; and the first of these was the father of a numerous progeny. The daughter of Phirouz became the wife of the caliph Walid, and their son Yezid derived his genuine or fabulous descent from the Chosroes of Persia, the Cæsars of Rome, and the Chagans of the Turks or Avars (D'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orientale*, p. 96. 487).

† It was valued at two thousand pieces of gold, and was the prize of Obeidollah, the son of Ziyad, a name afterwards infamous by the murder of Hosein. (Ockley's *History of the Saracens*, vol. ii. p. 142, 143.) His brother Salem was accompanied by his wife, the first Arabian woman (A.D. 680) who passed the Oxus; she borrowed, or rather stole, the crown and jewels of the princess of the Sogdians (p. 231, 232).

‡ A part of Abulfeda's geography is translated by Greaves, inserted in Hudson's collection of the minor geographers (tom. iii.) and entitled, *Descriptio Chorasmiæ et Mawar-alnahræ*, id est, regionum extra fluvium Oxum (p. 80). The name of *Transoxiana*, softer in sound, equivalent in sense, is aptly used by Petit de la Croix (*Hist. de Gengiscan*, &c.), and some modern Orientalists; but they are mistaken in ascribing it to the writers of antiquity.

§ The conquests of Catibah are faintly marked by Elmacin (*Hist.*

was imposed on the infidels; their idols were burnt or broken; the Mussulman chief pronounced a sermon in the new mosch of Carizme; after several battles, the Turkish hordes were driven back to the desert; and the emperors of China solicited the friendship of the victorious Arabs. To their industry, the prosperity of the province, the Sogdiana of the ancients, may in a great measure be ascribed; but the advantages of the soil and climate had been understood and cultivated since the reign of the Macedonian kings. Before the invasion of the Saracens, Carizme, Bochara, and Samarcand, were rich and populous under the yoke of the shepherds of the north. These cities were surrounded with a double wall; and the exterior fortification, of a larger circumference, enclosed the fields and gardens of the adjacent district. The mutual wants of India and Europe were supplied by the diligence of the Sogdian merchants; and the inestimable art of transforming linen into paper, has been diffused from the manufacture of Samarcand over the Western world.*

II. No sooner had Abubeker restored the unity of faith and government, than he dispatched a circular letter to the Arabian tribes. "In the name of the most merciful God, to the rest of the true believers. Health and happiness, and the mercy and blessing of God be upon you. I praise the most high God, and I pray for his prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint you, that I intend to send the true believers into Syria† to take it out of the hands of the

Saracen, p. 84), D'Herbelot (*Bibliot. Orient. Catbakh, Samarcand, Valid*), and De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 58, 59).

* A curious description of Samarcand is inserted in the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, tom. i. p. 208, &c. The librarian Casiri (tom. ii. 9) relates, from credible testimony, that paper was first imported from China to Samarcand, A.H. 30, and *invented*, or rather introduced at Mecca, A.H. 88. The Escorial library contains paper MSS. as old as the fourth or fifth century of the Hegira.

† A separate history of the conquest of Syria has been composed by Al Wakidi, cadi of Bagdad, who was born A.D. 748, and died A.D. 822; he likewise wrote the conquest of Egypt, of Diarbekir, &c. Above the meagre and recent chronicles of the Arabians, Al Wakidi has the double merit of antiquity and copiousness. His tales and traditions afford an artless picture of the men and the times. Yet his narrative is too often defective, trifling, and improbable. Till something better shall be found, his learned and spirited interpreter (Ockley, in his *History of the Saracens*, vol. i. p. 21—342), will not

infidels. And I would have you know, that the fighting for religion is an act of obedience to God." His messengers returned with the tidings of pious and martial ardour which they had kindled in every province; and the camp of Medina was successively filled with the intrepid bands of the Saracens, who panted for action, complained of the heat of the season, and the scarcity of provisions; and accused with impatient murmurs the delays of the caliph. As soon as their numbers were complete, Abubeker ascended the hill, reviewed the men, the horses, and the arms, and poured forth a fervent prayer for the success of their undertaking. In person and on foot, he accompanied the first day's march; and when the blushing leaders attempted to dismount, the caliph removed their scruples by a declaration, that those who rode, and those who walked, in the service of religion, were equally meritorious. His instructions* to the chiefs of the Syrian army, were inspired by the warlike fanaticism which advances to seize, and affects to despise, the objects of earthly ambition. "Remember," said the successor of the prophet, "that you are always in the presence of God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, and the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression; consult with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidence of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acquit yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let not your victory be stained with the blood of women or children. Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kill to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose to themselves to serve God that way: let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy

deserve the petulant animadversion of Reiske (*Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas*, p. 236). I am sorry to think that the labours of Ockley were consummated in a jail. (See his two prefaces to the first vol. A.D. 1708, to the second, 1718, with the list of authors at the end.)

* The instructions, &c. of the Syrian war, are described by Al Wakidi and Ockley, tom. i. p. 22—27, &c. In the sequel it is necessary to contract, and needless to quote, their circumstantial narrative. My obligations to others shall be noticed.

their monasteries;* and you will find another sort of people that belong to the synagogue of Satan, who have shaven crowns;† be sure you cleave their skulls, and give them no quarter till they either turn Mahometans, or pay tribute." All profane or frivolous conversation; all dangerous recollection of ancient quarrels, was severely prohibited among the Arabs; in the tumult of a camp, the exercises of religion were assiduously practised; and the intervals of action were employed in prayer, meditation, and the study of the Koran. The abuse, or even the use of wine, was chastised by fourscore strokes on the soles of the feet, and in the fervour of their primitive zeal, many secret sinners revealed their fault, and solicited their punishment. After some hesitation the command of the Syrian army was delegated to Abu Obeidah, one of the fugitives of Mecca and companions of Mahomet; whose zeal and devotion were assuaged, without being abated, by the singular mildness and benevolence of his temper. But in all the emergencies of war, the soldiers demanded the superior genius of Caled; and whoever might be the choice of the prince, the *sword of God* was both in fact and fame the foremost leader of the Saracens. He obeyed without reluctance; he was consulted without jealousy; and such was the spirit of the man, or rather of the times, that Caled professed his readiness to serve under the banner of the faith, though it were in the hands of a child or an enemy. Glory, and riches, and dominion, were indeed promised to the victorious Mussulman; but he was carefully instructed, that if the goods of this life were his only incitement, *they* likewise would be his only reward.

One of the fifteen provinces of Syria, the cultivated lands to the eastward of the Jordan, had been decorated by

* Notwithstanding this precept, M. Pauw (*Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. ii. p. 192, edit. Lausanne) represents the Bedoweens as the implacable enemies of the Christian monks. For my own part, I am more inclined to suspect the avarice of the Arabian robbers, and the prejudices of the German philosopher.

† Even in the seventh century, the monks were generally laymen; they wore their hair long and dishevelled, and shaved their heads when they were ordained priests. The circular tonsure was sacred and mysterious: it was the crown of thorns; but it was likewise a royal diadem, and every priest was a king, &c. (Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. p. 721—758, especially p. 737, 738.)

Roman vanity with the name of *Arabia*;* and the first arms of the Saracens were justified by the semblance of a national right. The country was enriched by the various benefits of trade; by the vigilance of the emperors it was covered with a line of forts; and the populous cities of Gerasa, Philadelphia, and Bosra,† were secure, at least from a surprise, by the solid structure of their walls. The last of these cities was the eighteenth station from Medina: the road was familiar to the caravans of Hejaz and Irak, who annually visited this plenteous market of the province and the desert; the perpetual jealousy of the Arabs had trained the inhabitants to arms; and twelve thousand horse could sally from the gates of Bosra, an appellation which signifies, in the Syriac language, a strong tower of defence. Encouraged by their first success against the open towns and flying parties of the borders, a detachment of four thousand Moslems presumed to summon and attack the fortress of Bosra. They were oppressed by the numbers of the Syrians; they were saved by the presence of Caled, with fifteen hundred horse; he blamed the enterprise, restored the battle, and rescued his friend, the venerable Serjabil, who had vainly invoked the unity of God and the promises of the apostle. After a short repose, the Moslems performed their ablutions with sand instead of water;‡

- * *Huic Arabia est conserta, ex alio latere Nabathæis contigua; opima varietate commerciorum, castrisque oppleta validis et castellis, quæ ad repellendos gentium vicinarum excursus, sollicitudo pervigil veterum per opportunos saltus erexit et cautus.* Ammian. Marcellin. 14. 8. Reland. *Palestin.* tom. i. p. 85, 86.

† With Gerasa and Philadelphia, Ammianus praises the fortifications of Bosra, *firmitate cautissimas*. They deserved the same praise in the time of Abulfeda (*Tabul. Syriæ*, p. 99), who describes this city, the metropolis of Hawran (*Auranitis*) four days' journey from Damascus. The Hebrew etymology I learn from Reland. *Palestin.* tom. ii. p. 666. [For Bosra or Bostra, see notes to ch. 7, vol. i, p. 243, and ch. 23, vol. ii. p. 520. Theophanes (p. 279 D.), who is followed by Cedrenus, says that Omar took Bostra and other cities in the 24th of Heraclius (A.D. 634). But all this occurred in the preceding year, while Abubeker was yet caliph; nor did Omar command in the Syrian war.—Ed.]

‡ The apostle of a desert and an army was obliged to allow this ready succedaneum for water (*Koran*, c. 3, p. 66; c. 5, p. 83); but the Arabian and Persian casuists have embarrassed his free permission with many niceties and distinctions (Reland. *de Relig. Mohammed.* l. 1, p. 82, 83. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*,

and the morning prayer was recited by Caled before they mounted on horseback. Confident in their strength, the people of Bosra threw open their gates, drew their forces into the plain, and swore to die in the defence of their religion. But a religion of peace was incapable of withstanding the fanatic cry of "Fight, fight! Paradise, paradise!" that re-echoed in the ranks of the Saracens; and the uproar of the town, the ringing of bells,* and the exclamations of the priests and monks, increased the dismay and disorder of the Christians. With the loss of two hundred and thirty men, the Arabs remained masters of the field; and the ramparts of Bosra, in expectation of human or divine aid, were crowded with holy crosses and consecrated banners. The governor Romanus had recommended an early submission; despised by the people, and

tom. iv.). * *The bells rang!* Ockley, vol. i. p. 38. Yet I much doubt whether this expression can be justified by the text of Al Wakidi, or the practice of the times. Ad Græcos, says the learned Ducange (Glossar. med. et infim. Græcitat. tom. i. p. 774), campanarum usus serius transit et etiamnum rarissimus est. The oldest example which he can find in the Byzantine writers is of the year 1040; but the Venetians pretend that they introduced bells at Constantinople in the ninth century. [The bells of Zachariah (xiv. 20) are a doubtful version; but they were certainly known in the East at a very early period. Mr. Layard not only found them represented in sculptures at Birs Nimroud (Nineveh and its Remains, ii. p. 28. 358), but afterwards (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 177) discovered the bells themselves, which are now in the British Museum. They were certainly not unknown to the Greeks. Pliny, describing the "tihtinnabula" on Porsena's perhaps fabulous tomb at Clusium (H. N. 36. 19), refers to the brazen vessel, raised on a lofty column, at Dodona, and which, when struck by a rod, rang sonorously. The Δωδωνῶνιον Χαλκείον (Dodonæan brass) of the Greeks, was in fact a bell. In the Encyclopédie Méthodique (tom. i. p. 709) we find that the people were thus summoned to the temple of Proserpine at the hour of sacrifice, and the rites of Cybele accompanied by the same sound. Ducange in his Latin Glossary (tom. ii. p. 94) states, that the ancient Latins and Greeks had long been acquainted with the use of bells, "priscis Latinis Græcisque longe antea notus." But he afterwards adds (p. 95), "in ecclesia Orientali prorsus ignotus." Bells were introduced into the church by Paulinus, of Nola in Campania, about A.D. 410, whence the name of *Campana*. The Greeks may have been slow to use for religious purposes what had been associated with the ceremonies of idolatry. Yet in the capitulation of Jerusalem, in A.D. 637, the twelfth article stipulated that the Christians "shall not ring, but only toll, their bells." Ockley, p. 212, edit. Bohn. See also at p. 133 of Ockley and p. 32 of this volume, "the great bell of Damascus."—ED.]

degraded from his office, he still retained the desire and opportunity of revenge. In a nocturnal interview, he informed the enemy of a subterraneous passage from his house under the wall of the city; the son of the caliph, with a hundred volunteers, was committed to the faith of this new ally, and their successful intrepidity gave an easy entrance to their companions. After Calad had imposed the terms of servitude and tribute, the apostate or convert avowed in the assembly of the people his meritorious treason. "I renounce your society," said Romanus, "both in this world, and the world to come. And I deny him that was crucified, and whosoever worships him. And I choose God for my Lord, Islam for my faith, Mecca for my temple, the Moslems for my brethren, and Mahomet for my prophet; who was sent to lead us into the right way, and to exalt the true religion in spite of those who join partners with God."

The conquest of Bosra, four days' journey from Damascus,* encouraged the Arabs to besiege the ancient capital of Syria.† At some distance from the walls, they encamped among the groves and fountains of that delicious territory,‡ and the usual option of the Mahometan faith, of tribute or of war, was proposed to the resolute citizens,

* Damascus is amply described by the Sherif al Edrisi (Geograph. Nub. p. 116, 117), and his translator, Sionita (Appendix, c. 4), Abulfeda (Tabula Syriæ, p. 100), Schultens (Index, Geograph. ad Vit. Saladin), D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 291), Thevenot, Voyage du Levant (part 1, p. 688—698), Maundrell (Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 122—130), and Pocock (Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 117—127). [Among recent works relating to Damascus may be named Damascus and Palmyra, by Chas. G. Addison, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1838.—Ed.]

† Nobilissima civitas, says Justin. According to the Oriental traditions, it was older than Abraham or Semiramis. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 1, c. 6. 7, p. 24. 29. edit. Havercamp. Justin. 36. 2.

‡ Ἐδεῖ γάρ, οἶμαι, τὴν Διὸς πόλιν ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἑώας ἀπάσης ὀφθαλμόν· τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ μεγίστην Δάμασκον λεγὼ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις σύμπασιν, οἷον ἱερῶν κάλλει, καὶ νεῶν μεγέθει, καὶ ὥρῶν εὐκαιρίᾳ, καὶ πηγῶν ἀγλαίᾳ, καὶ ποταμῶν πλήθει, καὶ γῆς εὐφορίᾳ νικῶσαν, &c. Julian, epist. 24, p. 392. These splendid epithets are occasioned by the figs of Damascus, of which the author sends a hundred to his friend Serapion; and this rhetorical theme is inserted by Petavius, Spanheim, &c. (p. 390—396) among the genuine epistles of Julian. How could they overlook that the writer is an inhabitant of Damascus (he thrice affirms, that this peculiar fig grows only παρ' ἡμῖν), a city which Julian never entered or approached?

who had been lately strengthened by a reinforcement of five thousand Greeks, In the decline as in the infancy of the military art, a hostile defiance was frequently offered and accepted by the generals themselves: * many a lance was shivered in the plain of Damascus, and the personal prowess of Caled was signalized in the first sally of the besieged. After an obstinate combat, he had overthrown and made prisoner one of the Christian leaders, a stout and worthy antagonist. He instantly mounted a fresh horse, the gift of the governor of Palmyra, and pushed forwards to the front of the battle. "Repose yourself for a moment," said his friend Derar, "and permit me to supply your place: you are fatigued with fighting with this dog."—"O Derar," replied the indefatigable Saracen, "we shall rest in the world to come. He that labours to-day shall rest to-morrow." With the same unabated ardour, Caled answered, encountered, and vanquished a second champion; and the heads of his two captives, who refused to abandon their religion, were indignantly hurled into the midst of the city. The event of some general and partial actions reduced the Damascenes to a closer defence; but a messenger whom they dropped from the walls, returned with the promise of speedy and powerful succour, and their tumultuous joy conveyed the intelligence to the camp of the Arabs. After some debate, it was resolved by the generals to raise, or rather to suspend, the siege of Damascus, till they had given battle to the forces of the emperor. In the retreat, Caled would have chosen the more perilous station of the rear-guard; he modestly yielded to the wishes of Abu Obeidah. But in the hour of danger he flew to the rescue of his companion, who was rudely pressed by a sally of six thousand horse and ten thousand foot, and few among the Christians could relate at Damascus the circumstances of their defeat. The importance of the contest required the junction of the Saracens who were dispersed on the frontiers of Syria and Palestine; and I shall transcribe one of the circular mandates which was addressed to Amrou the future conqueror of Egypt. "In

* Voltaire, who casts a keen and lively glance over the surface of history, has been struck with the resemblance of the first Moslems and the heroes of the Iliad; the siege of Troy and that of Damascus

the name of the most merciful God: from Caled to Amrou, health and happiness. Know that thy brethren the Moslems design to march to Aiznadin, where there is an army of seventy thousand Greeks, who purpose to come against us, 'that they may extinguish the light of God with their mouths; but God preserveth his light in spite of the infidels.'* As soon, therefore, as this letter of mine shall be delivered to thy hands, come with those that are with thee to Aiznadin, where thou shalt find us, if it please the most high God." The summons was cheerfully obeyed, and the forty-five thousand Moslems who met on the same day, on the same spot, ascribed to the blessing of Providence the effects of their activity and zeal.†

About four years after the triumphs of the Persian war, the repose of Heraclius and the empire was again disturbed by a new enemy, the power of whose religion was more strongly felt than it was clearly understood by the Christians of the East. In his palace of Constantinople or Antioch, he was awakened by the invasion of Syria, the loss of Bosra, and the danger of Damascus. An army of seventy thousand veterans, or new levies, was assembled at Hems or Emesa, under the command of his general Werdan;‡ and

(Hist. Générale, tom. i. p. 348).

* These words are a text of the Koran, c. 9, 32. 61, 8. Like our fanatics of the last century, the Moslems, on every familiar or important occasion, spoke the language of *their* scriptures; a style more natural in their mouths, than the Hebrew idiom transplanted into the climate and dialect of Britain.

† [Clinton (F. R. ii. 174) shows that this meeting took place on *Tuesday*, July 13, A.D. 633.—Ed.]

‡ The name of Werdan is unknown to Theophanes, and, though it might belong to an Armenian chief, has very little of a Greek aspect or sound. If the Byzantine historians have mangled the Oriental names, the Arabs, in this instance, likewise have taken ample revenge on their enemies. In transposing the Greek character from right to left, might not they produce, from the familiar appellation of *Andrew*, something like the anagram *Werdan*? [The Greek *Andreas* would not have furnished the anagram here supposed. *Werdan* is much more Gothic, both in aspect and sound; and Goths have often led a Roman army. The name is closely allied to our *warden* or *guardian*, from the Gothic *garðr*, a guard or fence. See Adelung (Wörterbuch, 5. 72. 74), for *warte* and *warten*; Ducange (6. 1749) ad voc. *warda* and *garda*; and Spelman's Glossary, p. 561, for *waria*, p. 564, for *warda* and *warden*. Theophanes must not be cited here as an authority either for names or events. In his brief narrative (p. 280), the battle of Yermuk, which was fought in Nov.

these troops, consisting chiefly of cavalry, might be indifferently styled either Syrians, or Greeks, or Romans: *Syrians*, from the place of their birth or warfare; *Greeks*, from the religion and language of their sovereign; and *Romans*, from the proud appellation which was still profaned by the successors of Constantine. On the plain of Aiznadin as Werdan rode on a white mule decorated with gold chains, and surrounded with ensigns and standards, he was surprised by the near approach of a fierce and naked warrior, who had undertaken to view the state of the enemy. The adventurous valour of Derar was inspired, and has perhaps been adorned, by the enthusiasm of his age and country. The hatred of the Christians, the love of spoil, and the contempt of danger, were the ruling passions of the audacious Saracen; and the prospect of instant death could never shake his religious confidence, or ruffle the calmness of his resolution, or even suspend the frank and martial pleasantry of his humour. In the most hopeless enterprises, he was bold, and prudent, and fortunate: after innumerable hazards, after being thrice a prisoner in the hands of the infidels, he still survived to relate the achievements, and to enjoy the rewards, of the Syrian conquest. On this occasion, his single lance maintained a flying fight against thirty Romans, who were detached by Werdan; and after killing or unhorsing seventeen of their number, Derar returned in safety to his applauding brethren. When his rashness was mildly censured by the general, he excused himself with the simplicity of a soldier. "Nay," said Derar, "I did not begin first: but they came out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me turn my back: and indeed I fought in good earnest, and without doubt God assisted me against them; and had I not been apprehensive of disobeying your orders, I should not have come away as I did; and I perceive already that they will fall into our hands." In the presence of both armies, a venerable Greek advanced from the ranks with a liberal offer of peace; and the departure of the Saracens would have been purchased by a gift to each soldier of a turban, a robe, and a piece of gold; ten robes, and a hundred

636, precedes the siege of Damascus, which was taken in Aug. 634. Both are placed by him in 635. The battle of Aiznadin he entirely omits.—Ed.]

pieces to their leader; one hundred robes, and a thousand pieces to the caliph. A smile of indignation expressed the refusal of Caled. "Ye Christian dogs, you know your option: the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. We are a people whose delight is in war, rather than in peace; and we despise your pitiful alms; since we shall speedily be masters of your wealth, your families, and your persons." Notwithstanding this apparent disdain, he was deeply conscious of the public danger: those who had been in Persia, and had seen the armies of Chosroes, confessed that they never beheld a more formidable array. From the superiority of the enemy, the artful Saracen derived a fresh incentive of courage. "You see before you," said he, "the united force of the Romans: you cannot hope to escape, but you may conquer Syria in a single day. The event depends on your discipline and patience. Reserve yourselves till the evening. It was in the evening that the prophet was accustomed to vanquish." During two successive engagements, his temperate firmness sustained the darts of the enemy, and the murmurs of his troops. At length, when the spirits and quivers of the adverse line were almost exhausted, Caled gave the signal of onset and victory. The remains of the imperial army fled to Antioch, or Cæsarea, or Damascus: and the death of four hundred and seventy Moslems was compensated by the opinion that they had sent to hell above fifty thousand of the infidels. The spoil was inestimable; many banners and crosses of gold and silver, precious stones, silver and gold chains, and innumerable suits of the richest armour and apparel. The general distribution was postponed till Damascus should be taken; but the seasonable supply of arms became the instrument of new victories. The glorious intelligence was transmitted to the throne of the caliph, and the Arabian tribes, the coldest or most hostile to the prophet's mission, were eager and importunate to share the harvest of Syria.

The sad tidings were carried to Damascus by the speed of grief and terror; and the inhabitants beheld from their walls the return of the heroes of Aiznadin. Amrou led the van at the head of nine thousand horse: the bands of the Saracens succeeded each other in formidable review; and the rear was closed by Caled in person, with the standard of the black eagle. To the activity of Derar he intrusted

the commission of patrolling round the city with two thousand horse, of scouring the plain, and of intercepting all succour or intelligence. The rest of the Arabian chiefs were fixed in their respective stations before the seven gates of Damascus; and the siege was renewed with fresh vigour and confidence.* The art, the labour, the military engines of the Greeks and Romans, are seldom to be found in the simple, though successful, operations of the Saracens: it was sufficient for them to invest a city with arms, rather than with trenches; to repel the sallies of the besieged; to attempt a stratagem or an assault; or to expect the progress of famine and discontent. Damascus would have acquiesced in the trial of Aiznadin, as a final and peremptory sentence between the emperor and the caliph; her courage was rekindled by the example and authority of Thomas, a noble Greek, illustrious in a private condition by the alliance of Heraclius.† The tumult and illumination of the night proclaimed the design of the morning sally; and the Christian hero, who affected to despise the enthusiasm of the Arabs, employed the resource of a similar superstition. At the principal gate, in the sight of both armies, a lofty crucifix was erected; the bishop, with his clergy, accompanied the march, and laid the volume of the New Testament before the image of Jesus; and the contending parties were scandalized or edified by a prayer, that the son of God would defend his servants and vindicate his truth. The battle raged with incessant fury; and the dexterity of Thomas,‡ an incomparable archer, was fatal to the boldest Saracens, till their death was revenged by a female heroine. The wife of Aban, who had followed him to the holy war, embraced her expiring husband. "Happy," said she, "happy art thou,

* [Professor Smyth says, "The siege of Damascus is related by Ockley, illuminated by Gibbon, dramatized by Hughes; it may, therefore, exercise the philosophy, the taste, and the imagination of a discerning reader. Lecture iii. p. 69.—ED.]

† Vanity prompted the Arabs to believe, that Thomas was the son-in-law of the emperor. We know the children of Heraclius by his two wives; and his *august* daughter would not have married in exile at Damascus. (See Ducange, *Fam. Byzantin.* p. 118, 119.) Had he been less religious, I might only suspect the legitimacy of the damsel.

‡ Al Wakidi (Ockley, p. 101) says "with poisoned arrows;" but this savage invention is so repugnant to the practice of the Greeks and Romans, that I must suspect, on this occasion, the malevolent credulity

my dear: thou art gone to thy Lord who first joined us together, and then parted us asunder. I will revenge thy death, and endeavour to the utmost of my power to come to the place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the service of God." Without a groan, without a tear, she washed the corpse of her husband, and buried him with the usual rites. Then grasping the manly weapons, which in her native land she was accustomed to wield, the intrepid widow of Aban sought the place where his murderer fought in the thickest of the battle. Her first arrow pierced the hand of his standard-bearer: her second wounded Thomas in the eye; and the fainting Christians no longer beheld their ensign or their leader. Yet the generous champion of Damascus refused to withdraw to his palace: his wound was dressed on the rampart; the fight was continued till the evening; and the Syrians rested on their arms. In the silence of the night, the signal was given by a stroke on the great bell; the gates were thrown open, and each gate discharged an impetuous column on the sleeping camp of the Saracens. Caled was the first in arms; at the head of four hundred horse he flew to the post of danger, and the tears trickled down his iron cheeks, as he uttered a fervent ejaculation: "O God! who never sleepest, look upon thy servants, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies." The valour and victory of Thomas were arrested by the presence of the *sword of God*; with the knowledge of the peril, the Moslems recovered their ranks, and charged the assailants in the flank and rear. After the loss of thousands, the Christian general retreated with a sigh of despair, and the pursuit of the Saracens was checked by the military engines of the rampart.

After a siege of seventy days,* the patience, and perhaps

of the Saracens.

* Abulfeda allows only seventy days for the siege of Damascus (Annal. Moslem. p. 67, vers. Reiske); but Elmacin, who mentions this opinion, prolongs the term to six months, and notices the use of *balistæ* by the Saracens (Hist. Saracen. p. 25. 32). Even this longer period is insufficient to fill the interval between the battle of Aiznadin (July, A.D. 633) and the accession of Omar (24th July, A.D. 634), to whose reign the conquest of Damascus is unanimously ascribed. (Al Wakidi, apud Ockley, vol. i. p. 115. Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 112, vers. Pocock.) Perhaps, as in the Trojan war, the operations were interrupted by excursions and detachments,

the provisions, of the Damascenes were exhausted; and the bravest of their chiefs submitted to the hard dictates of necessity. In the occurrences of peace and war, they had been taught to dread the fierceness of Caled, and to revere the mild virtues of Abu Obeidah. At the hour of midnight, one hundred chosen deputies of the clergy and people were introduced to the tent of that venerable commander. He received and dismissed them with courtesy. They returned with a written agreement, on the faith of a companion of Mahomet, that all hostilities should cease; that the voluntary emigrants might depart in safety, with as much as they could carry away of their effects; and that the tributary subjects of the caliph should enjoy their lands and houses, with the use and possession of seven churches. On these terms, the most respectable hostages, and the gate nearest to his camp, were delivered into his hands: his soldiers imitated the moderation of their chief; and he enjoyed the submissive gratitude of a people whom he had rescued from destruction. But the success of the treaty had relaxed their vigilance, and in the same moment the opposite quarter of the city was betrayed and taken by assault. A party of a hundred Arabs had opened the Eastern gate to a more inexorable foe. "No quarter," cried the rapacious and sanguinary Caled, "no quarter to the enemies of the Lord." His trumpets sounded, and a torrent of Christian blood was poured down the streets of Damascus. When he reached the church of St. Mary, he was astonished and provoked by the peaceful aspect of his companions; their swords were in the scabbard, and they were surrounded by a multitude of priests and monks. Abu Obeidah saluted the general; "God," said he, "has delivered the city into my hands, by way of surrender, and has saved the believers the trouble of fighting."—"And am I not," replied the indignant Caled, "am I not the lieutenant of the commander of the faithful? Have I not taken the city by storm? The unbelievers shall perish by the sword. Fall on." The hungry and cruel Arabs would have obeyed the welcome command; and Damascus was lost, if the benevolence of Abu Obeidah had not

till the last seventy days of the siege. [Ockley's words are (p. 138), "Abubeker the caliph died the same day that Damascus was taken, which was on Friday, the 23rd Aug., A.D. 634." This also is altered to *Tuesday* by Clinton. F. R. ii. 173.—Ed.]

been supported by a decent and dignified firmness. Throwing himself between the trembling citizens and the most eager of the Barbarians, he adjured them by the holy name of God, to respect his promise, to suspend their fury, and to wait the determination of their chiefs. The chiefs retired into the church of St. Mary; and after a vehement debate, Caled submitted in some measure to the reason and authority of his colleague; who urged the sanctity of a covenant, the advantage as well as the honour which the Moslems would derive from the punctual performance of their word, and the obstinate resistance which they must encounter from the distrust and despair of the rest of the Syrian cities. It was agreed that the sword should be sheathed; that the part of Damascus which had surrendered to Abu Obeidah, should be immediately entitled to the benefit of his capitulation; and that the final decision should be referred to the justice and wisdom of the caliph.* A large majority of the people accepted the terms of toleration and tribute; and Damascus is still peopled by twenty thousand Christians. But the valiant Thomas, and the freeborn patriots who had fought under his banner, embraced the alternative of poverty and exile. In the adjacent meadow, a numerous encampment was formed of priests and laymen, of soldiers and citizens, of women and children: they collected, with haste and terror, their most precious moveables; and abandoned with loud lamentations or silent anguish their native homes, and the pleasant banks of the Pharphar. The inflexible soul of Caled was not touched by the spectacle of their distress; he disputed with the Damascenes the property of a magazine of corn; endeavoured to exclude the garrison from the benefit of the treaty; consented with reluctance, that each of the fugitives should arm himself with a sword, or a lance, or a bow; and sternly declared, that, after a respite of three days, they might be pursued and treated as the enemies of the Moslems.

The passion of a Syrian youth completed the ruin of the exiles of Damascus. A nobleman of the city, of the name

* It appears from Abulfeda (p. 125) and Elmacin (p. 32), that this distinction of the two parts of Damascus was long remembered, though not always respected, by the Mahometan sovereigns. See likewise Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 379, 380. 383).

of Jonas,* was betrothed to a wealthy maiden; but her parents delayed the consummation of his nuptials, and their daughter was persuaded to escape with the man whom she had chosen. They corrupted the nightly watchman of the gate Keisan; the lover, who led the way, was encompassed by a squadron of Arabs; but his exclamation in the Greek tongue,—“The bird is taken,” admonished his mistress to hasten her return. In the presence of Caled, and of death, the unfortunate Jonas professed his belief in one God, and his apostle Mahomet; and continued, till the season of his martyrdom, to discharge the duties of a brave and sincere Mussulman. When the city was taken, he flew to the monastery where Eudocia had taken refuge; but the lover was forgotten; the apostate was scorned; she preferred her religion to her country; and the justice of Caled, though deaf to mercy, refused to detain by force a male or female inhabitant of Damascus. Four days was the General confined to the city by the obligation of the treaty, and the urgent cares of his new conquest. His appetite for blood and rapine would have been extinguished by the hopeless computation of time and distance; but he listened to the importunities of Jonas, who assured him that the weary fugitives might yet be overtaken. At the head of four thousand horse, in the disguise of Christian Arabs, Caled undertook the pursuit. They halted only for the moments of prayer; and their guide had a perfect knowledge of the country. For a long way the footsteps of the Damascenes were plain and conspicuous: they vanished on a sudden; but the Saracens were comforted by the assurance that the caravan had turned aside into the mountains, and must speedily fall into their hands. In traversing the ridges of the Libanus, they endured intolerable hardships, and the sinking spirits of the

* On the fate of these lovers, whom he names Phocyas and Eudocia, Mr. Hughes has built the *Siege of Damascus*, one of our most popular tragedies, and which possesses the rare merit of blending nature and history, the manners of the times and the feelings of the heart. The foolish delicacy of the players compelled him to soften the guilt of the hero and the despair of the heroine. Instead of a base renegade, Phocyas serves the Arabs as an honourable ally; instead of prompting their pursuit, he flies to the succour of his countrymen, and, after killing Caled and Derar, is himself mortally wounded, and expires in the presence of Eudocia, who professes her resolution to take the veil at Constantinople. A frigid catastrophe!

veteran fanatics were supported and cheered by the unconquerable ardour of a lover. From a peasant of the country, they were informed that the emperor had sent orders to the colony of exiles, to pursue without delay the road of the sea-coast, and of Constantinople; apprehensive, perhaps, that the soldiers and people of Antioch might be discouraged by the sight and the story of their sufferings. The Saracens were conducted through the territories of Gabala* and Laodicea, at a cautious distance from the walls of the cities; the rain was incessant, the night was dark, a single mountain separated them from the Roman army; and Caled, ever anxious for the safety of his brethren, whispered an ominous dream in the ear of his companion. With the dawn of day, the prospect again cleared, and they saw before them, in a pleasant valley, the tents of Damascus. After a short interval of repose and prayer, Caled divided his cavalry into four squadrons, committing the first to his faithful Derar, and reserving the last for himself. They successively rushed on the promiscuous multitude, insufficiently provided with arms, and already vanquished by sorrow and fatigue. Except a captive who was pardoned and dismissed, the Arabs enjoyed the satisfaction of believing that not a Christian of either sex escaped the edge of their scymetars. The gold and silver of Damascus was scattered over the camp, and a royal wardrobe of three hundred load of silk might clothe an army of naked Barbarians. In the tumult of the battle, Jonas sought and found the object of his pursuit; but her resentment was inflamed by the last act of his perfidy; and as Eudocia struggled in his hateful embraces, she struck a dagger to her heart. Another female, the widow of Thomas, and the real or supposed daughter of Heraclius, was spared and released without a ransom: but the generosity of Caled was the effect of his contempt; and the haughty Saracen insulted, by a message of defiance, the throne of the Cæsars. Caled had penetrated above a hundred and fifty miles into

* The towns of Gabala and Laodicea, which the Arabs passed, still exist in a state of decay. (Maundrell, p. 11, 12. Pocock, vol. ii. p. 13.) Had not the Christians been overtaken, they must have crossed the Orontes on some bridge in the sixteen miles between Antioch and the sea, and might have rejoined the high road of Constantinople at Alexandria. The itineraries will represent the directions and distances (p. 146. 148. 581, 582, edit. Wesseling).

the heart of the Roman province : he returned to Damascus with the same secrecy and speed. On the accession of Omar, the *sword of God* was removed from the command ; but the caliph, who blamed the rashness, was compelled to applaud the vigour and conduct, of the enterprise.

Another expedition of the conquerors of Damascus will equally display their avidity and their contempt for the riches of the present world. They were informed that the produce and manufactures of the country were annually collected in the fair of Abyla,* about thirty miles from the city ; that the cell of a devout hermit was visited at the same time by a multitude of pilgrims ; and that the festival of trade and superstition would be ennobled by the nuptials of the daughter of the governor of Tripoli. Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, a glorious and holy martyr, undertook, with a banner of five hundred horse, the pious and profitable commission of despoiling the infidels. As he approached the fair of Abyla, he was astonished by the report of the mighty concourse of Jews and Christians, Greeks and Armenians, of natives of Syria and of strangers of Egypt, to the number of ten thousand, besides a guard of five thousand horse that attended the person of the bride. The Saracens paused. "For my own part," said Abdallah, "I *dare not* go back ; our foes are many, our danger is great, but our reward is splendid and secure, either in this life or in the life to come. Let every man, according to his inclination, advance or retire." Not a Mussulman deserted his standard. "Lead the way," said Abdallah to his Christian guide, "and you shall see what the companions of the prophet can perform." They charged in five squadrons ; but after the first advantage of the surprise, they were encompassed and almost overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies ; and their valiant baud is fancifully compared to a white spot in the skin of a black camel.† About the hour of sunset, when

* *Dair Abil Kodas*. After retrenching the last word, the epithet *holy*, I discovered the Abila of Lysanias between Damascus and Heliopolis : the name (*Abil* signifies a vineyard) concurs with the situation to justify my conjecture (Reland. *Palestin.* tom. i. p. 317 ; tom. ii. p. 525. 527). [Ockley (p. 163) translates *Dair Abi'l Kodas*, "The Monastery of the Holy Father."—ED.]

† I am bolder than Mr. Ockley (vol. i. p. 164), who dares not insert this figurative expression in the text, though he observes in a marginal

their weapons dropped from their hands, when they panted on the verge of eternity, they discovered an approaching cloud of dust; they heard the welcome sound of the *tecbir*,* and they soon perceived the standard of Caled, who flew to their relief with the utmost speed of his cavalry. The Christians were broken by his attack, and slaughtered in their flight, as far as the river of Tripoli. They left behind them the various riches of the fair; the merchandises that were exposed for sale, the money that was brought for purchase, the gay decorations of the nuptials, and the governor's daughter, with forty of her female attendants. The fruits, provisions, and furniture, the money, plate, and jewels, were diligently laden on the backs of horses, asses, and mules; and the holy robbers returned in triumph to Damascus. The hermit, after a short and angry controversy with Caled, declined the crown of martyrdom, and was left alive in the solitary scene of blood and devastation.

Syria,† one of the countries that have been improved by the most early cultivation, is not unworthy of the preference.‡ The heat of the climate is tempered by the vicinity

note, that the Arabians often borrow their similes from that useful and familiar animal. The reindeer may be equally famous in the songs of the Laplanders. [See Bohn's Ockley, p. 166.—ED.]

* We heard the *tecbir*; so the Arabs call
Their shout of onset, when with loud appeal
They challenge heaven, as if demanding conquest.

This word, so formidable in their holy wars, is a verb active (says Ockley in his index) of the second conjugation, from *Kabbara*, which signifies saying *Alla Acbar!*—God is most mighty!

† In the geography of Abulfeda, the description of Syria, his native country, is the most interesting and authentic portion. It was published in Arabic and Latin, Lipsiæ, 1766, in quarto, with the learned notes of Koehler and Reiske, and some extracts of geography and natural history from Ibn al Wardii. Among the modern travels, Pocock's description of the East (of Syria and Mesopotamia, vol. ii. p. 88—209), is a work of superior learning and dignity; but the author too often confounds what he had seen and what he had read.

‡ The praises of Dionysius are just and lively. *Καὶ τὴν μὲν* (Syria) *πολλοὶ τε καὶ ὀλίγοι ἀοδρεῖς ἔχουσιν* (in *Periegesi*, v. 902, in tom. iv. *Geograph. Minor*. Hudson). In another place he styles the country *πολύπτολιν αἶαν* (v. 898). He proceeds to say,—

Πᾶσά δέ τοι λιπαρή τε καὶ εὐβοτος ἐπλετο χώραν
Μῆλ' αὖτε φερβέμεναι καὶ δένδρεσι καρπὸν αἰεῖν.

v. 921, 922.

This poetical geographer lived in the age of Augustus, and his descrip-

of the sea and mountains, by the plenty of wood and water; and the produce of a fertile soil affords the subsistence, and encourages the propagation, of men and animals. From the age of David to that of Heraclius, the country was over-spread with ancient and flourishing cities: the inhabitants were numerous and wealthy; and, after the slow ravage of despotism and superstition, after the recent calamities of the Persian war, Syria could still attract and reward the rapacious tribes of the desert. A plain of ten days' journey, from Damascus to Aleppo and Antioch, is watered, on the western side, by the winding course of the Orontes. The hills of Libanus and Anti-Libanus are planted from north to south, between the Orontes and the Mediterranean, and the epithet of *hollow* (Cœlesyria) was applied to a long and fruitful valley, which is confined in the same direction by the two ridges of snowy mountains.* Among the cities which are enumerated by Greek and Oriental names in the geography and conquest of Syria, we may distinguish Emesa or Hems, Heliopolis or Baalbec, the former as the metropolis of the plain, the latter as the capital of the valley. Under the last of the Cæsars, they were strong and populous; the turrets glittered from afar; an ample space was covered with public and private buildings; and the citizens were illustrious by their spirit, or at least by their pride; by their riches, or at least by their luxury. In the days of Paganism, both Emesa and Heliopolis were addicted to the worship of Baal, or the sun; but the decline of their superstition and splendour has been marked by a singular variety of fortune. Not a vestige remains of the temple of Emesa, which was equalled in poetic style to the summits of mount Libanus,†

tion of the world is illustrated by the Greek commentary of Eustathius, who paid the same compliment to Homer and Dionysius. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. l. 4, c. 2, tom. iii. p. 21, &c.)

* The topography of the Libanus and Anti-Libanus, is excellently described by the learning and sense of Reland. (Palestin. tom. p. 311—326.)

† ——— Emesæ fastigia celsa reident.

Nam diffusa solo latus explicat; ac subit auras

Turribus in cœlum nitentibus: incola clavis

Cor studiis acuit

Denique flammicomo devoti pectora soli

Vitam agitant. Libanus frondosa cacumina turget,

Et tamen his certant celsi fastigia templi.

while the ruins of Baalbec, invisible to the writers of antiquity, excite the curiosity and wonder of the European traveller.* The measure of the temple is two hundred feet in length, and one hundred in breadth: the front is adorned with a double portico of eight columns; fourteen may be counted on either side; and each column, forty-five feet in height, is composed of three massy blocks of stone or marble. The proportions and ornaments of the Corinthian order express the architecture of the Greeks; but as Baalbec has never been the seat of a monarch, we are at a loss to conceive how the expense of these magnificent structures could be supplied by private or municipal liberality.† From the conquest of Damascus the Saracens proceeded to Heliopolis and Emesa; but I shall decline the repetition of the sallies and combats which have been already shown on a large scale. In the prosecution of the war, their policy was not less effectual than their sword. By short and separate truces they dissolved the union of the enemy; accustomed the Syrians to compare their friendship with their enmity; familiarised the idea of their language, religion, and manners; and exhausted, by clandestine purchase, the magazines and arsenals of the cities which they returned to besiege. They aggravated the ransom of the more wealthy or the more obstinate; and Chalcis alone was taxed at five thousand ounces of gold, five thousand ounces of silver, two thousand robes of silk, and as many figs and olives as would load five thousand asses. But the terms of truce or capitulation

These verses of the Latin version of Rufus Avienus are wanting in the Greek original of Dionysius; and since they are likewise unnoticed by Eustathius, I must, with Fabricius (*Bibliot. Latin.* tom. iii. p. 153, edit. Ernesti), and against Salmasius (*ad Vopiscum*, p. 366, 367 in *Hist. August.*), ascribe them to the fancy rather than the MSS. of Avienus.

* I am much better satisfied with Maundrell's slight octavo (*Journey*, p. 134—139) than with the pompous folio of Dr. Pocock (*Description of the East*, vol. ii. p. 106—113); but every preceding account is eclipsed by the magnificent description and drawings of MM. Dawkins and Wood, who have transported into England the ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec.

† The Orientals explain the prodigy by a never-failing expedient. The edifices of Baalbec were constructed by the fairies or the genii. (*Hist. de Timour Bec*, tom. iii. l. 5, c. 23, p. 311, 312. *Voyage d'Otter*, tom. i. p. 83.) With less absurdity, but with equal ignorance, Abulfeda and Ibn Chaukel ascribe them to the Sabæans or Aadites. *Non sunt in omni Syria ædificia magnificentiora his.* (*Tabula Syriæ*, p. 103.)

were faithfully observed; and the lieutenant of the caliph, who had promised not to enter the walls of the captive Baalbec, remained tranquil and immoveable in his tent till the jarring factions solicited the interposition of a foreign master. The conquest of the plain and valley of Syria was achieved in less than two years. Yet the commander of the faithful reproved the slowness of their progress, and the Saracens, bemoaning their fault with tears of rage and repentance, called aloud on their chiefs to lead them forth to fight the battles of the Lord. In a recent action, under the walls of Emesa, an Arabian youth, the cousin of Caled, was heard aloud to exclaim—"Methinks I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me; one of whom, should she appear in this world, all mankind would die for love of her. And I see in the hand of one of them, a handkerchief of green silk, and a cap of precious stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, 'Come hither quickly, for I love thee.'" With these words, charging the Christians, he made havoc wherever he went, till observed at length by the governor of Hems, he was struck through with a javelin.

It was incumbent on the Saracens to exert the full powers of their valour and enthusiasm against the forces of the emperor, who was taught by repeated losses, that the rovers of the desert had undertaken, and would speedily achieve, a regular and permanent conquest. From the provinces of Europe and Asia, fourscore thousand soldiers were transported by sea and land to Antioch and Cæsarea: the light troops of the army consisted of sixty thousand Christian Arabs of the tribes of Gassan. Under the banner of Jabalah, the last of their princes, they marched in the van; and it was a maxim of the Greeks, that, for the purpose of cutting diamond, a diamond was the most effectual. Heraclius withheld his person from the dangers of the field; but his presumption, or perhaps his despondency, suggested a peremptory order, that the fate of the province and the war should be decided by a single battle. The Syrians were attached to the standard of Rome and of the cross; but the noble, the citizen, the peasant, were exasperated by the injustice and cruelty of a licentious host, who oppressed them as subjects, and despised them as strangers and aliens.* A report

* I have read somewhere in Tacitus, or Grotius, *Subjectos habent tanquam suos, viles tanquam alienos*. Some Greek officers ravished

of these mighty preparations was conveyed to the Saracens in their camp of Emesa; and the chiefs though resolved to fight, assembled a council: the faith of Abu Obeidah would have expected on the same spot the glory of martyrdom; the wisdom of Caled advised an honourable retreat to the skirts of Palestine and Arabia, where they might await the succours of their friends, and the attack of the unbelievers. A speedy messenger soon returned from the throne of Medina, with the blessings of Omar and Ali, the prayers of the widows of the prophet, and a reinforcement of eight thousand Moslems. In their way they overturned a detachment of Greeks, and when they joined at Yermuk the camp of their brethren, they found the pleasing intelligence, that Caled had already defeated and scattered the Christian Arabs of the tribe of Gassan. In the neighbourhood of Bosra, the springs of mount Hermon descend in a torrent to the plain of Decapolis, or ten cities; and the Hieromax, a name which has been corrupted to Yermuk, is lost after a short course in the lake of Tiberias.* The banks of this obscure stream were illustrated by a long and bloody encounter. On this momentous occasion, the public voice, and the modesty of Abu Obeidah, restored the command to the most deserving of the Moslems. Caled assumed his station in the front, his colleague was posted in the rear, that the disorder of the fugitives might be checked by his venerable aspect and the sight of the yellow banner which Mahomet had displayed before the walls of Chaibar. The last line was occupied by the sister of Derar, with the Arabian women who had enlisted in this holy war, who were accustomed to wield the bow and the lance, and who in a moment of captivity had defended, against the uncircumcised ravishers, their chastity and religion.† The exhortation of

the wife, and murdered the child, of their Syrian landlord; and Manuel smiled at his undutiful complaint.

* See Reland, *Palestin.* tom. i. p. 272. 283; tom. ii. p. 773. 775. This learned professor was equal to the task of describing the Holy Land, since he was alike conversant with Greek and Latin, with Hebrew and Arabian literature. The Yermuk, or Hieromax, is noticed by Cellarius (*Geograph. Antiq.* tom. ii. p. 392) and D'Anville. (*Géographie Ancienne*, tom. ii. p. 185.) The Arabs, and even Abulfeda himself, do not seem to recognize the scene of their victory.

† These women were of the tribe of the Hamyarites, who derived their origin from the ancient Amalekites. Their females were accus-

the generals was brief and forcible: "Paradise is before you, the devil and hell-fire in your rear." Yet such was the weight of the Roman cavalry, that the right wing of the Arabs was broken and separated from the main body. Thrice did they retreat in disorder, and thrice were they driven back to the charge by the reproaches and blows of the women. In the intervals of action, Abu Obeidah visited the tents of his brethren, prolonged their repose by repeating at once the prayers of two different hours; bound up their wounds with his own hands, and administered the comfortable reflection, that the infidels partook of their sufferings without partaking of their reward. Four thousand and thirty of the Moslems were buried in the field of battle; and the skill of the Armenian archers enabled seven hundred to boast that they had lost an eye in that meritorious service. The veterans of the Syrian war acknowledged that it was the hardest and most doubtful of the days which they had seen. But it was likewise the most decisive: many thousands of the Greeks and Syrians fell by the swords of the Arabs; many were slaughtered, after the defeat, in the woods and mountains; many, by mistaking the ford, were drowned in the waters of the Yermuk; and however the loss may be magnified,* the Christian writers confess and bewail the bloody punishment of their sins.† Manuel, the Roman general, was either killed at Damascus, or took refuge in the monastery of mount Sinai. An exile in the Byzantine court, Jabalah lamented the manners of Arabia,

tomed to ride on horseback, and to fight like the Amazons of old (Ockley, vol. i. p. 67.).

* We killed of them, says Abu Obeidah to the caliph, one hundred and fifty thousand, and made prisoners forty thousand. (Ockley, vol. i. p. 241.) As I cannot doubt his veracity, nor believe his computation, I must suspect that the Arabic historians indulged themselves in the practice of composing speeches and letters for their heroes.

† After deploring the sins of the Christians, Theophanes adds (Chronograph. p. 276), ἀνίστη ὁ ἱερμικός Ἀμαλῆς ῥύπτων ἡμᾶς τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ γίνεται πρώτη φορά πῶσις τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατοῦ ἢ κατὰ τὸ Γαβιθάν λέγω (does he mean Aiznadin?) καὶ Ἰερμονχάν, καὶ τὴν ἄθισμον αἱματοχυσίαν. His account is brief and obscure, but he accuses the numbers of the enemy, the adverse wind, and the cloud of dust: μὴ δυνήθεντες (the Romans) ἀντικρῶσώπῃσαι ἰχθροῖς διὰ τὸν κοριοτρόν, ἡττῶνται, καὶ ἐαυτοὺς βάλλοντες εἰς τὰς στενόδους τοῦ ἱερμοχθοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκὶ ἀπώλοντο ἀρδην. (Chronograph. p. 280.)

and his unlucky preference of the Christian cause.* He had once inclined to the profession of Islam; but in the pilgrimage of Mecca, Jabalah was provoked to strike one of his brethren, and fled with amazement from the stern and equal justice of the caliph. The victorious Saracens enjoyed at Damascus a month of pleasure and repose: the spoil was divided by the discretion of Abu Obeidah: an equal share was allotted to a soldier and to his horse; and a double portion was reserved for the noble coursers of the Arabian breed.

After the battle of Yermuk, the Roman army no longer appeared in the field; and the Saracens might securely choose, among the fortified towns of Syria, the first object of their attack. They consulted the caliph whether they should march to Cæsarea or Jerusalem; and the advice of Ali determined the immediate siege of the latter. To a profane eye, Jerusalem was the first or second capital of Palestine; but after Mecca and Medina, it was revered and visited by the devout Moslems, as the temple of the Holy Land, which had been sanctified by the revelation of Moses, of Jesus, and of Mahomet himself. The son of Abu Sophian was sent with five thousand Arabs to try the first experiment of surprise or treaty; but on the eleventh day, the town was invested by the whole force of Abu Obeidah. He addressed the customary summons to the chief commanders and people of *Ælia*.† “Health and happiness to every one that follows the right way! We require of you to testify that there is but one God, and that Mahomet is his apostle. If you refuse this, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith. Otherwise I shall bring men against you who love death better than you do the drinking of wine or eating hog’s flesh. Nor will I ever stir from you, if it

* See Abulfeda (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 70, 71), who transcribes the poetical complaint of Jabalah himself, and some panegyrical strains of an Arabian poet, to whom the chief of Gassan sent from Constantinople a gift of five hundred pieces of gold by the hands of the ambassador of Omar.

† In the name of the city, the profane prevailed over the sacred; *Jerusalem* was known to the devout Christians (*Euseb. de Martyr. Palest.* c. 11); but the legal and popular appellation of *Ælia* (the colony of *Ælius Hadrianus*) has passed from the Romans to the Arabs (*Reland, Palestin.* tom. i. p. 207; tom. ii. p. 835. *D’Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, Cods*, p. 269, *Itia*, p. 420). The epithet of *Al Cods*, the Holy, is used as the proper name of Jerusalem.

please God, till I have destroyed those that fight for you, and made slaves of your children." But the city was defended on every side by deep valleys and steep ascents; since the invasion of Syria, the walls and towers had been anxiously restored; the bravest of the fugitives of Yermuk had stopped in the nearest place of refuge; and in the defence of the sepulchre of Christ, the natives and strangers might feel some sparks of the enthusiasm which so fiercely glowed in the bosoms of the Saracens. The siege of Jerusalem lasted four months; not a day was lost without some action of sally or assault; the military engines incessantly played from the ramparts; and the inclemency of the winter was still more painful and destructive to the Arabs. The Christians yielded at length to the perseverance of the besiegers. The patriarch Sophronius appeared on the walls, and by the voice of an interpreter demanded a conference. After a vain attempt to dissuade the lieutenant of the caliph from his impious enterprise, he proposed, in the name of the people, a fair capitulation, with this extraordinary clause, that the articles of security should be ratified by the authority and presence of Omar himself. The question was debated in the council of Medina; the sanctity of the place, and the advice of Ali, persuaded the caliph to gratify the wishes of his soldiers and enemies, and the simplicity of his journey is more illustrious than the royal pageants of vanity and oppression. The conqueror of Persia and Syria was mounted on a red camel, which carried, besides his person, a bag of corn, a bag of dates, a wooden dish, and a leathern bottle of water. Wherever he halted, the company, without distinction, was invited to partake of his homely fare, and the repast was consecrated by the prayer and exhortation of the commander of the faithful.* But in this expedition or pilgrimage, his power was exercised in the administration of justice; he reformed the licentious polygamy of the Arabs, relieved the tributaries from extortion and cruelty, and chastised the luxury of the Saracens, by despoiling them of their rich silks, and dragging them on their faces in the dirt. When he came within sight of Jerusalem, the caliph cried

* The singular journey and equipage of Omar are described (besides Ockley, vol. i. p. 250) by Murtadi. (*Merveilles de l'Egypte*, p. 200—202.) [Theophanes (p. 281 C.) converts this journey into a regular campaign of Omar, *ἡπιστάμενον Οὐμαρος*.—Ed.]

with a loud voice,—“God is victorious. O Lord, give us an easy conquest!” and pitching his tent of coarse hair, calmly seated himself on the ground. After signing the capitulation, he entered the city without fear or precaution; and courteously discoursed with the patriarch concerning its religious antiquities.* Sophronius bowed before his new master, and secretly muttered, in the words of Daniel,—“The abomination of desolation is in the holy place.”† At the hour of prayer they stood together in the church of the resurrection; but the caliph refused to perform his devotions, and contented himself with praying on the steps of the church of Constantine. To the patriarch he disclosed his prudent and honourable motive. “Had I yielded,” said Omar, “to your request, the Moslems of a future age would have infringed the treaty, under colour of imitating my example.” By his command the ground of the temple of Solomon was prepared for the foundation of a mosch;‡ and, during a residence of ten days, he regulated the present and future state of his Syrian conquests. Medina might be jealous, lest the caliph should be detained by the sanctity of Jerusalem or the beauty of Damascus; her apprehensions were dispelled by his prompt and voluntary return to the tomb of the apostle.§

* The Arabs boast of an old prophecy preserved at Jerusalem, and describing the name, the religion, and the person of Omar, the future conqueror. By such arts the Jews are said to have soothed the pride of their foreign masters, Cyrus and Alexander. (Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. 11, c. 1. 8. p. 547. 579—582.)

† Τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως τὸ ῥθιν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου ἐστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 281. This prediction, which had already served for Antiochus and the Romans, was again refitted for the present occasion, by the economy of Sophronius, one of the deepest theologians of the Monothelite controversy.

‡ According to the accurate survey of D’Anville (Dissertation sur l’Ancienne Jerusalem, p. 42—54), the mosch of Omar, enlarged and embellished by succeeding caliphs, covered the ground of the ancient temple (πάλαιον τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ δάπεδον, says Phocas), a length of two hundred and fifteen, a breadth of one hundred and seventy-two, *toises*. The Nubian geographer declares, that this magnificent structure was second only in size and beauty to the great mosch of Cordova (p. 113), whose present state Mr. Swinburne has so elegantly represented. (Travels into Spain, p. 296—302.)

§ Of the many Arabic tarikhs or chronicles of Jerusalem (D’Herbelot p. 867), Ockley found one among the Pocock MSS. of Oxford (vol. i. p. 257), which he has used to supply the defective narrative of Al Wakidi.

To achieve what yet remained of the Syrian war, the caliph had formed two separate armies; a chosen detachment, under Amrou and Yezid, was left in the camp of Palestine; while the larger division, under the standard of Abu Obeidah and Caled, marched away to the north against Antioch and Aleppo. The latter of these, the *Beræa* of the Greeks, was not yet illustrious as the capital of a province or a kingdom; and the inhabitants, by anticipating their submission, and pleading their poverty, obtained a moderate composition for their lives and religion. But the castle of Aleppo,* distinct from the city, stood erect on a lofty artificial mound: the sides were sharpened to a precipice, and faced with freestone; and the breadth of the ditch might be filled with water from the neighbouring springs. After the loss of three thousand men, the garrison was still equal to the defence; and Youkinna, their valiant and hereditary chief, had murdered his brother, a holy monk, for daring to pronounce the name of peace. In a siege of four or five months, the hardest of the Syrian war, great numbers of the Saracens were killed and wounded: their removal to the distance of a mile could not seduce the vigilance of Youkinna: nor could the Christians be terrified by the execution of three hundred captives, whom they beheaded before the castle wall. The silence, and at length the complaints, of Abu Obeidah informed the caliph, that their hope and patience were consumed at the foot of this impregnable fortress. "I am variously affected," replied Omar, "by the difference of your success: but I chargo you by no means to raise the siege of the castle. Your retreat would diminish the reputation of our arms, and encourage the infidels to fall upon you on all sides. Remain before Aleppo till God shall determine the event, and forage with your horse round the adjacent country." The exhortation of the commander of the faithful was fortified by a supply of volun-

* The Persian historian of Timur (tom. iii. l. 5, c. 21, p. 300) describes the castle of Aleppo, as founded on a rock one hundred cubits in height; a proof, says the French translator, that he had never visited the place. It is now in the midst of the city, of no strength, with a single gate; the circuit is about five or six hundred paces, and the ditch half full of stagnant water. (*Voyages de Tavernier*, tom. i. p. 149. *Pocock*, vol. ii. part 1, p. 150.) The fortresses of the East are contemptible to a European eye.

teers from all the tribes of Arabia, who arrived in the camp on horses or camels. Among these was Dames, of a servile birth, but of gigantic size and intrepid resolution. The forty-seventh day of his service he proposed, with only thirty men, to make an attempt on the castle. The experience and testimony of Caled recommended his offer; and Abu Obeidah admonished his brethren not to despise the baser origin of Dames, since he himself, could he relinquish the public care, would cheerfully serve under the banner of the slave. His design was covered by the appearance of a retreat; and the camp of the Saracens was pitched about a league from Aleppo. The thirty adventurers lay in ambush at the foot of the hill; and Dames at length succeeded in his inquiries, though he was provoked by the ignorance of his Greek captives. "God curse these dogs," said the illiterate Arab, "what a strange barbarous language they speak." At the darkest hour of the night he scaled the most accessible height, which he had diligently surveyed, a place where the stones were less entire, or the slope less perpendicular, or the guard less vigilant. Seven of the stoutest Saracens mounted on each other's shoulders, and the weight of the column was sustained on the broad and sinewy back of the gigantic slave. The foremost in this painful ascent could grasp and climb the lowest part of the battlements; they silently stabbed and cast down the sentinels; and the thirty brethren, repeating a pious ejaculation, "O apostle of God, help and deliver us!" were successively drawn up by the long folds of their turbans. With bold and cautious footsteps, Dames explored the palace of the governor, who celebrated, in riotous merriment, the festival of his deliverance. From thence returning to his companions, he assaulted on the inside the entrance of the castle. They overpowered the guard, unbolted the gate, let down the drawbridge, and defended the narrow pass, till the arrival of Caled, with the dawn of day, relieved their danger and assured their conquest. Youkinna, a formidable foe, became an active and useful proselyte; and the general of the Saracens expressed his regard for the most humble merit, by detaining the army at Aleppo till Dames was cured of his honourable wounds. The capital of Syria was still covered by the castle of Aazaz and the iron bridge of the Orontes. After the loss of those important posts, and the

defeat of the last of the Roman armies, the luxury of Antioch* trembled and obeyed. Her safety was ransomed with three hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the throne of the successors of Alexander, the seat of the Roman government in the East, which had been decorated by Cæsar with the titles of free, and holy, and inviolate, was degraded under the yoke of the caliphs to the secondary rank of a provincial town.†

In the life of Heraclius, the glories of the Persian war are clouded on either hand by the disgrace and weakness of his more early and his later days. When the successors of Mahomet unsheathed the sword of war and religion, he was astonished at the boundless prospect of toil and danger; his nature was indolent, nor could the infirm and frigid age of the emperor be kindled to a second effort. The sense of shame, and the importunities of the Syrians, prevented his hasty departure from the scene of action; but the hero was no more; and the loss of Damascus and Jerusalem, the bloody fields of Aiznadin and Yermuk, may be imputed in some degree to the absence or misconduct of the sovereign. Instead of defending the sepulchre of Christ, he involved the church and state in a metaphysical controversy for the unity of his will; and while Heraclius crowned the offspring of his second nuptials, he was tamely stripped of the most valuable part of their inheritance. In the cathedral of Antioch, in the presence of the bishops, at the foot of the crucifix, he bewailed the sins of the prince and people; but

* The date of the conquest of Antioch by the Arabs is of some importance. By comparing the years of the world in the chronography of Theophanes with the years of the Hegira in the history of Elmacin, we shall determine, that it was taken between January 23 and September 1, of the year of Christ 638. (Pagi, Critica, in Baron. Annal. tom. ii. p. 812, 813.) Al Wakidi (Ockley, vol. i. p. 314) assigns that event to Tuesday, August 21, an inconsistent date; since Easter fell that year on April 5, the 21st of August must have been a Friday. (See the Tables of the Art de Vérifier les Dates.) [Clinton suggests July 21, which fell on a Tuesday, as perhaps the true date. Heraclius had reached Constantinople before July 4, and Antioch surrendered soon after his departure. F. R. ii. 176.—Ed.] † His bounteous edict, which tempted the grateful city to assume the victory of Pharsalia for a perpetual era, is given *ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μητροπόλει, ἱερᾷ καὶ δούλῳ καὶ αὐτονόμῳ, καὶ ἀρχούῳ καὶ προκαθεμένῳ τῆς ἀνατολῆς*. Jol:n Malalas, in Chron. p. 91, edit. Venet. We may distinguish his authentic information of domestic facts from his gross ignorance of general

his confession instructed the world, that it was vain, and perhaps impious, to resist the judgment of God. The Saracens were invincible in fact, since they were invincible in opinion; and the desertion of Youkinna, his false repentance and repeated perfidy, might justify the suspicion of the emperor, that he was encompassed by traitors and apostates, who conspired to betray his person and their country to the enemies of Christ. In the hour of adversity, his superstition was agitated by the omens and dreams of a falling crown; and, after bidding an eternal farewell to Syria, he secretly embarked with a few attendants, and absolved the faith of his subjects.* Constantine, his eldest son, had been stationed with forty thousand men at Cæsarea, the civil metropolis of the three provinces of Palestine. But his private interest recalled him to the Byzantine court; and, after the flight of his father, he felt himself an unequal champion to the united force of the caliph. His vanguard was boldly attacked by three hundred Arabs and a thousand black slaves, who, in the depth of winter, had climbed the snowy mountains of Libanus, and who were speedily followed by the victorious squadrons of Caled himself. From the north and south the troops of Antioch and Jerusalem advanced along the sea-shore, till their banners were joined under the walls of the Phœnician cities; Tripoli and Tyre were betrayed; and a fleet of fifty transports, which entered without distrust the captive harbours, brought a seasonable supply of arms and provisions to the camp of the Saracens. Their labours were terminated by the unexpected surrender of Cæsarea: the Roman prince had embarked in the night;† and the defenceless citizens solicited their pardon

history.

* See Ockley (vol. i. p. 308. 312), who laughs at the credulity of his author. When Heraclius bade farewell to Syria, *Vale Syria et ultimum vale!* he prophesied that the Romans should never re-enter the province till the birth of an inauspicious child, the future scourge of the empire. Abulfeda, p. 68. I am perfectly ignorant of the mystic sense, or nonsense, of this prediction. [Antioch, however, without any evidence of the fulfilment of this prophecy was recovered for a time by Nicephorus and John Zimisces in 966, after having been held by the Saracens 328 years. See the close of chapter 52.—Ed.]

† In the loose and obscure chronology of the times, I am guided by an authentic record (in the book of ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus), which certifies that June 4, A.D. 638, the emperor crowned his younger son Heraclius

with an offering of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. The remainder of the province, Ramlah, Ptolemais or Acre, Sichern or Neapolis, Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Sidon, Gabala, Laodicea, Apamea, Hierapolis, no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the caliphs, seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings.*

The sieges and battles of six campaigns had consumed many thousands of the Moslems. They died with the reputation and the cheerfulness of martyrs; and the simplicity of their faith may be expressed in the words of an Arabian youth, when he embraced, for the last time, his sister and mother. "It is not," said he, "the delicacies of Syria, or fading delights of this world, that have prompted me to devote my life in the cause of religion. But I seek the favour of God and his apostle; and I have heard, from one of the companions of the prophet, that the spirits of the martyrs will be lodged in the crops of green birds, who shall taste the fruits, and drink of the rivers of paradise. Farewell, we shall meet again among the groves and fountains which God has provided for his elect." The faithful captives might exercise a passive and more arduous resolution; and a cousin of Mahomet is celebrated for refusing, after an abstinence of three days, the wine and pork, the only nourishment that was allowed by the malice of the infidels. The frailty of some weaker brethren exasperated the implacable spirit of fanaticism; and the father of Amer deplored, in pathetic strains, the apostacy and damnation of a son, who had renounced the promises of God, and the intercession of the prophet, to occupy, with the priests and dea-

the presence of his eldest, Constantine, and in the palace of Constantinople; that January 1, A.D. 639, the royal procession visited the great church, and on the fourth of the same month the hippodrome. [This passage in Constantin. Porphyrog. de Cerem. 11. 27, says, that the coronation of the younger Heraclius was celebrated *κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην τοῦ Ἰουλίου μηνός, ἰνδ. ια*, which is July 4, 638. Clinton, F. R. ii. 175. The six campaigns in Syria were from 633 to 638 inclusive.—ED.]

* Sixty-five years before Christ, Syria Pontusque monumenta sunt Cn. Pompeii virtutis (Vell. Patercul. 2. 38), rather of his fortune and power; he adjudged Syria to be a Roman province, and the last of the Seleucides were incapable of drawing a sword in the defence of their patrimony. (See the original texts collected by Usher, Annal. p. 420.)

cons, the lowest mansions of hell. The more fortunate Arabs who survived the war, and persevered in the faith, were restrained by their abstemious leader from the abuse of prosperity. After a refreshment of three days, Abu Obeidah withdrew his troops from the pernicious contagion of the luxury of Antioch, and assured the caliph that their religion and virtue could only be preserved by the hard discipline of poverty and labour. But the virtue of Omar, however rigorous to himself, was kind and liberal to his brethren. After a just tribute of praise and thanksgiving, he dropped a tear of compassion; and, sitting down on the ground, wrote an answer, in which he mildly censured the severity of his lieutenant. "God," said the successor of the prophet, "has not forbidden the use of the good things of this world to faithful men, and such as have performed good works. Therefore you ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, and partake freely of those good things which the country affordeth. If any of the Saracens have no family in Arabia, they may marry in Syria; and whosoever of them wants any female slaves, he may purchase as many as he hath occasion for. The conquerors prepared to use, or to abuse, this gracious permission; but the year of their triumph was marked by a mortality of men and cattle; and twenty-five thousand Saracens were snatched away from the possession of Syria. The death of Abu Obeidah might be lamented by the Christians; but his brethren recollected that he was one of the ten elect, whom the prophet had named as the heirs of paradise.* Calad survived his brethren about three years; and the tomb of the sword of God is shown in the neighbourhood of Emesa. His valour, which founded in Arabia and Syria the empire of the caliphs, was fortified by the opinion of a special providence; and as long as he wore a cap, which had been blessed by Mahomet, he deemed himself invulnerable amidst the darts of the infidels.

The place of the first conquerors was supplied by a new generation of their children and countrymen: Syria became the seat and support of the house of Ommiyah; and the

* Abulfeda, *Annal. Moslem.* p. 73. Mahomet could artfully vary the praises of his disciples. Of Omar he was accustomed to say, that if a prophet could arise after himself, it would be Omar; and that in a general calamity, Omar would be excepted by the divine justice

revenue, the soldiers, the ships of that powerful kingdom, were consecrated to enlarge on every side the empire of the caliphs. But the Saracens despise a superfluity of fame; and their historians scarcely condescend to mention the subordinate conquests which are lost in the splendour and rapidity of their victorious career. To the *north* of Syria, they passed mount Taurus, and reduced to their obedience the province of Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus, the ancient monument of the Assyrian kings. Beyond a second ridge of the same mountains, they spread the flame of war, rather than the light of religion, as far as the shores of the Euxine and the neighbourhood of Constantinople. To the *east* they advanced to the banks and sources of the Euphrates and Tigris;* the long-disputed barrier of Rome and Persia was for ever confounded; the walls of Edessa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, which had resisted the arms and engines of Sapor or Nushirvan, were levelled in the dust; and the holy city of Abgarus might vainly produce the epistle or the image of Christ to an unbelieving conqueror. To the *west* the Syrian kingdom is bounded by the sea; and the ruin of Aradus, a small island or peninsula on the coast, was postponed during ten years. But the hills of Libanus abounded in timber; the trade of Phœnicia was populous in mariners; and a fleet of seventeen hundred barks was equipped and manned by the natives of the desert. The imperial navy of the Romans fled before them from the Pamphylian rocks to the Hellespont; but the spirit of the emperor, a grandson of Heraclius, had been subdued before the combat by a dream and a pun.† The Saracens rode masters of the sea; and the islands of Cyprus,

(Ockley, vol. i. p. 221.)

* Al Wakidi had likewise written a history of the conquest of Diarbekir or Mesopotamia (Ockley, at the end of the second vol.), which our interpreters do not appear to have seen. The chronicle of Dionysius of Telmar, the Jacobite patriarch, records the taking of Edessa, A.D. 637, and of Dara, A.D. 641 (Asseman. Biblot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 103), and the attentive may glean some doubtful information from the Chronography of Theophanes (p. 285—287). Most of the towns of Mesopotamia yielded by surrender (Abulpharag. p. 112).

† He dreamt that he was at Thessalonica—a harmless and unmeaning vision; but his soothsayer or his cowardice understood the sure omen of a defeat concealed in that inauspicious word, *θὲς ἀλλῶ νίκην*, Give to another the victory (Theophan. p. 286. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. 14, p. 88).

Rhodes, and the Cyclades, were successively exposed to their rapacious visits. Three hundred years before the Christian era, the memorable, though fruitless, siege of Rhodes,* by Demetrius, had furnished that maritime republic with the materials and the subject of a trophy. A gigantic statue of Apollo, or the sun, seventy cubits in height, was erected at the entrance of the harbour, a monument of the freedom and the arts of Greece. After standing fifty-six years, the colossus of Rhodes was overthrown by an earthquake; but the massy trunk, and huge fragments, lay scattered eight centuries on the ground, and are often described as one of the wonders of the ancient world. They were collected by the diligence of the Saracens, and sold to a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who is said to have laden nine hundred camels with the weight of the brass metal: an enormous weight, though we should include the hundred colossal figures,† and the three thousand statues, which adorned the prosperity of the city of the sun.

II. The conquest of Egypt may be explained by the character of the victorious Saracen, one of the first of his nation, in an age when the meanest of the brethren was exalted above his nature by the spirit of enthusiasm. The birth of Amrou was at once base and illustrious; his mother, a notorious prostitute, was unable so decide among five of the Koreish; but the proof of resemblance adjudged the child to Aasi, the oldest of her lovers.‡ The youth of Amrou was impelled by the passions and prejudices of his kindred: his poetic genius was exercised in satirical verses against the person and doctrine of Mahomet; his dexterity was employed by the reigning faction to pursue the religious

* Every passage and every fact that relates to the isle, the city, and the colossus of Rhodes, are compiled in the laborious treatise of Meursius, who has bestowed the same diligence on the two larger islands of Crete and Cyprus. See in the third volume of his works, the *Rhodus* of Meursius (l. 1, c. 15, p. 715—719). The Byzantine writers, Theophanes and Constantine, have ignorantly prolonged the term to one thousand three hundred and sixty years, and ridiculously divide the weight among thirty thousand camels.

† Centum colossi alium nobilitaturi locum, says Pliny, with his usual spirit. *Hist. Natur.* 34. 18.

‡ We learn this anecdote from a spirited old woman, who reviled to their faces the caliph and his friend. She was encouraged by the silence of Amrou and the liberality of Moawiyah (*Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem.* p. 111).

exiles who had taken refuge in the court of the Æthiopian king.* Yet he returned from this embassy a secret proselyte; his reason or his interest determined him to renounce the worship of idols; he escaped from Mecca with his friend Caled, and the prophet of Medina enjoyed at the same moment the satisfaction of embracing the two firmest champions of his cause. The impatience of Amrou to lead the armies of the faithful was checked by the reproof of Omar, who advised him not to seek power and dominion, since he who is a subject to-day, may be a prince to-morrow. Yet his merit was not overlooked by the two first successors of Mahomet; they were indebted to his arms for the conquest of Palestine; and in all the battles and sieges of Syria, he united with the temper of a chief the valour of an adventurous soldier. In a visit to Medina, the caliph expressed a wish to survey the sword which had cut down so many Christian warriors; the son of Aasi unsheathed a short and ordinary scymetar; and as he perceived the surprise of Omar, "Alas," said the modest Saracen, "the sword itself, without the arm of its master, is neither sharper nor more weighty than the sword of Pharezdak the poet."† After the conquest of Egypt he was recalled by the jealousy of the caliph Othman; but in the subsequent troubles, the ambition of a soldier, a statesman, and an orator, emerged from a private station. His powerful support, both in council and in the field, established the throne of the Omniades; the administration and revenue of Egypt were restored by the gratitude of Moawiyah to a faithful friend who had raised himself above the rank of a subject; and Amrou ended his days in the palace and city which he had founded on the banks of the Nile. His dying speech to his children is celebrated by the Arabians as a model of eloquence and wisdom: he deplored the errors of his youth; but if the penitent was still infected by the vanity of a poet, he might exaggerate the venom and mischief of his impious compositions.‡

* Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*, tom. ii. p. 46, &c. who quotes the Abyssinian history, or romance, of Abdel Balcides. Yet the fact of the embassy and ambassador may be allowed.

† This saying is preserved by Pocock (*Not. ad Carmen Tograi*, p. 184), and justly applauded by Mr. Harris (*Philosophical Arrangements*, p. 350).

‡ For the life and character of Amrou,

From his camp, in Palestine, Amrou had surprised or anticipated the caliph's leave for the invasion of Egypt.* The magnanimous Omar trusted in his God and his sword, which had shaken the thrones of Chosroes and Cæsar; but when he compared the slender force of the Moslems with the greatness of the enterprise, he condemned his own rashness, and listened to his timid companions. The pride and the greatness of Pharaoh were familiar to the readers of the Koran; and a tenfold repetition of prodigies had been scarcely sufficient to effect, not the victory, but the flight, of six hundred thousand of the children of Israel; the cities of Egypt were many and populous; their architecture was strong and solid; the Nile, with its numerous branches, was alone an insuperable barrier; and the granary of the imperial city would be obstinately defended by the Roman powers. In this perplexity, the commander of the faithful resigned himself to the decision of chance, or, in his opinion, of Providence. At the head of only four thousand Arabs, the intrepid Amrou had marched away from his station of Gaza when he was overtaken by the messenger of Omar. "If you are still in Syria," said the ambiguous mandate, "retreat without delay; but if, at the receipt of this epistle, you have already reached the frontiers of Egypt, advance with confidence, and depend on the succour of God and of your brethren." The experience, perhaps the secret intelligence, of Amrou had taught him to suspect the mutability of courts; and he continued his march till his tents were unquestionably pitched on Egyptian ground. He there assembled his officers, broke the seal, perused the epistle, gravely inquired the name and situation of the place, and declared his ready obedience to the commands of the caliph. After a siege of thirty days, he took possession of Farmah

see Ockley (*Hist. of the Saracena*, vol. i. p. 28. 63. 94. 328. 342. 344, and to the end of the volume; vol. ii. p. 51. 55. 57. 74. 110—112. 162) and Otter (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxi. p. 131, 132.) The readers of Tacitus may aptly compare Vespasian and Mucianus with Moawiyah and Amrou. Yet the resemblance is still more in the situation, than in the characters, of the men.

* Al Wakidi had likewise composed a separate history of the conquest of Egypt, which Mr. Ockley could never procure; and his own inquiries (vol. i. p. 344—362) have added very little to the original text of Eutychius (*Annal.* tom. ii. p. 296—323, *vers. Pocock*), the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, who lived three hundred years after the revolution.

or Pelusium, and that key of Egypt, as it has been justly named, unlocked the entrance of the country, as far as the ruins of Heliopolis and the neighbourhood of the modern Cairo.

On the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the east of the pyramids, at a small distance to the south of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, displayed the magnificence of ancient kings. Under the reign of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, the seat of government was removed to the sea-coast; the ancient capital was eclipsed by the arts and opulence of Alexandria; the palaces, and at length the temples, were reduced to a desolate and ruinous condition; yet in the age of Augustus, and even in that of Constantine, Memphis was still numbered among the greatest and most populous of the provincial cities.* The banks of the Nile, in this place of the breadth of three thousand feet, were united by two bridges of sixty and of thirty boats, connected in the middle stream by the small island of Rouda, which was covered with gardens and habitations.† The eastern extremity of the bridge was terminated by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which protected the passage of the river and the second capital of Egypt. This important fortress, which might fairly be described as a part of Memphis or *Misrah*, was invested by the arms of the lieutenant of Omar; a reinforcement of four thousand Saracens soon arrived in his camp; and the military engines, which battered the walls, may be imputed to the art and labour of his Syrian allies. Yet the siege was protracted to seven months; and the rash invaders were encompassed and threatened by the inundation of the Nile.‡ Their

* Strabo, an accurate and attentive spectator, observes of Heliopolis, - *νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ πανήρημος ἡ πόλις* (Geograph. l. 17, p. 1158); but of Memphis he declares, *πόλις δ' ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐανδρος, δευτέρα μὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν* (p. 1161); he notices, however, the mixture of inhabitants and the ruin of the palaces. In the proper Egypt, Ammianus enumerates Memphis among the four cities, *maximis urbibus quibus provincia nitet* (22. 16); and the name of Memphis appears with distinction in the Roman Itinerary and episcopal lists.

† These rare and curious facts (the breadth two thousand nine hundred and forty-six feet), and the bridge of the Nile, are only to be found in the Danish Traveller and the Nubian Geographer (p. 98).

‡ From the month of April, the Nile begins imperceptibly to rise;

last assault was bold and successful; they passed the ditch, which had been fortified with iron spikes, applied their scaling-ladders, entered the fortress with the shout of "God is victorious!" and drove the remnant of the Greeks to their boats, and the isle of Rouda. The spot was afterwards recommended to the conqueror by the easy communication with the gulf and the peninsula of Arabia; the remains of Memphis were deserted; the tents of the Arabs were converted into permanent habitations: and the first mosch was blessed by the presence of fourscore companions of Mahomet.* A new city arose in their camp on the eastward bank of the Nile; and the contiguous quarters of Babylon and Fostat are confounded in their present decay by the appellation of Old Misrah or Cairo, of which they form an extensive suburb. But the name of Cairo, the town of victory, more strictly belongs to the modern capital, which was founded in the tenth century by the Fatimite caliphs.† It has gradually receded from the river; but the continuity of buildings may be traced by an attentive eye from the monuments of Sesostris to those of Saladin.‡

the swell becomes strong and visible in the moon after the summer solstice (Plin. Hist. Nat. 5. 10), and is usually proclaimed at Cairo on St. Peter's day (June 29). A register of thirty successive years marks the greatest height of the waters between July 25 and August 18. (Maillet, *Description de l'Egypte*, lettre 11, p. 67, &c. Pocock's *Description of the East*, vol. i. p. 200. Shaw's *Travels*, p. 383.) [Dr. Lepsius, writing from Cairo, Oct. 16, 1842, says that the Nile "usually attains its greatest height about the beginning of October;" and again from Thebes, Feb. 25, 1845, "when we came here in the beginning of November, the whole plain, as far as the eye could reach, was overflowed and formed one entire sea." *Letters from Egypt*, p. 44. 258, edit. Bohn.—Ed.]

* Murtadi, *Merveilles de l'Egypte*, 243—259. He expatiates on the subject with the zeal and minuteness of a citizen and a bigot, and his local traditions have a strong air of truth and accuracy.

† D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 233.

‡ The position of New and Old Cairo is well known, and has been often described. Two writers, who were intimately acquainted with ancient and modern Egypt, have fixed, after a learned inquiry, the city of Memphis at *Gizeh*, directly opposite the Old Cairo (Sicard, *Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant*, tom. vi. p. 5, 6. Shaw's *Observations and Travels*, p. 296—304). Yet we may not disregard the authority or the arguments of Pocock (vol. i. p. 25—41), Niebuhr (*Voyage*, tom. i. p. 77—106), and, above all, of D'Anville (*Description de l'Egypte*, p. 111, 112. 130—149), who have removed Memphis towards the village of Mohannah, some miles

Yet the Arabs, after a glorious and profitable enterprise, must have retreated to the desert, had they not found a powerful alliance in the heart of the country. The rapid conquest of Alexander was assisted by the superstition and revolt of the natives; they abhorred their Persian oppressors, the disciples of the Magi, who had burnt the temples of Egypt, and feasted with sacrilegious appetite on the flesh of the god Apis.* After a period of ten centuries the same revolution was renewed by a similar cause; and in the support of an incomprehensible creed, the zeal of the Coptic Christians was equally ardent. I have already explained the origin and progress of the Monophysite controversy, and the persecution of the emperors, which converted a sect into a nation, and alienated Egypt from their religion and government. The Saracens were received as the deliverers of the Jacobite church; and a secret and effectual treaty was opened during the siege of Memphis between a victorious army and a people of slaves. A rich and noble Egyptian of the name of Mokawkas, had dissembled his faith to obtain the administration of his province; in the disorders of the Persian war he aspired to independence; the embassy of Mahomet ranked him among princes; but he declined, with rich gifts and ambiguous compliments, the proposal of a new religion.† The abuse of his trust exposed him to the resentment of Heraclius; his submission was delayed by arrogance and fear; and his

farther to the south. In their heat, the disputants have forgotten that the ample space of a metropolis covers and annihilates the far greater part of the controversy. [Cairo is never called anything by the Arabs now but Masr, which is the present form of Misraim. When the new town was built, it was distinguished by the addition of El Qahireh, or the Victorious, which has been fashioned by Europeans into Cairo. The old town is known to the natives only as Masr el Atiqeh—Old Misraim. Lepsius, p. 44.—Ed.]

* See Herodotus, l. 3, c. 27—29. Ælian. Hist. Var. l. 4, c. 8. Suidas in *Ὀξύς*, tom. ii. p. 774. Diodor. Sicul. tom. ii. l. 17, p. 197, edit. Wesseling. *Τῶν Ἱεροῶν ἡσεβητόρων εἰς τὰ ἱερά*, says the last of these historians.

† Mokawkas sent the prophet two Coptic damsels, with two maids, and one eunuch, an alabaster vase, an ingot of pure gold, oil, honey, and the finest white linen of Egypt, with a horse, a mule, and an ass, distinguished by their respective qualifications. The embassy of Mahomet was dispatched from Medina in the seventh year of the Hegira (A.D. 628). See Gagnier (*Vie de Mahomet*, tom. ii. p. 255, 256. 303) from Al Jannabi.

conscience was prompted by interest to throw himself on the favour of the nation and the support of the Saracens. In his first conference with Amrou, he heard without indignation the usual option of the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. "The Greeks," replied Mokawkas, "are determined to abide the determination of the sword; but with the Greeks I desire no communion, either in this world or in the next, and I abjure for ever the Byzantine tyrant, his synod of Chalcedon, and his Melchite slaves. For myself and my brethren, we are resolved to live and die in the profession of the gospel and unity of Christ. It is impossible for us to embrace the revelations of your prophet; but we are desirous of peace, and cheerfully submit to pay tribute and obedience to his temporal successors." The tribute was ascertained at two pieces of gold for the head of every Christian; but old men, monks, women, and children of both sexes, under sixteen years of age, were exempted from this personal assessment; the Copts above and below Memphis swore allegiance to the caliph, and promised a hospitable entertainment of three days to every Mussulman who should travel through their country. By this charter of security, the ecclesiastical and civil tyranny of the Melchites was destroyed;* the anathemas of St. Cyril were thundered from every pulpit; and the sacred edifices, with the patrimony of the church, were restored to the national communion of the Jacobites, who enjoyed without moderation the moment of triumph and revenge. At the pressing summons of Amrou, their patriarch Benjamin emerged from his desert; and, after the first interview, the courteous Arab affected to declare, that he had never conversed with a Christian priest of more innocent manners and a more

* The prefecture of Egypt, and the conduct of the war, had been trusted by Heraclius to the patriarch Cyrus. (Theophan. p. 280, 281.) "In Spain," said James II., "do you not consult your priests?" "We do," replied the Catholic ambassador, "and our affairs succeed accordingly." I know not how to relate the plans of Cyrus, of paying tribute without impairing the revenue, and of converting Omar by his marriage with the emperor's daughter. (Nicephor. Breviar. p. 17, 18.) [Never was "the ruling passion strong in death," more strikingly displayed. On the very eve of final extinction, the African church still believed the shadow of its power to be substantial, nor could perceive that the imposing fabric, which Cyril had assisted so ostentatiously in raising, was tottering on its unsound base, and soon to be levelled

venerable aspect.* In the march from Memphis to Alexandria, the lieutenant of Omar intrusted his safety to the zeal and gratitude of the Egyptians; the roads and bridges were diligently repaired; and in every step of his progress, he could depend on a constant supply of provisions and intelligence. The Greeks of Egypt, whose numbers could scarcely equal a tenth of the natives, were overwhelmed by the universal defection; they had ever been hated, they were no longer feared; the magistrate fled from his tribunal, the bishop from his altar; and the distant garrisons were surprised or starved by the surrounding multitudes. Had not the Nile afforded a safe and ready conveyance to the sea, not an individual could have escaped, who, by birth, or language, or office, or religion, was connected with their odious name.

By the retreat of the Greeks from the provinces of Upper Egypt, a considerable force was collected in the island of Delta; the natural and artificial channels of the Nile afforded a succession of strong and defensible posts; and the road to Alexandria was laboriously cleared by the victory of the Saracens in two-and-twenty days of general or partial combat. In their annals of conquest, the siege of Alexandria† is perhaps the most arduous and important enterprise. The first trading city in the world was abundantly replenished with the means of subsistence and defence. Her numerous inhabitants fought for the dearest of human rights, religion and property; and the enmity of the natives seemed to exclude them from the common benefit of peace and toleration. The sea was continually open; and if Heraclius had been awake to the public distress, fresh armies of Romans and Barbarians might have been poured into the harbour to save the second capital of the empire. A circumference of ten miles would have

with the ground.—ED.]

* See the life of Benjamin, in Renaudot (*Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin.* p. 156—172), who has enriched the conquest of Egypt with some facts from the Arabic text of Severus the Jacobite historian.

† The local description of Alexandria is perfectly ascertained by the master-hand of the first of geographers (D'Anville, *Mémoire sur l'Egypte*, p. 52—63); but we may borrow the eyes of the modern travellers, more especially of Thevenot (*Voyage au Levant*, part 1, p. 381—395), Pocock (vol. i. p. 2—13), and Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 34—43). Of the two modern rivals, Savary and Volney, the one may amuse, the other will instruct.

scattered the forces of the Greeks, and favoured the stratagems of an active enemy; but the two sides of an oblong square were covered by the sea and the lake Maræotis, and each of the narrow ends exposed a front of no more than ten furlongs. The efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the difficulty of the attempt and the value of the prize. From the throne of Medina, the eyes of Omar were fixed on the camp and city; his voice excited to arms the Arabian tribes and the veterans of Syria; and the merit of a holy war was recommended by the peculiar fame and fertility of Egypt. Anxious for the ruin or expulsion of their tyrants, the faithful natives devoted their labours to the service of Amrou; some sparks of martial spirit were perhaps re-kindled by the example of their allies; and the sanguine hopes of Mokawkas had fixed his sepulchre in the church of St. John of Alexandria. Eutychius the patriarch observes, that the Saracens fought with the courage of lions; they repulsed the frequent and almost daily sallies of the besieged, and soon assaulted in their turn the walls and towers of the city. In every attack, the sword, the banner of Amrou, glittered in the van of the Moslems. On a memorable day, he was betrayed by his imprudent valour: his followers who had entered the citadel were driven back; and the general, with a friend and a slave, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Christians. When Amrou was conducted before the prefect, he remembered his dignity and forgot his situation: a lofty demeanour, and resolute language, revealed the lieutenant of the caliph, and the battle-axe of a soldier was already raised to strike off the head of the audacious captive. His life was saved by the readiness of his slave, who instantly gave his master a blow on the face, and commanded him, with an angry tone, to be silent in the presence of his superiors. The credulous Greek was deceived; he listened to the offer of a treaty, and his prisoners were dismissed in the hope of a more respectable embassy, till the joyful acclamations of the camp announced the return of their general, and insulted the folly of the infidels. At length, after a siege of fourteen months,* and the loss of three-and-twenty thousand men,

* Both Eutychius (*Annal.* tom. ii. p. 319) and Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 28), concur in fixing the taking of Alexandria to Friday of

the Saracens prevailed: the Greeks embarked their dispirited and diminished numbers, and the standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the capital of Egypt. "I have taken," said Amrou to the caliph, "the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content myself with observing, that it contains four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theatres or places of amusement, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by force of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Moslems are impatient to seize the fruits of their victory."* The commander of the faithful rejected with firmness the idea of pillage, and directed his lieutenant to reserve the wealth and revenue of Alexandria for the public service and the propagation of the faith; the inhabitants were numbered; a tribute was imposed; the zeal and resentment of the Jacobites were curbed, and the Melchites, who submitted to the Arabian yoke, were indulged in the obscure but tranquil exercise of their worship. The intelligence of this disgraceful and calamitous event afflicted the declining health of the emperor; and Heraclius died of a dropy about seven weeks after the loss of Alexandria.†

the new moon of Moharram of the twentieth year of the Hegira. (December 22, A.D. 640.) In reckoning backwards fourteen months spent before Alexandria, seven months before Babylon, &c. Amrou might have invaded Egypt about the end of the year 638; but we are assured that he entered the country the twelfth of Bayni, sixth of June (Murtadi, *Merveilles de l'Egypte*, p. 164. Severus, *apud Renaudot*, p. 162). The Saracen, and afterwards Louis IX. of France, halted at Pelusium, or Damietta, during the season of the inundation of the Nile. [These dates are confirmed by Clinton. The Arabian month, Moharram, commenced that year on Thursday, Dec. 21; consequently Alexandria surrendered on Friday, Dec. 22. Bayni, or Payni, was a fixed Alexandrian month, which began on May 26. F. R. ii. 176. F. H. iii. 356.—ED.] * Eutych. *Annal.* tom. ii. p. 316. 319.

† Notwithstanding some inconsistencies of Theophanes and Cedrenus, the accuracy of Pagi (*Critica*, tom. ii. p. 824) has extracted from Nicephorus and the *Chronicon Orientale* the true date of the death of Heraclius, February 11, A.D. 641; fifty days after the loss of Alexandria. A fourth of that time was sufficient to convey the intelligence. [Clinton, whose invaluable *Chronology* terminates here, deduces from the same authorities that Heraclius died on Saturday, Feb. 10, A.D. 641. F. R. ii. 177.—ED.]

Under the minority of his grandson, the clamours of a people, deprived of their daily sustenance, compelled the Byzantine court to undertake the recovery of the capital of Egypt. In the space of four years, the harbour and fortifications of Alexandria were twice occupied by a fleet and army of Romans. They were twice expelled by the valour of Amrou, who was recalled by the domestic peril from the distant wars of Tripoli and Nubia. But the facility of the attempt, the repetition of the insult, and the obstinacy of the resistance, provoked him to swear, that if a third time he drove the infidels into the sea, he would render Alexandria as accessible on all sides as the house of a prostitute. Faithful to his promise, he dismantled several parts of the walls and towers, but the people were spared in the chastisement of the city, and the mosch of *Mercy* was erected on the spot where the victorious general had stopped the fury of his troops.

I should deceive the expectation of the reader, if I passed in silence the fate of the Alexandrian library, as it is described by the learned Abulpharagius. The spirit of Amrou was more curious and liberal than that of his brethren, and in his leisure hours, the Arabian chief was pleased with the conversation of John, the last disciple of Ammonius, and who derived the surname of *Philoponus* from his laborious studies of grammar and philosophy.* Emboldened by this familiar intercourse, Philoponus presumed to solicit a gift, inestimable in *his* opinion, contemptible in that of the Bar-

* Many treatises of this lover of labour (*φιλόπονος*) are still extant; but for readers of the present age, the printed and unpublished are nearly in the same predicament. Moses and Aristotle are the chief objects of his verbose commentaries, one of which is dated as early as May 10, A.D. 617 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ix. p. 458—468). A modern (John Le Clerc), who sometimes assumed the same name, was equal to old Philoponus in diligence, and far superior in good sense and real knowledge. [The earliest known work of Philoponus is his Treatise against Joannes, C P. which was composed about A.D. 568; his Commentary on the Physics of Aristotle in 617 is his latest. He was born about A.D. 525. See Clinton (F. R. ii. 164. 176. 331—333), who has closely investigated this subject. If Philoponus had been alive at the capture of Alexandria, he must have attained the great age of 116 years. Such longevity could not have escaped notice. As all writers are silent respecting it, we may infer that he died long before the time at which he is said by Abulpharagius to have had this extraordinary interview with Amrou.—ED.]

barians—the royal library, which alone among the spoils of Alexandria, had not been appropriated by the visit and the seal of the conqueror. Amrou was inclined to gratify the wish of the grammarian, but his rigid integrity refused to alienate the minutest object without the consent of the caliph; and the well-known answer of Omar was inspired by the ignorance of a fanatic. “If these writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be preserved: if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed.” The sentence was executed with blind obedience: the volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the four thousand baths of the city; and such was their incredible multitude, that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of this precious fuel. Since the Dynasties of Abulpharagius* have been given to the world in a Latin version, the tale has been repeatedly transcribed; and every scholar, with pious indignation, has deplored the irreparable shipwreck of the learning, the arts, and the genius, of antiquity. For my own part, I am strongly tempted to deny both the fact and the consequences. The fact is indeed marvellous. “Read and wonder!” says the historian himself: and the solitary report of a stranger who wrote at the end of six hundred years on the confines of Media, is overbalanced by the silence of two annalists of a more early date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt, and the most ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has amply described the conquest of Alexandria.† The rigid sentence of Omar is repugnant to the sound and orthodox precept of the Mahometan casuists: they expressly declare that the religious books of the Jews and Christians, which are acquired by the right of war, should never be committed to the flames; and that the works of profane science, historians or poets, physicians or philosophers, may be lawfully applied to the use of the faithful.‡ A more

* Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 114, vers. Pocock. Audi quid factum sit et mirare. It would be endless to enumerate the moderns who have wondered and believed, but I may distinguish with honour the rational scepticism of Renaudot (Hist. Alex. Patriarch. p. 170): historia . . . aliquid *ἀπίστον* ut Arabibus familiare est.

† This curious anecdote will be vainly sought in the annals of Eutychius and the Saracenic history of Elmacin. The silence of Abulfeda, Murtadi, and a crowd of Moalems, is less conclusive from their ignorance of Christian literature.

‡ See Reland, de Jure Militari Moham-

destructive zeal may perhaps be attributed to the first successors of Mahomet; yet in this instance, the conflagration would have speedily expired in the deficiency of materials. I shall not recapitulate the disasters of the Alexandrian library, the involuntary flame that was kindled by Cæsar in his own defence,* or the mischievous bigotry of the Christians, who studied to destroy the monuments of idolatry.† But if we gradually descend from the age of the Antonines to that of Theodosius, we shall learn from a chain of contemporary witnesses, that the royal palace and the temple of Serapis no longer contained the four, or the seven, hundred thousand volumes, which had been assembled by the curiosity and magnificence of the Ptolemies.‡ Perhaps the church and seat of the patriarchs might be enriched with a

medanorum, in his third volume of *Dissertations*, p. 37. The reason for not burning the religious books of the Jews or Christians is derived from the respect that is due to the *name* of God.

* Consult the collections of Frensheim (*Supplement. Livian. c. 12. 43*) and Usher (*Annal. p. 469*). Livy himself had styled the Alexandrian library, *elegantiae regum curæque egregium opus*; a liberal encomium, for which he is partly criticised by the narrow stoicism of Seneca (*De Tranquillitate Animi, c. 9*), whose wisdom, on this occasion, deviates into nonsense.

† See this *History*, vol. iii. p. 289. [The loss sustained in Cæsar's time was repaired by Antony's gift to Cleopatra of the library of Pergamus. Alexandria possessed two libraries: one, that of the Bruchion, which was destroyed during the popular tumults in the reign of Gallienus, A.D. 263 (see ch. 10, vol. i. p. 347); the other, that of the Serapeum, which experienced the same fate from the violence of Theophilus, as related in ch. 28, to which Gibbon has here referred. These valuable collections had, therefore, disappeared 250 years before the invasion of Egypt by Amrou; nor in that interval does history record a prince, patriarch, or prefect, who had either the means or the will to replace them. The tale of Abulpharagius would not have been so industriously circulated, had it not served the purpose of those who wished to impute to the Barbarian conquerors of Rome the guilt of darkening the world—Ed.]

‡ Aulus Gellius (*Noctes Atticæ, 6. 17*), Ammianus Marcellinus (22. 16), and Orosius (l. 6, c. 15). They all speak in the *past tense*, and the words of Ammianus are remarkably strong; fuerunt Bibliothecæ innumerabiles; et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, &c. [Gibbon's doubts on this question are adopted by Villoison and Heyne, and additional arguments in support of them are supplied by Karl Reinhard in his treatise (*Ueber die jüngsten Schicksale der Alexandrinischen Bibliothek, Göttingen, 1792*.) Tiedemann replied (*Geist der Speculativen Philosophie, vol. iv. p. 8*), endeavouring by ingenious hypotheses to explain away the force of facts which he

repository of books; but if the ponderous mass of Arian and Monophysite controversy were indeed consumed in the public baths,* a philosopher may allow, with a smile, that it was ultimately devoted to the benefit of mankind. I sincerely regret the more valuable libraries which have been involved in the ruin of the Roman empire; but when I seriously compute the lapse of ages, the waste of ignorance, and the calamities of war, our treasures, rather than our losses, are the object of my surprise. Many curious and interesting facts are buried in oblivion; the three great historians of Rome have been transmitted to our hands in a mutilated state, and we are deprived of many pleasing compositions of the lyric, iambic, and dramatic poetry of the Greeks. Yet we should gratefully remember, that the mischances of time and accident have spared the classic works to which the suffrage of antiquity† had adjudged the first place of genius and glory: the teachers of ancient knowledge who are still extant, had perused and compared the writings of their predecessors;‡ nor can it fairly be presumed that any important truth, any useful discovery in art or nature, has been snatched away from the curiosity of modern ages.

In the administration of Egypt,§ Amrou balanced the demands of justice and policy: the interest of the people of the law, who were defended by God, and of the people of the alliance, who were protected by man. In the recent tumult of conquest and deliverance, the tongue of the Copts and the sword of the Arabs were most adverse to the tran-

could not contradict.—ED.]

* Renaudot answers for versions of the Bible, Hexapla, *Catenæ Patrum*, Commentaries, &c. (p. 170). Our Alexandrian MS. if it came from Egypt, and not from Constantinople or Mount Athos (Wetstein, Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 8, &c.), might *possibly* be among them.

† I have often perused with pleasure a chapter of Quintilian (Institut. Orator. 10. 1), in which that judicious critic enumerates and appreciates the series of Greek and Latin classics.

‡ Such as Galen, Pliny, Aristotle, &c. On this subject Wotton (Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, p. 85—95), argues with solid sense against the lively exotic fancies of Sir William Temple. The contempt of the Greeks for *Barbaric* science would scarcely admit the Indian or Æthiopic books into the library of Alexandria; nor is it proved that philosophy has sustained any real loss from their exclusion.

§ This curious and authentic intelligence of Murtadi (p. 284—289), has not been discovered either by Mr. Ockley, or by the self-sufficient compilers of the Modern Universal History.

quillity of the province. To the former, Amrou declared, that faction and falsehood would be doubly chastised; by the punishment of the accusers, whom he should detest as his personal enemies, and by the promotion of their innocent brethren, whom their envy had laboured to injure and supplant. He excited the latter by the motives of religion and honour to sustain the dignity of their character, to endear themselves by a modest and temperate conduct to God and the caliph, to spare and protect a people who had trusted to their faith, and to content themselves with the legitimate and splendid rewards of their victory. In the management of the revenue he disapproved the simple but oppressive mode of a capitation, and preferred with reason a proportion of taxes, deducted on every branch from the clear profits of agriculture and commerce. A third part of the tribute was appropriated to the annual repairs of the dikes and canals, so essential to the public welfare. Under this administration the fertility of Egypt supplied the dearth of Arabia; and a string of camels, laden with corn and provisions, covered almost without an interval the long road from Memphis to Medina.* But the genius of Amrou soon renewed the maritime communication which had been attempted or achieved by the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, or the Cæsars; and a canal, at least eighty miles in length, was opened from the Nile to the Red Sea. This inland navigation, which would have joined the Mediterranean and the Indian ocean, was soon discontinued as useless and dangerous: the throne was removed from Medina to Damascus; and the Grecian fleets might have explored a passage to the holy cities of Arabia.†

* Eutychius, Annal. tom. ii. p. 320. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 35.

† On these *obscure* canals, the reader may try to satisfy himself from D'Anville (Mém. sur l'Egypte, p. 108—110. 124. 132), and a learned thesis maintained and printed at Strasburg in the year 1770. (Jungendorum marium fluviorumque molimina, p. 39—47. 68—70.) Even the supine Turks have agitated the old project of joining the two seas (Mémoires du Baron de Tott, tom. iv.). [Dr. Lepsius, in his Chronology of the Egyptians, Berlin, 1849, has given the history of these canals, from their first commencement by Ramses II. (Sesostris), 1350 B.C., to their re-opening by Omar (Amrou), A.D. 644, and their filling up by Mohamet Ben Abdallah in A.D. 762 (767). Traces of the work, he says, are still extant. See Extracts appended to the Letters from Egypt, p. 439—446, edit. Bohn.—Ed.]

Of his new conquest the caliph Omar had an imperfect knowledge from the voice of fame and the legends of the Koran. He requested that his lieutenant would place before his eyes the realm of Pharaoh and the Amalekites; and the answer of Amrou exhibits a lively and not unfaithful picture of that singular country.* “O commander of the faithful, Egypt is a compound of black earth and green plants, between a pulverized mountain and a red sand. The distance from Syene to the sea is a month’s journey for a horseman. Along the valley descends a river, on which the blessing of the Most High reposes both in the evening and morning, and which rises and falls with the revolutions of the sun and moon. When the annual dispensation of Providence unlocks the springs and fountains that nourish the earth, the Nile rolls his swelling and sounding waters through the realm of Egypt: the fields are overspread by the salutary flood; and the villages communicate with each other in their painted barks. The retreat of the inundation deposits a fertilizing mud for the reception of the various seeds; the crowds of husbandmen who blacken the land may be compared to a swarm of industrious ants; and their native indolence is quickened by the lash of the taskmaster, and the promise of the flowers and fruits of a plentiful increase. Their hope is seldom deceived; but the riches which they extract from the wheat, the barley, and the rice, the legumes, the fruit-trees, and the cattle, are unequally shared between those who labour and those who possess. According to the vicissitudes of the seasons, the face of the country is adorned with a *silver* wave, a verdant *emerald*, and the deep yellow of a *golden* harvest.”† Yet this bene-

* A small volume, *Des Merveilles, &c. de l’Egypte*, composed in the thirteenth century by Murtadi of Cairo, and translated from an Arabic MS. of cardinal Mazarin, was published by Pierre Vazier, Paris, 1666. The antiquities of Egypt are wild and legendary; but the writer deserves credit and esteem for his account of the conquest and geography of his native country. (See the correspondence of Amrou and Omar, p. 279—289.)

† In a twenty years’ residence at Cairo, the consul Maillet had contemplated that varying scene, the Nile (lettre 2, particularly p. 70. 75); the fertility of the land (lettre 9). From a college at Cambridge, the poetic eye of Gray had *seen* the same objects with a keener glance:

What wonder in the sultry climes that spread,
Where Nile. redundant o’er his summer bed,

ficial order is sometimes interrupted; and the long delay and sudden swell of the river in the first year of the conquest might afford some colour to an edifying fable. It is said, that the annual sacrifice of a virgin* had been interdicted by the piety of Omar; and that the Nile lay sullen and inactive in his shallow bed, till the mandate of the caliph was cast into the obedient stream, which rose in a single night to the height of sixteen cubits. The admiration of the Arabs for their new conquest encouraged the licence of their romantic spirit. We may read, in the gravest authors, that Egypt was crowded with twenty thousand cities or villages:† *that*, exclusive of the Greeks and Arabs, the Copts alone were found, on the assessment, six millions of tributary subjects,‡ or twenty millions of either sex, and of every age; *that* three hundred millions of gold or silver were annually paid to the treasury of the caliph.§ Our reason must be

From his broad bosom life and verdure flings,
And broods o'er Egypt with his wat'ry wings;
If with advent'rous oar, and ready sail,
The dusky people drive before the gale:
Or on frail floats to neighbouring cities ride,
That rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide.

(Mason's Works and Memoirs of Gray, p. 199, 200).

* Murtadi, p. 164—167. The reader will not easily credit a human sacrifice under the Christian emperors, or a miracle of the successors of Mahomet.

† Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, p. 22. He mentions this number as the *common* opinion; and adds, that the generality of these villages contain two or three thousand persons, and that many of them are more populous than our large cities.

‡ Eutyech. Annal. tom. ii. p. 308. 311. The twenty millions are computed from the following data: one-twelfth of mankind above sixty, one-third below sixteen, the proportion of men to women as seventeen to sixteen. (Recherches sur la Population de la France, p. 71, 72.) The president Goguet (Origine des Arts, &c. tom. iii. p. 26, &c.) bestows twenty-seven millions on ancient Egypt, because the seventeen hundred companions of Sesostrius were born on the same day.

§ Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 218; and this gross lump is swallowed without scruple by D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 1031), Arbuthnot (Tables of Ancient Coins, p. 262), and De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 135). They might allege the not less extravagant liberality of Appian in favour of the Ptolemies (in præf.) of seventy-four myriads, seven hundred and forty thousand talents, an annual income of a hundred and eighty-five, or near three hundred millions of pounds sterling, according as we reckon by the Egyptian or the Alexandrian talent. (Bernard de Ponderibus Antiq. p. 186.)

startled by these extravagant assertions; and they will become more palpable, if we assume the compass and measure the extent of habitable ground; a valley from the tropic to Memphis, seldom broader than twelve miles, and the triangle of the Delta, a flat surface of two thousand one hundred square leagues, compose a twelfth part of the magnitude of France.* A more accurate research will justify a more reasonable estimate. The three hundred millions, created by the error of a scribe, are reduced to the decent revenue of four millions three hundred thousand pieces of gold, of which nine hundred thousand were consumed by the pay of the soldiers.† Two authentic lists, of the present and of the twelfth century, are circumscribed within the respectable number of two thousand seven hundred villages and towns.‡ After a long residence at Cairo, a French consul has ventured to assign about four millions of Mahometans, Christians, and Jews, for the ample, though not incredible, scope of the population of Egypt.§

IV. The conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic

* See the measurement of D'Anville (*Mém. sur l'Egypte*, p. 23, &c.). After some peevish cavils, M. Pauw (*Recherches sur les Egyptiens*, tom. i. p. 118—121) can only enlarge his reckoning to two thousand two hundred and fifty square leagues.

† Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alexand.* p. 334, who calls the common reading, or version of Elmacin, *error librarii*. His own emendation of four million three hundred thousand pieces, in the ninth century, maintains a probable medium between the three millions which the Arabs acquired by the conquest of Egypt (*idem*, p. 168), and the two million four hundred thousand which the sultan of Constantinople levied in the last century. (Pietro della Valle, tom. i. p. 352. Thevenot, part 1, p. 824.) Pauw (*Recherches*, tom. ii. p. 365—373) gradually raises the revenue of the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Cæsars, from six to fifteen millions of German crowns.

‡ The list of Schultens (*Index Geograph. ad calcem Vit. Saladin.* p. 5) contains two thousand three hundred and ninety-six places; that of D'Anville (*Mém. sur l'Egypte*, p. 29), from the divan of Cairo, enumerates two thousand six hundred and ninety-six.

§ See Maillet (*Description de l'Egypte*, p. 28), who seems to argue with candour and judgment. I am much better satisfied with the observations than with the reading of the French consul. He was ignorant of Greek and Latin literature, and his fancy is too much delighted with the fictions of the Arabs. Their best knowledge is collected by Abulfeda (*Descript. Egypt. Arab. et Lat.* à Joh. David Michaelis, Gottingæ, in quarto, 1776); and in two recent voyages into Egypt, we are amused by Savary and instructed by Volney. I wish

ocean,* was first attempted by the arms of the caliph Othman. The pious design was approved by the companions of Mahomet and the chiefs of the tribes; and twenty thousand Arabs marched from Medina, with the gifts and the blessing of the commander of the faithful. They were joined in the camp of Memphis by twenty thousand of their countrymen: and the conduct of the war was intrusted to Abdallah,† the son of Said, and the foster-brother of the caliph, who had lately supplanted the conqueror and lieutenant of Egypt. Yet the favour of the prince, and the merit of his favourite, could not obliterate the guilt of his apostacy. The early conversion of Abdallah, and his skilful pen, had recommended him to the important office of transcribing the sheets of the Koran; he betrayed his trust, corrupted the text, derided the errors which he had made, and fled to Mecca, to escape the justice, and expose the ignorance, of the apostle. After the conquest of Mecca, he fell prostrate at the feet of Mahomet: his tears, and the entreaties of Othman, extorted a reluctant pardon; but the prophet declared that he had so long hesitated, to allow time for some zealous disciple to avenge his injury in the blood

the latter could travel over the globe.

* My conquest of Africa is drawn from two French interpreters of Arabic literature, Cardonne (*Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes*, tom. i. p. 8—55) and Otter (*Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxi. p. 111—125 and 136). They derive their principal information from Novairi, who composed, A.D. 1331, an Encyclopedia in more than twenty volumes. The five general parts successively treat of, 1. Physics; 2. Man; 3. Animals; 4. Plants; and, 5. History; and the African affairs are discussed in the sixth chapter of the fifth section of this last part. (Reiske, *Prodigmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas*, p. 232—234.) Among the older historians who are quoted by Novairi, we may distinguish the original narrative of a soldier who led the van of the Moslems. [The learned Spaniard, Dr. Condé, published in 1820—21, his *History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain*. See note to p. 409, vol. v. The contradictory accounts of Christian and Mahometan writers must be compared and connected in order to ascertain the truth. In this work Dr. Condé is the most important assistant that modern students have yet found. In his preface he points out many of Cardonne's errors. These have sometimes misled Gibbon, as will be seen, when the events in which they occur come before us. Four of his introductory chapters relate the preliminary conquest of Africa. These are now accessible to English readers in Bohn's edition, p. 39—51.—Ed.] † See the history of Abdallah, in Abulfeda (*Vit. Mohammed*, p. 109) and Gagnier (*Vie*

of the apostate. With apparent fidelity, and effective merit, he served the religion which it was no longer his interest to desert; his birth and talents gave him an honourable rank among the Koreish; and in a nation of cavalry, Abdallah was renowned as the boldest and most dexterous horseman of Arabia. At the head of forty thousand Moslems, he advanced from Egypt into the unknown countries of the West. The sands of Barca might be impervious to a Roman legion; but the Arabs were attended by their faithful camels; and the natives of the desert beheld without terror the familiar aspect of the soil and climate. After a painful march, they pitched their tents before the walls of Tripoli,* a maritime city in which the *name*, the wealth, and the inhabitants, of the province had gradually centred, and which now maintains the third rank among the states of Barbary. A reinforcement of Greeks was surprised and cut in pieces on the sea-shore; but the fortifications of Tripoli resisted the first assaults; and the Saracens were tempted, by the approach of the prefect Gregory,† to relinquish the labours of the

de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 45—48.)

* The province and city of Tripoli are described by Leo Africanus (in *Navigazione e Viaggi di Ramusio*, tom. i. Venezia, 1550, fol. 76, *verso*) and Marmol (*Description de l'Afrique*, tom. ii. p. 562). The first of these writers was a Moor, a scholar, and a traveller, who composed or translated his African geography in a state of captivity at Rome, where he had assumed the name and religion of pope Leo X. In a similar captivity among the Moors, the Spaniard Marmol, a soldier of Charles V. compiled his description of Africa, translated by D'Ablancourt into French (Paris, 1667, three vols. in quarto). Marmol had read and seen, but he is destitute of the curious and extensive observation which abounds in the original work of Leo the African. [Abdallah's first invasion of Africa did not take place, according to Condé, till the year of the Hegira 29 (A.D. 649—650), or three years after the generally received date. A desultory warfare was carried on till the year 40 (A.D. 660—1), when Moavia Ben Horeig and Abdelmelic Ben Meruan, made a more effectual attack with an army of 80,000 men (vol. i. p. 39).—ED.]

† Theophanes, who mentions the defeat, rather than the death, of Gregory. He brands the prefect with the name of *τύραννος*; he had probably assumed the purple. (Chonograph. p. 285.) [In a subsequent note will be found the passage where Theophanes uses the word *τύραννος*, which it must be again observed, implies simply a ruler or governor.

——— *ἵνα Δίκη τύραννος ἢ
Γένους βροτίου*

are words that clearly denote its meaning. See the speech of Sisyphus in the fragment of Euripides (or Critias), quoted by Warburton (in his

siege for the perils and the hopes of a decisive action. If his standard was followed by one hundred and twenty thousand men, the regular bands of the empire must have been lost in the naked and disorderly crowd of Africans and Moors, who formed the strength, or rather the numbers, of his host. He rejected with indignation the option of the Koran or the tribute; and during several days, the two armies were fiercely engaged from the dawn of light to the hour of noon, when their fatigue and the excessive heat compelled them to seek shelter and refreshment in their respective camps. The daughter of Gregory, a maid of incomparable beauty and spirit, is said to have fought by his side; from her earliest youth she was trained to mount on horseback, to draw the bow, and to wield the scymetar: and the richness of her arms and apparel was conspicuous in the foremost ranks of the battle. Her hand, with a hundred thousand pieces of gold, was offered for the head of the Arabian general, and the youths of Africa were excited by the prospect of the glorious prize. At the pressing solicitation of his brethren, Abdallah withdrew his person from the field; but the Saracens were discouraged by the retreat of their leader, and the repetition of these equal or unsuccessful conflicts.

A noble Arabian, who afterwards became the adversary of Ali and the father of a caliph, had signalized his valour in Egypt; and Zobeir* was the first who planted a scaling-ladder against the walls of Babylon. In the African war he was detached from the standard of Abdallah. On the news of the battle, Zobeir, with twelve companions, cut his way through the camp of the Greeks, and pressed forwards, without tasting either food or repose, to partake of the dangers of his brethren. He cast his eyes round the field. "Where," said he, "is our general?"—"In his tent."—"Is the tent a station for the general of the Moslems?" Abdallah

Div. Leg. iii. p. 219.—Ed.]

* See in Oockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 45), the death of Zobeir, which was honoured with the tears of Ali, against whom he had rebelled. His valour at the siege of Babylon, if indeed it be the same person, is mentioned by Euty chius. (Annal. tom. ii. p. 308.) [Oockley scarcely mentions the conquest of Africa, so important as the prelude to the Saracenic invasion of Europe, and is quite silent on the exploits of Zobeir in that province; nor is this hero even named by Condé.—Ed.]

represented with a blush the importance of his own life, and the temptation that was held forth by the Roman prefect. "Retort," said Zobeir, "on the infidels their ungenerous attempt. Proclaim through the ranks, that the head of Gregory shall be repaid with his captive daughter, and the equal sum of one hundred thousand pieces of gold." To the courage and discretion of Zobeir the lieutenant of the caliph intrusted the execution of his own stratagem, which inclined the long-disputed balance in favour of the Saracens. Supplying by activity and artifice the deficiency of numbers, a part of their forces lay concealed in their tents, while the remainder prolonged an irregular skirmish with the enemy, till the sun was high in the heavens. On both sides they retired with fainting steps: their horses were unbridled, their armour was laid aside, and the hostile nations prepared, or seemed to prepare, for the refreshment of the evening, and the encounter of the ensuing day. On a sudden the charge was sounded; the Arabian camp poured forth a swarm of fresh and intrepid warriors; and the long line of the Greeks and Africans was surprised, assaulted, overturned, by new squadrons of the faithful, who, to the eye of fanaticism, might appear as a band of angels descending from the sky. The prefect himself was slain by the hand of Zobeir; his daughter, who sought revenge and death, was surrounded and made prisoner; and the fugitives involved in their disaster the town of Sufetula, to which they escaped from the sabres and lances of the Arabs. Sufetula was built one hundred and fifty miles to the south of Carthage; a gentle declivity is watered by a running stream, and shaded by a grove of juniper-trees; and in the ruins of a triumphal arch, a portico, and three temples of the Corinthian order, curiosity may yet admire the magnificence of the Romans.* After the fall of this opulent city, the provincials and Barbarians implored on all sides the mercy of the conqueror. His vanity or his zeal might be flattered by offers of tribute or professions

* Shaw's Travels, p. 118, 119. [Spaitla is the name by which Bruce found these "extensive and elegant remains" known to the natives of the country. The city was originally called Suffetula, from the Suffetes (*Schofetim*) the Carthaginian magistrates, by whom it was governed. Introduction to Bruce's Travels, p. xxx. Heeren's Manual of Ancient History, p. 63. Niebuhr's Lect. vol. ii. p. 6.—Ed.]

of faith: but his losses, his fatigues, and the progress of an epidemical disease, prevented a solid establishment; and the Saracens, after a campaign of fifteen months, retreated to the confines of Egypt, with the captives and the wealth of their African expedition. The caliph's fifth was granted to a favourite, on the nominal payment of five hundred thousand pieces of gold;* but the State was doubly injured by this fallacious transaction, if each foot-soldier had shared one thousand, and each horseman three thousand, pieces, in the real division of the plunder. The author of the death of Gregory was expected to have claimed the most precious reward of the victory: from his silence it might be presumed that he had fallen in the battle, till the tears and exclamations of the prefect's daughter at the sight of Zobeir revealed the valour and modesty of that gallant soldier. The unfortunate virgin was offered, and almost rejected, as a slave, by her father's murderer, who coolly declared that his sword was consecrated to the service of religion; and that he laboured for a recompense far above the charms of mortal beauty, or the riches of this transitory life. A reward congenial to his temper was the honourable commission of announcing to the caliph Othman the success of his arms. The companions, the chiefs, and the people, were assembled in the mosch of Medina, to hear the interesting narrative of Zobeir; and, as the orator forgot nothing except the merit of his own counsels and actions, the name of Abdallah was joined by the Arabians with the heroic names of Caled and Amrou.†

The Western conquests of the Saracens were suspended near twenty years, till their dissensions were composed by the establishment of the house of Ommiyah: and the caliph Moawiyah was invited by the cries of the Africans themselves. The successors of Heraclius had been informed of

* *Mimica emptio* says Abulfeda, erat hæc, et mira donatio; quandoquidem Othman, ejus nomine nummos ex ærario prius ablato ærario præstabat. (Annal. Moslem. p. 78.) Elmacin (in his cloudy version, p. 39) seems to report the same job. When the Arabs besieged the palace of Othman, it stood high in their catalogue of grievances.

† Ἐπεστράτευσαν Σαρακηνοὶ τὴν Ἀφρικήν, καὶ συμβάλλοντες τῷ τωράνῳ Γρηγορίῳ τοῦτον τρέπουσι, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κτείνουσι, καὶ στοιχίσαντες φόρους μετὰ τῶν Ἀφρων ὑπέστρεψαν. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 285, edit. Paris. His chronology is loose and

the tribute which they had been compelled to stipulate with the Arabs; but instead of being moved to pity and relieve their distress, they imposed, as an equivalent or a fine, a second tribute of a similar amount. The ears of the Byzantine ministers were shut against the complaints of their poverty and ruin; their despair was reduced to prefer the dominion of a single master; and the extortions of the patriarch of Carthage, who was invested with civil and military power, provoked the sectaries, and even the Catholics, of the Roman province to abjure the religion as well as the authority of their tyrants. The first lieutenant of Moawiyah acquired a just renown, subdued an important city, defeated an army of thirty thousand Greeks, swept away fourscore thousand captives, and enriched with their spoils the bold adventurers of Syria and Egypt.* But the title of conqueror of Africa is more justly due to his successor Akbah.† He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs; and the genuine force of the Moslems was enlarged by the doubtful aid and conversion of many thousand Barbarians. It would be difficult, nor is it necessary, to trace the accurate line of the progress of Akbah. The interior regions have been peopled by the Orientals with fictitious armies and imaginary citadels. In the warlike province of Zab or Numidia, fourscore thousand of the natives might assemble in arms; but the number of three hundred and sixty towns is incompatible with the ignorance or decay of husbandry;‡ and a circumference of three leagues will not be justified by the ruins of Erbe or Lambesa, the ancient metropolis of that inland country.

inaccurate.

* Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 293) inserts the vague rumours that might reach Constantinople of the western conquests of the Arabs; and I learn from Paul Warnefrid, deacon of Aquileia (de Gestis Langobard. l. 5, c. 13), that at this time they sent a fleet from Alexandria into the Sicilian and African seas.

† [According to Condé, Oeba Ben Nafe entered Africa in the year 46 (A.D. 666-7). His subsequent progress is much in accordance with that of Gibbon's Akbah. Condé, p. 40-44.—Ed.]

‡ See Novairi (apud Otter, p. 118) Leo Africanus (fol. 81, *verso*), who reckons only cinque città e infinite casate, Marmol (Description de l'Afrique, tom. iii. p. 33) and Shaw (Travels, p. 57. 65-68). [According to Bruce (Intr. p. xxix), Tezzouta is the present name of Lambesa, and its ruins cover an extensive space. There were seven gates in the wall. No lime was used in the masonry.—Ed.]

As we approach the sea-coast, the well-known cities of Bugia* and Tangier† define the more certain limits of the Saracen victories. A remnant of trade still adheres to the commodious harbour of Bugia, which in a more prosperous age, is said to have contained about twenty thousand houses; and the plenty of iron which is dug from the adjacent mountains might have supplied a braver people with the instruments of defence. The remote position and venerable antiquity of Tingi, or Tangier, have been decorated by the Greek and Arabian fables; but the figurative expressions of the latter, that the walls were constructed of brass, and that the roofs were covered with gold and silver, may be interpreted as the emblems of strength and opulence. The province of Mauritania Tingitana,‡ which assumed the name of the capital, had been imperfectly discovered and settled by the Romans; the five colonies were confined to a narrow pale, and the more southern parts were seldom explored by the agents of luxury, who searched the forests for ivory and the citron-wood,§ and the shores of the ocean for the

* Leo Africanus, fol. 58, verso, 59 recto. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 415. Shaw, p. 43. [Bugia was the Roman Colonia-Salde. Plin. H. N. 5. 1 and note.—Ed.]

† Leo African. fol. 52. Marmol. tom. ii.

‡ Regio ignobilis, et vix quicquam illustre sortita, parvis oppidis habitat, parva flumina emittit, solo quam viris melior, et segnitie gentis obscura. Pomponius Mela, l. 5. 3. 10. Mela deserves the more credit, since his own Phœnician ancestors had migrated from Tingitana to Spain. (See, in 2. 6, a passage of that geographer so cruelly tortured by Salmasius, Isaac Vossius, and the most virulent of critics, James Gronovius.) He lived at the time of the final reduction of that country by the emperor Claudius; yet almost thirty years afterwards, Pliny (Hist. Nat. 5. 1) complains of his authors, too lazy to inquire, too proud to confess their ignorance of that wild and remote province. [Mela describes the rude state in which Mauritania was left by his ancestors, and from which, although its kings had long been dependent on Rome, it did not much advance, till it was included in the system of imperial government. Claudius made it a province, to develop more fully its natural advantages, and so derive from it a larger revenue. Pliny wrote too soon after the change, to witness its effects.—Ed.]

§ The foolish fashion of this citron-wood prevailed at Rome among the men, as much as the taste for pearls among the women. A round board or table, four or five feet in diameter, sold for the price of an estate (*latifundii taxatione*), eight, ten, or twelve thousand pounds, sterling. (Plin. Hist. Natur. 13. 29.) I conceive that I must not confound the tree *citrus* with that of the fruit *citrum*. But I am not

purple shell-fish. The fearless Akbah plunged into the heart of the country, traversed the wilderness in which his successors erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco,* and at length penetrated to the verge of the Atlantic and the great desert. The river Sus descends from the western sides of mount Atlas, fertilizes, like the Nile, the adjacent soil, and falls into the sea at a moderate distance from the Canary, or Fortunate, Islands. Its banks were inhabited by the last of the Moors, a race of savages, without laws, or discipline, or religion; they were astonished by the strange and irresistible terrors of the Oriental arms; and, as they possessed neither gold nor silver, the richest spoil was the beauty of the female captives, some of whom were afterwards sold for a thousand pieces of gold. The career, though not the zeal, of Akbah was checked by the prospect of a boundless ocean. He spurred his horse into the waves, and raising his eyes to heaven, exclaimed with the tone of a fanatic—"Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on, to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee."† Yet this Mahometan Alexander,

botanist enough to define the former (it is like the wild cypress) by the vulgar or Linnæan name; nor will I decide whether the *citrum* be the orange or the lemon. Salmasius appears to exhaust the subject, but he too often involves himself in the web of his disorderly erudition. (Plinian. Exercitat. tom. ii. p. 666, &c.). [Some MSS. which Gronovius followed, had here *cedri*, instead of *citri*. This would account better for the fashionable folly. That cedar-wood was in use and esteem at Rome, we are informed by Horace (A.P. 332). Pliny (16. 79), speaks of the "Numidicarum cedrorum trabes;" he also describes (16. 84) the present art of veneering, as practised in his time, with these valuable woods.—ED.]

* Leo African. fol. 16, verso. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 28. This province, the first scene of the exploits and greatness of the *sherifs*, is often mentioned in the curious history of that dynasty at the end of the third volume of Marmol, Description de l'Afrique. The third vol. of the Recherches Historiques sur les Maures (lately published at Paris), illustrates the history and geography of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco.

† Otter (p. 119) has given the strong tone of fanaticism to this exclamation, which Cardonne (p. 37) has softened to a pious wish of preaching the Koran. Yet they had both the same text of Novairi before their eyes. [Condé gives this speech in the following form:—"O Allah, if these profound waters did not restrain me, I would yet proceed still further to carry onward the knowledge of thy sacred

who sighed for new worlds, was unable to preserve his recent conquests. By the universal defection of the Greeks and Africans, he was recalled from the shores of the Atlantic, and the surrounding multitudes left him only the resource of an honourable death. The last scene was dignified by an example of national virtue. An ambitious chief, who had disputed the command and failed in the attempt, was led about as a prisoner in the camp of the Arabian general. The insurgents had trusted to his discontent and revenge; he disdained their offers and revealed their designs. In the hour of danger, the grateful Akbah unlocked his fetters, and advised him to retire; he chose to die under the banner of his rival. Embracing as friends and martyrs, they unsheathed their scymetars, broke their scabbards, and maintained an obstinate combat till they fell by each other's side on the last of their slaughtered countrymen.* The third general or governor of Africa, Zuheir, avenged and encountered the fate of his predecessor. He vanquished the natives in many battles; he was overthrown by a powerful army, which Constantinople had sent to the relief of Carthage.

It had been the frequent practice of the Moorish tribes to join the invaders, to share the plunder, to profess the faith, and to revolt to their savage state of independence and idolatry, on the first retreat or misfortune of the Moslems. The prudence of Akbah had proposed to found an Arabian colony in the heart of Africa; a citadel that might curb the levity of the barbarians, a place of refuge to secure, against the accidents of war, the wealth and the families of the Saracens. With this view, and under the modest title of the station of a caravan, he planted this colony in the fiftieth year of the Hegira. In its present decay, Cairoan † still holds the second rank in the kingdom

name and thy holy law." p. 43.—ED.]

* [This rival was Muhegir Dinar El Ansari. By false accusations he had induced the caliph Moawiyah to recall Ooba, and had so obtained for himself the government of Africa. The next caliph, Yezid, reversed the decree; Ooba resumed his post and imprisoned his traducer. The disastrous battle of Telinda, in which they fell, was fought in the year 63 (A.D. 683). Condé, p. 40—44.—ED.]

† The foundation of Cairoan is mentioned by Ockley (*Hist. of the Saracens*, vol. ii. p. 129, 130), and the situation, mosch, &c. of the city, are described by Leo Africanus (fol. 75), Marmol (tom. ii. p. 532), and Shaw (p. 115).

of Tunis, from which it is distant about fifty miles to the south;* its inland situation, twelve miles westward of the sea, has protected the city from the Greek and Sicilian fleets. When the wild beasts and serpents were extirpated, when the forest, or rather wilderness, was cleared, the vestiges of a Roman town were discovered in a sandy plain: the vegetable food of Cairoan is brought from afar; and the scarcity of springs constrains the inhabitants to collect in cisterns and reservoirs a precarious supply of rain-water. These obstacles were subdued by the industry of Akbah; he traced a circumference of three thousand and six hundred paces, which he encompassed with a brick wall; in the space of five years, the governor's palace was surrounded with a sufficient number of private habitations; a spacious mosch was supported by five hundred columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble; and Cairoan became the seat of learning as well as of empire. But these were the glories of a later age; the new colony was shaken by the successive defeats of Akbah and Zuheir, and the western expeditions were again interrupted by the civil discord of the Arabian monarchy. The son of the valiant Zobeir maintained a war of twelve years, a siege of seven months, against the house of Ommiyah. Abdallah was said to unite the fierceness of the lion with the subtlety of the fox; but if he inherited the courage, he was devoid of the generosity, of his father.†

* A portentous, though frequent, mistake has been the confounding, from a slight similitude of name, the *Cyrene* of the Greeks, and the *Cairoan* of the Arabs, two cities which are separated by an interval of a thousand miles along the sea-coast. The great Thuanus has not escaped this fault, the less excusable, as it is connected with a formal and elaborate description of Africa. (Historiar. l. 7, c. 2, in tom. i. p. 240, edit. Buckley.) [The fiftieth year of the Hegira began Jan. 28, 670. Ockley (p. 366) strangely places Cairoan thirty-three leagues north-east of Carthage, which would have been far in the sea. Condé (p. 42) says that Moawiyah is considered by some to have been the founder of Cairoan. But his authorities evidently fell into the mistake of confounding this city and Cyrene; they attribute to the latter at the time of its capture by the Saracens (p. 40), a splendour and importance which did not then belong to it, and such as Cairoan afterwards acquired. In the corruption of ancient names, Cyrene has become Corene. For the present state of Cairoan, now called Kairwan, see Malte Brun. p. 847, edit. Bohn.—ED.] † Besides the Arabic chronicles of Abulfeda, Elmacin, and Abulpharagius, under the seventy-

The return of domestic peace allowed the caliph Abdal-malek to resume the conquest of Africa; the standard was delivered to Hassan, governor of Egypt, and the revenue of that kingdom, with an army of forty thousand men, was consecrated to the important service. In the vicissitudes of war, the interior provinces had been alternately won and lost by the Saracens. But the sea-coast still remained in the hands of the Greeks; the predecessors of Hassan had respected the name and fortifications of Carthage;* and the number of its defenders was recruited by the fugitives of Cades and Tripoli. The arms of Hassan were bolder and more fortunate; he reduced and pillaged the metropolis of Africa; and the mention of scaling-ladders may justify the suspicion that he anticipated, by a sudden assault, the more tedious operations of a regular siege. But the joy of the conquerors was soon disturbed by the appearance of the Christian succours. The prefect and patrician John, a general of experience and renown, embarked at Constantinople the forces of the Eastern empire;† they were joined by the ships and soldiers of Sicily, and a powerful reinforcement of the Goths‡ was obtained from the fears and reli-

third year of the Hegira, we may consult D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 7) and Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 339—349). The latter has given the last and pathetic dialogue between Abdallah and his mother; but he has forgotten a physical effect of *her* grief for his death, the return, at the age of ninety, and fatal consequences, of her *menses*.

* [Carthage is called by Arabian writers Carthagena the Ancient. Condé, 46.—ED.] † Δεόντιος . . . ἀπαντα τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ ἐξώπλισε πλοῖμα, στρατηγόν τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἰωάννην τὸν Πατρικίον, ἔμπειρον τῶν πολεμίων προχειρισάμενος πρὸς Καρχηδόνα κατὰ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἐξέπεμψεν. Nicephori Constantinopolitani Breviar. p. 28. The patriarch of Constantinople, with Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 309), have slightly mentioned this last attempt for the relief of Africa. Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 129. 141) has nicely ascertained the chronology by a strict comparison of the Arabic and Byzantine historians, who often disagree both in time and fact. See likewise a note of Otter (p. 121). ‡ Dove s'erano ridotti i nobili Romani e i Gotti; and afterwards, i Romani fugarono e i Gotti lasciarono Carthagine (Leo African. fol. 72, recto). I know not from what Arabic writer the African derived his Goths: but the fact, though new, is so interesting and so probable, that I will accept it on the slightest authority. [Mariana says that after the conquest of Africa by the Mahometans, a portion of Mauritania Tingitana, especially Ceuta and its neighbourhood, was occupied by the Goths. "Mauritanie Tingitanæ partem Gothi ductâ ex antiquâ consuetudine retinebant,

gion of the Spanish monarch. The weight of the confederate navy broke the chain that guarded the entrance of the harbour; the Arabs retired to Cairoan, or Tripoli; the Christians landed; the citizens hailed the ensign of the cross, and the winter was idly wasted in the dream of victory or deliverance. But Africa was irrecoverably lost; the zeal and resentment of the commander of the faithful * prepared in the ensuing spring a more numerous armament by sea and land; and the patrician in his turn was compelled to evacuate the post and fortifications of Carthage. A second battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Utica: the Greeks and Goths were again defeated; and their timely embarkation saved them from the sword of Hassan, who had invested the slight and insufficient rampart of their camp. Whatever yet remained of Carthage, was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido † and Cæsar lay desolate above two hundred years, till a part, perhaps a twentieth, of the old circumference was repeopled by the first of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the second capital of the West was represented by a mosch,

Septem præsertim et vicinos agros." De Reb. Hisp. l. 6, c. 11, p. 231. These were probably the allies of the Greeks.—ED.]

* This commander is styled by Nicephorus Βασιλεὺς Σαρακηνῶν, a vague, though not improper, definition of the caliph. Theophanes introduces the strange appellation of Πρωτοσύμβολος which his interpreter Goar explains by *Vizir Azem*. They may approach the truth, in assigning the active part to the minister, rather than the prince; but they forget that the Ommiades had only a *kateb* or secretary, and that the office of vizir was not revived or instituted till the one hundred and thirty-second year of the Hegira (D'Herbelot, p. 912).

† According to Solinus (l. 27, p. 36, edit. Salmas.), the Carthage of Dido stood either six hundred and seventy-seven, or seven hundred and thirty-seven years; a various reading which proceeds from the difference of MSS. or editions (Salmas. Plinian. Exercit. tom. i. p. 228). The former of these accounts, which gives eight hundred and twenty-three years before Christ, is more consistent with the well-weighed testimony of Velleius Paterculus; but the latter is preferred by our chronologists (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 398) as more agreeable to the Hebrew and Tyrian annals. [For the origin and early history of Carthage, consult Niebuhr (Lect. ii. p. 1—7). On the authority of Josephus, who followed the Phœnician Chronicles as translated by Menander of Ephesus, he fixes the foundation of this city at 72 years before the received date of the building of Rome. This, according to Varro's computation, agrees with 826 B.C. Clinton (F. H. iii. 102) dates the final overthrow of Carthage by Scipio in A.U.C. 608. It stood there-

a college without students, twenty-five or thirty shops, and the huts of five hundred peasants, who, in their abject poverty, displayed the arrogance of the Punic senators. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles V. had stationed in the fortress of the Goletta. The ruins of Carthage have perished; and the place might be unknown if some broken arches of an aqueduct did not guide the footsteps of the inquisitive traveller.*

The Greeks were expelled, but the Arabians were not yet masters of the country. In the interior provinces the Moors or *Berbers*,† so feeble under the first Cæsars, so formidable to the Byzantine princes, maintained a disorderly resistance to the religion and power of the successors of Mahomet. Under the standard of their queen Cahina, the independent tribes acquired some degree of union and discipline; and as the Moors respected in their females the character of a prophetess, they attacked the invaders with

fore 680 years.—Ed.]

* Leo African. fol. 71, verso, 72 recto. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 445—447. Shaw, p. 80. [Sailing along the coast, Bruce saw "buildings and columns still standing under water," from which he inferred that some encroachment of the waves had assisted the work of war and time (Int. p. 21). It is quite impossible now to ascertain the ground on which was first founded a city that has been so often destroyed and rebuilt—Ed.]

† The history of the word *Barbar* may be classed under four periods:—1. In the time of Homer, when the Greeks and Asiatics might probably use a common idiom, the imitative sound of *Barbar* was applied to the ruder tribes, whose pronunciation was most harsh, whose grammar was most defective. *Κᾶρις Βαρβαρόφωνος*. (Iliad, 2. 867, with the Oxford scholiast, Clarke's Annotation, and Henry Stephens's Greek Thesaurus, tom. i. p. 720.) 2. From the time, at least, of Herodotus, it was extended to *all* the nations who were strangers to the language and manners of the Greeks. 3. In the age of Plautus, the Romans submitted to the insult (Pompeius Festus, l. 2, p. 48, edit. Dacier), and freely gave themselves the name of Barbarians. They insensibly claimed an exemption for Italy, and her subject provinces; and at length removed the disgraceful appellation to the savage or hostile nations beyond the pale of the empire. 4. In every sense it was due to the Moors; the familiar word was borrowed from the Latin provincials by the Arabian conquerors, and has justly settled as a local denomination (*Barbary*) along the northern coast of Africa. [For the origin and meaning of *Berbers*, see note to ch. 42 (vol. iv. p. 493). It was the common name of the shepherd-race through all the northern part of Africa. (Adelung, Mithridates, 3. p. 27.) The Greeks must have learned from the Egyptians to apply it generally to their less civilized

an enthusiasm similar to their own. The veteran bands of Hassan were inadequate to the defence of Africa; the conquests of an age were lost in a single day; and the Arabian chief, overwhelmed by the torrent, retired to the confines of Egypt, and expected, five years, the promised succours of the caliph. After the retreat of the Saracens, the victorious prophetess assembled the Moorish chiefs, and recommended a measure of strange and savage policy. "Our cities," said she, "and the gold and silver which they contain, perpetually attract the arms of the Arabs. These vile metals are not the objects of *our* ambition; we content ourselves with the simple productions of the earth. Let us destroy these cities; let us bury in their ruins those pernicious treasures; and when the avarice of our foes shall be destitute of temptation, perhaps they will cease to disturb the tranquillity of a warlike people." The proposal was accepted with unanimous applause. From Tangier to Tripoli the buildings, or at least the fortifications, were demolished, the fruit-trees were cut down, the means of subsistence were extirpated, a fertile and populous garden was changed into a desert, and the historians of a more recent period could discern the frequent traces of the prosperity and devastation of their ancestors. Such is the tale of the modern Arabians.* Yet I strongly suspect that their ignorance of antiquity, the love of the marvellous, and the fashion of extolling the philosophy of Barbarians, has induced them to describe, as one voluntary act, the calamities of three hundred years, since the first fury of the Donatists and Vandals. In the progress of the revolt, Cahina had most probably contributed her share of destruction; and the alarm of universal ruin might terrify and alienate the cities that had reluctantly yielded to her unworthy yoke. They no longer hoped, perhaps they no longer wished, the return of their Byzantine sovereigns:

neighbours.—ED.]

* [Condé, who wrote entirely from Arabian authorities, gives a very different version of these events. After a struggle of many years, Cahina was defeated and made prisoner by Hassan, who, on her refusing to pay tribute and embrace Mahometanism, caused her to be beheaded. He was displaced and despoiled of his treasures by Abdelaziz, brother of the caliph Abdelmelik, and the conquest of Africa remained incomplete till it was undertaken by Muzā. (Condé, p. 46.)—ED.]

their present servitude was not alleviated by the benefits of order and justice; and the most zealous Catholic must prefer the imperfect truths of the Koran to the blind and rude idolatry of the Moors. The general of the Saracens was again received as the saviour of the province; the friends of civil society conspired against the savages of the land; and the royal prophetess was slain in the first battle which overturned the baseless fabric of her superstition and empire. The same spirit revived under the successor of Hassan; it was finally quelled by the activity of Muza and his two sons, but the number of the rebels may be presumed from that of three hundred thousand captives; sixty thousand of whom, the caliph's fifth, were sold for the profit of the public treasury. Thirty thousand of the barbarian youth were enlisted in the troops; and the pious labours of Muza to inculcate the knowledge and practice of the Koran, accustomed the Africans to obey the apostle of God and the commander of the faithful. In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors resembled the Bedoweens of the desert. With the religion, they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs; the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa.* Yet I will not deny that fifty thousand tents of pure Arabians might be transported over the Nile, and scattered through the Libyan desert; and I am not ignorant that five of the Moorish tribes still retain their *barbarous* idiom, with the appellation and character of *white* Africans.†

V. In the progress of conquest from the north and

* [Muza commenced his work in Africa in the seventy-eighth year of the Hegira (A.D. 697) but was not appointed Wali, or Governor, till the year 83, (A.D. 702-3). He brought the Barbarian tribes to subjection more by kindness than by force. He received into his army 12,000 of their bravest youth, and secured the tranquillity of the country. Condé, p. 47, 48.—Ed.]

† The first book of Leo Africanus, and the observations of Dr. Shaw (p. 220. 223. 227. 247, &c.), will throw some light on the roving tribes of Barbary, of Arabian or Moorish descent. But Shaw had seen these savages with distant terror; and Leo, a captive in the Vatican, appears to have lost more of his Arabic, than he could acquire of Greek or Roman learning. Many of his gross mistakes might be detected in the first period of the

south, the Goths and the Saracens encountered each other on the confines of Europe and Africa. In the opinion of the latter, the difference of religion is a reasonable ground of enmity and warfare.* As early as the time of Othman,† their piratical squadrons had ravaged the coasts of Andalusia;‡ nor had they forgotten the relief of Carthage by the Gothic succours. In that age, as well as in the present, the kings of Spain were possessed of the fortress of Ceuta;§ one of the columns of Hercules, which is divided by a narrow strait from the opposite pillar or point of Europe. A small portion of Mauritania was still wanting to the African conquest; but Muza, in the pride of victory, was repulsed from the walls of Ceuta, by the vigilance and courage of count Julian, the general of the Goths. From his disappointment and perplexity Muza was relieved by an unexpected message of the Christian chief, who offered his place, his person, and his sword, to the successors of Mahomet, and solicited the disgraceful honour of introducing their arms into the heart of Spain.¶ If we inquire

Mahometan history.

* In a conference with a prince of the Greeks, Amrou observed that their religion was different; upon which score it was lawful for brothers to quarrel. Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 328.

† Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 78, vers. Reiske.

‡ The name of Andalusia is applied by the Arabs not only to the modern province, but to the whole peninsula of Spain. (Geograph. Nub. p. 151. D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 114, 115.) The etymology has been most improperly deduced from Vandalusia, country of the Vandals. (D'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 146, 147, &c.) But the Handalusia of Casiri, which signifies in Arabic the region of the evening, of the west; in a word, the Hesperia of the Greeks; is perfectly apposite. (Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 327, &c.) [Gesira Alandalus is the name by which the peninsula of Spain was known to the Arabians. The term by which they denoted a western country was *Algarve*. Western Africa they called *Almagreb*, the sunset. Condé, p. 51—67.—Ed.]

§ [The presents Straits of Gibraltar were called by the Arabians *Alzacauc*—the Narrow Waters. Condé, p. 51.—Ed.]

¶ The fall and resurrection of the Gothic monarchy are related by Mariana (tom. i. p. 238—260, l. 6, c. 19—26; l. 7, c. 1, 2). That historian has infused into his noble work (*Historiæ de Rebus Hispaniæ*, libri 30. Hagæ Comitum, 1733, in four volumes in folio, with the Continuation of Miniana) the style and spirit of a Roman classic; and after the twelfth century, his knowledge and judgment may be safely trusted. But the Jesuit is not exempt from the prejudices of his order; he adopts and adorns, like his rival Buchanan, the most absurd

into the cause of his treachery, the Spaniards will repeat the popular story of his daughter Cava,* of a virgin who was seduced, or ravished, by her sovereign; of a father who sacrificed his religion and country to the thirst of revenge. The passions of princes have often been licentious and destructive; but this well-known tale, romantic in itself, is indifferently supported by external evidence; and the history of Spain will suggest some motives of interest and policy more congenial to the breast of a veteran statesman.† After the decease or deposition of Witiza, his two sons were supplanted by the ambition of Roderic, a noble Goth, whose father, the duke or governor of a province, had fallen a victim to the preceding tyranny. The monarchy was still elective; but the sons of Witiza, educated on the steps of the throne, were impatient of a private station. Their resentment was the more dangerous, as it was varnished with the dissimulation of courts: their followers were excited by the remembrance of favours and the promise of a revolution; and their uncle Oppas, archbishop of Toledo and Seville, was the first person in the church, and the second in the state. It is probable that Julian was involved in the disgrace of the unsuccessful faction; that he had little to hope and much to fear from

of the national legends: he is too careless of criticism and chronology, and supplies, from a lively fancy, the chasms of historical evidence. These chasms are large and frequent; Roderic, archbishop of Toledo, the father of the Spanish history, lived five hundred years after the conquest of the Arabs; and the more early accounts are comprised in some meagre lines of the blind chronicles of Isidore of Badajoz (Pacensis), and of Alphonso III. king of Leon, which I have seen only in the Annals of Pagi.

* Le viol (says Voltaire) est aussi difficile à faire qu'à prouver. Des évêques se seroient ils ligués pour une fille? (Hist. Générale, c. 26.) His argument is not logically conclusive.

† In the story of Cava, Mariana (l. 6, c. 21, p. 241, 242) seems to vie with the Lucretia of Livy. Like the ancients, he seldom quotes; and the oldest testimony of Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 713, No. 19), that of Lucas Tudensis, a Gallician deacon of the thirteenth century, only says, Cava quam pro concubinâ utebatur. [The secrets of the Spanish court are not to be found in the Arabian annals. Condé only gathered from them that "certain Christians, offended by their king Roderic, invited Muza to enter into Spain." He adds in a note: "The affront here alluded to is without doubt that caused by the amours of the king, Don Roderick, with the daughter of count Julian." Yet he infers from the names of Caba, Alifa, and all

the new reign; and that the imprudent king could not forget or forgive the injuries which Roderick and his family had sustained. The merit and influence of the count rendered him a useful or formidable subject: his estates were ample, his followers bold and numerous, and it was too fatally shown that, by his Andalusian and Mauritanian commands, he held in his hand the keys of the Spanish monarchy. Too feeble, however, to meet his sovereign in arms, he sought the aid of a foreign power; and his rash invitation of the Moors and Arabs produced the calamities of eight hundred years. In his epistles, or in a personal interview, he revealed the wealth and nakedness of his country; the weakness of an unpopular prince; the degeneracy of an effeminate people. The Goths were no longer the victorious barbarians who had humbled the pride of Rome, despoiled the queen of nations, and penetrated from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean. Secluded from the world by the Pyrenean mountains, the successors of Alaric had slumbered in a long peace; the walls of the cities were mouldered into dust; the youth had abandoned the exercise of arms; and the presumption of their ancient renown would expose them in a field of battle to the first assault of the invaders. The ambitious Saracen was fired by the ease and importance of the attempt; but the execution was delayed till he had consulted the commander of the faithful; and his messenger returned with the permission of Walid to annex the unknown kingdoms of the West to the religion and throne of the caliphs. In his residence of Tangier, Muza, with secrecy and caution, continued his correspondence and hastened his preparations. But the remorse of the conspirators was soothed by the fallacious assurance, that he should content himself with the glory and spoil, without aspiring to establish the Moslems beyond the sea that separates Africa from Europe.*

the other personages, that "the whole story was but a Moorish fiction." p. 51.—ED.]

* The Orientals, Elmacin, Abulpharagius, Abulfeda, pass over the conquest of Spain in silence, or with a single word. The text of Novairi, and the other Arabian writers, is represented, though with some foreign alloy, by M. de Cardonne. (*Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes*, Paris, 1765, three vols. in duodecimo, tom. i. p. 55—114), and more concisely by M. de Guignes.

Before Muza would trust an army of the faithful to the traitors and infidels of a foreign land, he made a less dangerous trial of their strength and veracity. One hundred Arabs, and four hundred Africans, passed over, in four vessels, from Tangier, or Ceuta; the place of their descent on the opposite shore of the strait, is marked by the name of Tarif their chief; and the date of this memorable event* is fixed to the month of Ramadan, of the ninety-first year of the Hegira; to the month of July, seven hundred and forty-eight years from the Spanish era of Cæsar;† seven hundred and ten after the birth of Christ. From their first station, they marched eighteen miles through a hilly country

(Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 347—350.) The librarian of the Escorial has not satisfied my hopes: yet he appears to have searched with diligence his broken materials; and the history of the conquest is illustrated by some valuable fragments of the *genuine* Razis (who wrote at Corduba, A.H. 300), of Ben Hazil, &c. See Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 32. 105, 106. 182. 252. 319—332. On this occasion, the industry of Pagi has been aided by the Arabic learning of his friend the Abbé de Longuerue, and to their joint labours I am deeply indebted. [Condé's list of his authorities presents a formidable array of names, strange to the scholars of the West, and for which the curious student of Arabian literature will do well to refer to his preface, p. 22—26. Among the most ancient are "The Golden Meadows" of Meraudi, who wrote from A.H. 327 to 336 (A.D. 938—947); El Homaidi, who lived till A.H. 450 (A.D. 1057), and cites many writers belonging to the earliest times of the Arabs; Aben Alabar, who copied from Abu Meruan and other preceding historians; and the History of Illustrious Spaniards by Abul Casem Chalaf, who also flourished in the fifth century of the Hegira.—Ed.]

* A mistake of Roderic of Toledo, in comparing the lunar years of the Hegira with the Julian years of the era, has determined Baronius, Mariana, and the crowd of Spanish historians, to place the first invasion in the year 713, and the battle of Xeres in November 714. This anachronism of three years has been detected by the more correct industry of modern chronologists, above all, of Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iii. p. 169. 171—174), who have restored the genuine date of the revolution. At the present time an Arabian scholar like Cardonne, who adopts the ancient error (tom. i. p. 75), is inexcusably ignorant or careless.

† The era of Cæsar, which in Spain was in legal and popular use till the fourteenth century, begins thirty-eight years before the birth of Christ. I would refer the origin to the general peace by sea and land, which confirmed the power and *partition* of the triumvirs. (Dion Cassius, l. 48, p. 547. 553. Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. 5, p. 1034, edit. fol.) Spain was a province of Cæsar Octavian; and Tarragona, which raised the first temple to Augustus (Tacit. Annal. l. 78), might borrow

to the castle and town of Julian;* on which (it is still called Algezire) they bestowed the name of the Green Island, from a verdant cape that advances into the sea. Their hospitable entertainment, the Christians who joined their standard, their inroad into a fertile and unguarded province, the richness of their spoil and the safety of their return, announced to their brethren the most favourable omens of victory. In the ensuing spring, five thousand veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier, who surpassed the expectation of his chief;† and the necessary transports were provided by the industry of their too faithful ally. The Saracens landed‡ at the pillar or point of Europe; the corrupt and familiar appellation of Gibraltar (*Gebel al Tarik*) describes the mountain of Tarik; and the intrenchments of his camp were the first outline of those fortifications, which, in the hands of our countrymen, have resisted the art and power of the house of Bourbon. The adjacent governors informed the court of Toledo of the descent and progress of the Arabs; and the defeat of his lieutenant Edeco, who had been commanded to seize and bind the presumptuous strangers, admonished Roderic of the magnitude of the danger. At the royal summons, the dukes, and counts, the bishops and nobles of the Gothic monarchy, assembled at the head of their followers; and the title of king of the Romans, which

from the Orientals this mode of flattery.

* The road, the country, the old castle of count Julian, and the superstitious belief of the Spaniards of hidden treasures, &c. are described by Père Labat (*Voyages en Espagne et en Italie*, tom. i. p. 207—217), with his usual pleasantry.

† [According to Condé (p. 53, 54), the same Taric was the leader of the first, as well as of the second expedition.—Ed.]

‡ The Nubian geographer (p. 154) explains the topography of the war; but it is highly incredible that the lieutenant of Musa should execute the desperate and useless measure of burning his ships. [With so clear an explanation of a fact so notorious in a work which every scholar reads, it is strange that in the recent edition of Blair's *Chronological Tables*, the editor (Sir H. Ellis), should have introduced at A.D. 710 this startling announcement: "*Gebel al Tarik lands at Gibraltar*, April 30." It is not in the original folio edition. Condé states that Taric in both his expeditions landed at the same point, and in the second fortified himself on the mount which afterwards had its name from him. He was there unsuccessfully attacked by Tadmîr (Theodomir) "one of king Roderic's most distinguished knights," who was the governor of the part of Spain which constitutes the present Murcia and Valencia.—Ed.]

is employed by an Arabic historian, may be excused by the close affinity of language, religion, and manners, between the nations of Spain. His army consisted of ninety or a hundred thousand men; a formidable power, if their fidelity and discipline had been adequate to their numbers. The troops of Tarik had been augmented to twelve thousand Saracens; but the Christian malcontents were attracted by the influence of Julian, and a crowd of Africans most greedily tasted the temporal blessings of the Koran. In the neighbourhood of Cadiz, the town of Xeres* has been illustrated by the encounter which determined the fate of the kingdom; the stream of the Guadalete, which falls into the bay, divided the two camps, and marked the advancing and retreating skirmishes of three successive and bloody days. On the fourth day, the two armies joined a more serious and decisive issue; but Alaric would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a diadem of pearls, encumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silken embroidery, and reclining on a litter, or car of ivory, drawn by two white mules. Notwithstanding the valour of the Saracens, they fainted under the weight of multitudes, and the plain of Xeres was overspread with sixteen thousand of their dead bodies. "My brethren," said Tarik to his surviving companions, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind; whither would ye fly? Follow your general; I am resolved either to lose my life, or to trample on the prostrate king of the Romans." Besides the resource of despair, he confided in the secret correspondence and nocturnal interviews of count Julian, with the sons and the brother of Witiza. The two princes and the archbishop of Toledo occupied the most important post: their well-timed defection broke the ranks of the Christians; each warrior was prompted by fear or suspicion to consult his personal safety; and the remains of the Gothic army were scattered or destroyed in the flight and pursuit of the three following days. Amidst the general disorder, Roderic

* Xeres (the Roman colony of Asta Regia) is only two leagues from Cadiz. In the sixteenth century it was a granary of corn; and the wine of Xeres is familiar to the nations of Europe. (Lud. Nonii Hispania, c. 13, p. 54—56, a work of correct and concise knowledge. D'Anville, *Etats de l'Europe*, &c. p. 154.) [Reichard places the ancient Asta Regia at Mesa de Asta, near Xeres de la Frontera. *Orbis Terrarum Antiquus. Tabula vii. Hispania.*—Ed.]

started from his car, and mounted Orelia, the fleetest of his horses; but he escaped from a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Bœtis or Guadalquivir. His diadem, his robes, and his courser, were found on the bank; but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the caliph must have been gratified with some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the palace of Damascus. "And such," continues a valiant historian of the Arabs, "is the fate of those kings who withdraw themselves from a field of battle."*

Count Julian had plunged so deep into guilt and infamy, that his only hope was in the ruin of his country. After the battle of Xeres he recommended the most effectual measures to the victorious Saracen. "The king of the Goths is slain; their princes have fled before you, the army is routed, the nation is astonished. Secure with sufficient detachments the cities of Bœtica; but in person, and without delay, march to the royal city of Toledo, and allow not the distracted Christians either time or tranquillity for the election of a new monarch." Tarik listened to his advice. A Roman captive and proselyte, who had been enfranchised by the caliph himself, assaulted Cordova with seven hundred horse; he swam the river, surprised the town, and drove the Christians into the great church, where they defended themselves above three months.† Another detachment reduced the sea-coast of Bœtica, which in the last period of the Moorish power, has comprised in a narrow space the populous kingdom of Grenada. The march of Tarik from

* Id sane infortunii regibus pedem ex acie referentibus sæpe contingit. Ben Hazil of Grenada, in *Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana*, tom. ii. p. 327. Some credulous Spaniards believe that king Roderic, or Roderigo, escaped to a hermit's cell; and others that he was cast alive into a tub full of serpents, from whence he exclaimed with a lamentable voice: "They devour the part with which I have so grievously sinned." (*Don Quixote*, part 2, l. 3, c. 1.) [The Arabian historians call this the battle of Guadalete. Citing Taric's letter to Muza and a public speech of his messenger, as vouchers for their accuracy, they state that Taric himself transpierced Roderic with his lance, and having cut off his head, sent it to Muza, by whom it was conveyed to the caliph Walid. Condé, p. 56—59.—Ed.]

† [The conqueror of Cordova was Muguez el Rumi (perhaps the Arabic form of Mucius Romanus). His force consisted of 1000 horsemen, each carrying a foot-soldier behind him. The governor retired into the church with 400 men; they defended themselves with

the Bœtis to the Tagus,* was directed through the Sierra Morena, that separates Andalusia and Castile, till he appeared in arms under the walls of Toledo.† The most zealous of the Catholics had escaped with the relics of their saints; and if the gates were shut it was only till the victor had subscribed a fair and reasonable capitulation. The voluntary exiles were allowed to depart with their effects; seven churches were appropriated to the Christian worship; the archbishop and his clergy were at liberty to exercise their functions, the monks to practise or neglect their penance; and the Goths and Romans were left in all civil and criminal cases to the subordinate jurisdiction of their own laws and magistrates. But if the justice of Tarik protected the Christians, his gratitude and policy rewarded the Jews, to whose secret or open aid he was indebted for his most important acquisitions. Persecuted by the kings and synods of Spain, who had often pressed the alternative of banishment or baptism, that outcast nation embraced the moment of revenge; the comparison of their past and present state was the pledge of their fidelity; and the alliance between the disciples of Moses and of Mahomet was maintained till the final era of their common expulsion. From the royal seat of Toledo, the Arabian leader spread his conquests to the north, over the modern realms of Castile and Leon; but it is needless to enumerate the cities that yielded on his approach, or again to describe the table of emerald,‡ trans-

obstinate bravery, till the last man of them died fighting. Condé, p. 62, 63.—ED.]

* The direct road from Corduba to Toledo was measured by Mr. Swinburne's mules in seventy-two hours and a half; but a larger computation must be adopted for the slow and devious marches of an army. The Arabs traversed the province of La Mancha, which the pen of Cervantes has transformed into classic ground to the readers of every nation.

† The antiquities of Toledo, *Urbs Parva* in the Punic wars, *Urbs Regia* in the sixth century, are briefly described by Nonius. (*Hispania*, c. 59, p. 181—186.) He borrows from Roderic the *fatale palatium* of Moorish portraits; but modestly insinuates that it was no more than a Roman amphitheatre.

‡ In the *Historia Arabum* (c. 9, p. 17, ad calcem Elmacin), Roderic of Toledo describes the emerald table, and inserts the name of Medinat Almeyda in Arabic words and letters. He appears to be conversant with the Mahometan writers; but I cannot agree with M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 350), that he had read and transcribed Novairi; because he was dead a hundred years before Novairi composed his history. This mistake is founded on a still grosser error.

ported from the East by the Romans, acquired by the Goths among the spoils of Rome, and presented by the Arabs to the throne of Damascus. Beyond the Asturian mountains, the maritime town of Gijon was the term* of the lieutenant of Muza, who had performed, with the speed of a traveller, his victorious march of seven hundred miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to the bay of Biscay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat; and he was recalled to Toledo, to excuse his presumption of subduing a kingdom in the absence of his general. Spain, which, in a more savage and disorderly state, had resisted, two hundred years, the arms of the Romans, was overrun in a few months by those of the Saracens; and such was the eagerness of submission and treaty, that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the only chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into their hands. The cause of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the field of Xeres; and, in the national dismay, each part of the monarchy declined a contest with the antagonist who had vanquished the united strength of the whole.† That strength had been wasted by two successive seasons of famine and pestilence; and the governors, who were impatient to surrender, might exaggerate the difficulty of collecting the provisions of a siege. To disarm the Christians, superstition likewise contributed her terrors; and the subtle Arab encouraged the report of dreams, omens, and prophecies, and of the portraits of the destined conquerors of Spain,

M. de Guignes confounds the historian Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, in the thirteenth century, with cardinal Ximenes, who governed Spain in the beginning of the sixteenth, and was the subject, not the author, of historical compositions. [Condé says that of the Arabs, M. de Guignes "gives only a few names and certain superficial notices, mingled with important errors and extraordinary misrepresentations." (Preface, p. 14.) The emerald table was a subject of dispute between Muza and Taric at their first meeting; and it caused the final disgrace and punishment of the former at Damascus. It was called by Mahometans the table of Solomon. Condé (p. 70—73. 83). —Ed.] * Taric might have inscribed on the last rock, the boast of Regnard and his companions in their Lapland journey: "Hic tandem stetimus, nobis ubi deficit orbis."

† Such was the argument of the traitor Oppas, and every chief to whom it was addressed did not answer with the spirit of Pelagius:—*Omnis Hispania dudum sub uno regimine Gothorum, omnis exercitus Hispaniæ in uno congregatus Ismaelitarum non valuit sustinere impetum.* Chron. Alphonsi Regis, apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 177.

that were discovered on breaking open an apartment of the royal palace. Yet a spark of the vital flame was still alive: some invincible fugitives preferred a life of poverty and freedom in the Asturian valleys; the hardy mountaineer repulsed the slaves of the caliph; and the sword of Pelagius has been transformed into the sceptre of the Catholic kings.*

On the intelligence of his rapid success, the applause of Muza degenerated into envy; and he began, not to complain but to fear, that Tarik would leave him nothing to subdue. At the head of ten thousand Arabs and eight thousand Africans, he passed over in person from Mauritania to Spain: the first of his companions were the noblest of the Koreish; his eldest son was left in the command of Africa; the three younger brethren were of an age and spirit to second the boldest enterprises of their father. At his landing in Algezire, he was respectfully entertained by count Julian, who stifled his inward remorse, and testified, both in words and actions, that the victory of the Arabs had not impaired his attachment to their cause. Some enemies yet remained for the sword of Muza. The tardy repentance of the Goths had compared their own numbers and those of the invaders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had declined considered themselves as impregnable; and the bravest patriots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They were successively besieged and reduced by the labour of Muza, who transported his camp from the Bœtis to the Anas, from the Guadalquivir to the Guadiana. When he beheld the works of Roman magnificence, the bridge, the aqueducts, the triumphal arches, and the theatre, of the ancient metropolis of Lusitania, "I should imagine," said he to his four companions, "that the human race must have united their art and power in the foundation of this city; happy is the man who shall become its master!" He aspired to that happiness, but the *Eméritans* sustained on this occasion the honour of their descent

* The revival of the Gothic kingdom in the Asturias is distinctly, though concisely, noticed by D'Anville. (*Etats de l'Europe*, p. 159.) [The Arabian histories avoid all notice of this noble struggle till A.D. 767. Even their suppressions or misrepresentations of disagreeable facts, if discreetly used, are serviceable in eliciting truth.—Ed

from the veteran legionaries of Augustus.* Disdaining the confinement of their walls, they gave battle to the Arabs on the plain; but an ambuscade rising from the shelter of a quarry, or a ruin, chastised their indiscretion, and intercepted their return. The wooden turrets of assault were rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart; but the defence of Merida was obstinate and long; and the *castle of the martyrs* was a perpetual testimony of the losses of the Moslems. The constancy of the besieged was at length subdued by famine and despair; and the prudent victor disguised his impatience under the names of clemency and esteem. The alternative of exile or tribute was allowed; the churches were divided between the two religions; and the wealth of those who had fallen in the siege, or retired to Galicia, was confiscated as the reward of the faithful. In the midway between Merida and Toledo, the lieutenant of Muza saluted the vicegerent of the caliph, and conducted him to the palace of the Gothic kings.† Their first interview was cold and formal: a rigid account was exacted of the treasures of Spain; the character of Tarik was exposed to suspicion and obloquy; and the hero was imprisoned, reviled, and ignominiously scourged by the hand, or the command, of Muza. Yet so strict was the discipline, so pure the zeal, or so tame the spirit, of the primitive Moslems, that after this public indignity, Tarik could serve and be trusted in the reduction of the Tarragonese province. A mosch was erected at Saragossa, by the liberality of the Koreish; the port of Barcelona was opened to the vessels of Syria; and the

* The honourable relics of the Cantabrian war (Dion Cassius, l. 53, p. 720), were planted in this metropolis of Lusitania, perhaps of Spain (Submittit cui tota suos Hispania fasces). Nonius (Hispania, c. 31, p. 106—110), enumerates the ancient structures, but concludes with a sigh:—*Urbs hæc olim nobilissima ad magnam incolarum infrequentiam delapsa est, et præter priscae claritatis ruinas nihil ostendit.*

† [The fall of Merida was hastened by the arrival of Muza's eldest son, Abdelaziz, who brought from Africa a reinforcement of 7000 horse and a large body of crossbow-men. Condé, p. 68.—ED.]

‡ [Medina Talvera, the modern Talavera, was the scene of this meeting. Muza had ordered Taric not to proceed in the conquest of Spain, and for his disobedience disgraced and imprisoned him. The Arabians do not mention the scourging. Taric appealed to the caliph, by whom he was honourably reinstated at the head of the forces which he had before commanded. Condé alludes to Novairi's relation of the capture of Narbonne and "seven idols in silver," but his slight

Goths were pursued beyond the Pyrenean mountains into their Gallic province of Septimania or Languedoc.* In the church of St. Mary at Carcassone, Muza found, but it is improbable that he left, seven equestrian statues of massy silver; and from his *term* or column of Narbonne, he returned on his footsteps to the Gallician and Lusitanian shores of the ocean. During the absence of the father, his son Abdelaziz chastised the insurgents of Seville, and reduced, from Malaga to Valencia, the sea-coast of the Mediterranean; his original treaty with the discreet and valiant Theodemir,† will represent the manners and policy of the times. "The conditions of peace agreed and sworn between Abdelaziz, the son of Muza, the son of Noseir, and Theodemir, prince of the Goths. In the name of the most merciful God, Abdelaziz makes peace on these conditions: *that* Theodemir shall not be disturbed in his principality, nor any injury be offered to the life or property, the wives and children, the religion and temples, of the Christians: *that* Theodemir shall freely deliver his seven cities, Orihuela, Valentola, Alicant, Mola, Vacasora, Bigerra (now Bejar), Ora (or Opta), and Lorca: *that* he shall not assist or entertain the enemies of the caliph, but shall faithfully communicate his knowledge of their hostile designs: *that* himself, and each of the Gothic nobles, shall annually

mention of it indicates his disbelief of the story. Condé, 72. 77. 80. —Ed.]

* Both the interpreters of Novairi, De Guignes Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 349), and Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 93, 94. 104, 105), lead Muza into the Narbonnese Gaul. But I find no mention of this enterprise either in Roderic of Toledo, or the MSS. of the Escorial; and the invasion of the Saracens is postponed by a French chronicle till the ninth year after the conquest of Spain, A.D. 721. (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 177. 195. Historians of France, tom. iii.) I much question whether Muza ever crossed the Pyrenees.

† Four hundred years after Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthagena retain in the Nubian geographer Edrisi (p. 154. 161) the name of Tadmīr. (D'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 156. Pagi, tom. iii. p. 174.) In the present decay of Spanish agriculture, Mr. Swinburne (Travels into Spain, p. 119) surveyed with pleasure the delicious valley from Murcia to Orihuela, four leagues and a half of the finest corn, pulse, lucern, oranges, &c. [Theodemir, called by the Arabians Tadmīr Ben Gobdos, had from the first courageously defended his country and distinguished himself in the battle of Guadalete, from which he retreated with the wreck of the army to his own province. The land of Tadmīr is often mentioned by the Arabian writers. Condé, p. 74.—Ed.]

pay one piece of gold, four measures of wheat, as many of barley, with a certain proportion of honey, oil, and vinegar; and that each of their vassals shall be taxed at one moiety of the said imposition. Given the fourth of Regeb, in the year of the Hegira ninety-four, and subscribed with the names of four Mussulman witnesses." * Theodemir and his subjects were treated with uncommon lenity: but the rate of tribute appears to have fluctuated from a tenth to a fifth, according to the submission or obstinacy of the Christians.† In this revolution, many partial calamities were inflicted by the carnal or religious passions of the enthusiasts; some churches were profaned by the new worship; some relics or images were confounded with idols; the rebels were put to the sword; and one town (an obscure place between Cordova and Seville) was razed to its foundations. Yet if we compare the invasion of Spain by the Goths, or its recovery by the kings of Castile and Arragon, we must applaud the moderation and discipline of the Arabian conquerors.

The exploits of Muza were performed in the evening of life, though he affected to disguise his age by colouring with a red powder the whiteness of his beard. But in the

* See the treaty in Arabic and Latin, in the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, tom. ii. p. 105, 106. It is signed the 4th of the month of Regeb, A.H. 94; the 5th of April, A.D. 713; a date which seems to prolong the resistance of Theodemir and the government of Muza. [Muza was not recalled till A.H. 95. Abdelaziz succeeded him, and governed Spain till he was assassinated in 97 or 98. In Condé's version of the treaty, Bigerra is not among the surrendered cities; Gibbon by including it has made their number *eight* instead of *seven*. Theodemir negotiated the treaty in person, but concealed his name and rank till it had been signed. Having then made himself known, Abdelaziz, "gratified by the discovery, applauded his frank and noble proceeding, paid his guest much honour, and they ate together as men who had long been friends." Condé, p. 76. 81. 89.—Ed.]

† From the history of Sandoval, (p. 87.) Fleury (*Hist. Ecclesiast.* tom. ix. p. 261) has given the substance of another treaty concluded A.E.C. 782, A.D. 744, between an Arabian chief and the Goths and Romans of the territory of Coimbra in Portugal. The tax of the churches is fixed at twenty-five pounds of gold; of the monasteries, fifty; of the cathedrals, one hundred: the Christians are judged by their count, but in capital cases he must consult the alcalde. The church-doors must be shut, and they must respect the name of Mahomet. I have not the original before me; it would confirm or destroy a dark suspicion, that the piece has been forged to introduce

love of action and glory, his breast was still fired with the ardour of youth; and the possession of Spain was considered only as the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by sea and land, he was preparing to repress the Pyrenees, to extinguish in Gaul and Italy the declining kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vatican. From thence subduing the Barbarians of Germany, he proposed to follow the course of the Danube from its source to the Euxine sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and, returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his new acquisitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria.* But his vast enterprise, perhaps of easy execution, must have seemed extravagant to vulgar minds; and the visionary conqueror was soon reminded of his dependence and servitude. The friends of Tarik had effectually stated his services and wrongs; at the court of Damascus, the proceedings of Muza were blamed, his intentions were suspected, and his delay in complying with the first invitation was chastised by a harsher and more peremptory summons. An intrepid messenger of the caliph entered his camp at Lugo in Galicia, and in the presence of the Saracens and Christians arrested the bridle of his horse. His own loyalty, or that of his troops, inculcated the duty of obedience; and his disgrace was alleviated by the recall of his rival, and the permission of investing with his two governments his two sons, Abdallah and Abdelaziz. His long triumph, from Ceuta to Damascus, displayed the spoils of Africa and the treasures of Spain; four hundred Gothic nobles, with gold coronets and girdles, were distinguished in his train; and the number of male and female captives, selected for their birth or beauty, was computed at eighteen, or even at thirty, thousand persons. As soon as he reached Tiberias in Palestine, he was apprised of the sickness and danger of the caliph, by a private message from Soliman, his brother and presumptive heir; who wished to reserve for his own

the immunity of a neighbouring convent.

* This design, which is attested by several Arabian historians (Cardonne, tom. i. p. 95, 96), may be compared with that of Mithridates, to march from the Crimea to Rome; or with that of Cæsar, to conquer the East, and return home by the north; and all three are perhaps surpassed by the *real* and successful enterprise of Hannibal.

reign the spectacle of victory. Had Walid recovered, the delay of Muza would have been criminal: he pursued his march, and found an enemy on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge, against a popular antagonist, he was convicted of vanity and falsehood; and a fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold either exhausted his poverty or proved his rapaciousness. The unworthy treatment of Tarik was revenged by a similar indignity; and the veteran commander, after a public whipping, stood a whole day in the sun before the palace-gate, till he obtained a decent exile, under the pious name of a pilgrimage to Mecca. The resentment of the caliph might have been satiated with the ruin of Muza; but his fears demanded the extirpation of a potent and injured family. A sentence of death was intimated with secrecy and speed to the trusty servants of the throne both in Africa and Spain; and the forms, if not the substance, of justice were superseded in this bloody execution. In the mosch or palace of Cordova, Abdelaziz was slain by the swords of the conspirators; they accused their governor of claiming the honours of royalty; and his scandalous marriage with Egilona, the widow of Roderic, offended the prejudices both of the Christians and Moslems.* By a refinement of cruelty, the head of the son was presented to the father, with an insulting question, whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel? "I know his features," he exclaimed with indignation: "I assert his innocence; and I imprecate the same, a juster fate, against the authors of his death." The age and despair of Muza raised him above the power of kings; and he expired at Mecca of the anguish of a broken heart. His rival was more favourably treated: his services were forgiven; and Tarik was permitted to mingle with the crowd of slaves.†

* [She is called Ayela by the Arabians; on her marriage with Abdelaziz, she received the name of Omalisam—"the lady of the precious necklace." Condé, p. 83.—Ed.] † I much regret our loss, or my ignorance, of two Arabic works of the eighth century, a life of Muza, and a poem on the exploits of Taric. Of these authentic pieces, the former was composed by a grandson of Muza, who had escaped from the massacre of his kindred; the latter by the vizir of the first Abderahman caliph of Spain, who might have conversed with some of the veterans of the conqueror. (Bibliot Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 36. 139.)

I am ignorant whether count Julian was rewarded with the death which he deserved indeed, though not from the hands of the Saracens; but the tale of their ingratitude to the sons of Witiza is disproved by the most unquestionable evidence. The two royal youths were reinstated in the private patrimony of their father; but on the decease of Eba the elder, his daughter was unjustly despoiled of her portion by the violence of her uncle Sigebut. The Gothic maid pleaded her cause before the caliph Hashem, and obtained the restitution of her inheritance; but she was given in marriage to a noble Arabian, and their two sons, Isaac and Ibrahim, were received in Spain with the consideration that was due to their origin and riches.

A province is assimilated to the victorious State by the introduction of strangers and the imitative spirit of the natives; and Spain, which had been successively tinctured with Punic, and Roman, and Gothic, blood, imbibed, in a few generations, the name and manners of the Arabs. The first conquerors, and the twenty successive lieutenants of the caliphs, were attended by a numerous train of civil and military followers, who preferred a distant fortune to a narrow home; the private and public interest was promoted by the establishment of faithful colonies; and the cities of Spain were proud to commemorate the tribe or country of their Eastern progenitors. The victorious though motley bands of Tarik and Muza asserted, by the name of *Spaniards*, their original claim of conquest; yet they allowed their brethren of Egypt to share their establishments of Murcia and Lisbon. The royal legion of Damascus was planted at Cordova; that of Emesa at Seville; that of Kinisrin or Chalcis at Jaen; that of Palestine at Algezire and Medina Sidonia. The natives of Yemen and Persia were scattered around Toledo and the inland country; and the fertile seats of Grenada were bestowed on ten thousand horsemen of Syria and Irak, the children of the purest and most noble of the Arabian tribes.* A spirit of emulation,

* Bibliot. Arab.-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 32. 252. The former of these quotations is taken from a *Biographia Hispanica*, by an Arabian of Valencia (see the copious extracts of Casiri, tom. ii. p. 80—121); and the latter from a general chronology of the caliphs and of the African and Spanish dynasties, with a particular History of the Kingdom of Grenada, of which Casiri has given almost an entire version. (Bibliot.

sometimes beneficial, more frequently dangerous, was nourished by these hereditary factions. Ten years after the conquest, a map of the province was presented to the caliph: the seas, the rivers, and the harbours, the inhabitants and cities, the climate, the soil, and the mineral productions of the earth.* In the space of two centuries, the gifts of nature were improved by the agriculture,† the manufactures, and the commerce of an industrious people; and the effects of their diligence have been magnified by the idleness of their fancy. The first of the Omniades who reigned in Spain solicited the support of the Christians; and, in his edict of peace and protection, he contents himself with a modest imposition of ten thousand ounces of gold, ten thousand pounds of silver, ten thousand horses, as many mules, one thousand cuirasses, with an equal number of helmets and lances.‡ The most powerful of his succes-

Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 177—319.) The author, Ebn Khateb, a native of Grenada, and a contemporary of Novairi and Abulfeda (born A.D. 1313, died A.D. 1374), was an historian, geographer, physician, poet, &c. (tom. ii. p. 71, 72).

* Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 116, 117.

† A copious treatise of Husbandry, by an Arabian of Seville, in the twelfth century, is in the Escorial library, and Casiri had some thoughts of translating it. He gives a list of the authors quoted, Arabs, as well as Greeks, Latins, &c.; but it is much if the Andalusian saw the strangers through the medium of his countryman Columella. (Casiri, Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. i. p. 323—338.)

‡ Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 104. Casiri translates the original testimony of the historian Rasis, as it is alleged, in the Arabic Biographia Hispanica, pars 9. But I am most exceedingly surprised at the address, Principibus cæterisque Christianis Hispanis suis *Castellæ*. The name of *Castellæ* was unknown in the eighth century; the kingdom was not erected till the year 1022, a hundred years after the time of Rasis (Bibliot. tom. ii. p. 330), and the appellation was always expressive, not of a tributary province, but of a line of *castles* independent of the Moorish yoke. (D'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 166—170.) Had Casiri been a critic, he would have cleared a difficulty, perhaps of his own making. [Mariana derives the name of *Castellæ* from its numerous castles, *ab arcium frequentia*. (De Reb. Hisp. l. 1, c. 4, p. 7.) In the second chapter of his eighth book (p. 320), he says that from a very early period it was a distinct province, but within narrow limits, having its own counts (*Castellæ comites*) subordinate to the kings of Oviedo. Roderic, the first of these counts, he makes a contemporary of Alfonso II., who began his reign in 790. After many struggles, a treaty was concluded in 965, between its count Ferdinand Gonsalvo and Sancho the Fat, by which it was declared independent. Ib. l. 8, c. 7, p. 333.—ED.]

sors derived from the same kingdom the annual tribute of twelve millions and forty-five thousand dinars or pieces of gold, about six millions of sterling money;* a sum which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs. His royal seat of Cordova contained six hundred moschs, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thousand houses: he gave laws to eighty cities of the first, to three hundred of the second and third, order; and the fertile banks of the Guadalquivir were adorned with twelve thousand villages and hamlets. The Arabs might exaggerate the truth, but they created and they describe the most prosperous era of the riches, the cultivation, and the populousness of Spain.†

The wars of the Moslems were sanctified by the prophet; but among the various precepts and examples of his life, the caliphs selected the lessons of toleration that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelievers. Arabia was the temple and patrimony of the God of Mahomet; but he beheld with less jealousy and affection the nations of the earth. The Polytheists and idolators who were ignorant of his name, might be lawfully extirpated by his votaries;‡ but

* Cardonne, tom. i. p. 337, 338. He computes the revenue at one hundred and thirty millions of French livres. The entire picture of peace and prosperity relieves the bloody uniformity of the Moorish annals.

† I am happy enough to possess a splendid and interesting work, which has only been distributed in presents by the court of Madrid; *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escorialensis, operâ et studio Michaelis Casiri, Syro-Maronitæ: Matriti, in folio, tomus prior, 1760, tomus posterior, 1770.* The execution of this work does honour to the Spanish press: the MSS. to the number of one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, are judiciously classed by the editor, and his copious extracts throw some light on the Mahometan literature and history of Spain. These relics are now secure, but the task has been supinely delayed till, in the year 1671, a fire consumed the greatest part of the Escorial library, rich in the spoils of Grenada and Morocco. [Condé, in his Preface, p. 15, criticizes severely this work of Casiri, in which he says, "there are many errors and much confusion respecting persons, places, and times." He cites several instances of these, and adds that to enumerate them all, many pages would be required.—ED.]

‡ The *Harbii*, as they are styled, qui tolerari nequeunt, are, 1. Those who, besides God, worship the sun, moon, or idols. 2. Atheists. Utrique, quamdiu princeps aliquis inter Mohammedanos superest, oppugnari debent donec religionem amplectantur, nec requies iis concedenda est, nec pretium acceptandum pro obtinendâ conscientie libertate (Keland, Dissertat. 10, de jure militari Mohammedan. tom. iii.

a wise policy supplied the obligation of justice; and after some acts of intolerant zeal, the Mahometan conquerors of Hindostan have spared the pagods of that devout and populous country. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus, were solemnly invited to accept the more *perfect* revelation of Mahomet; but if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship.* In a field of battle, the forfeit lives of the prisoners were redeemed by the profession of *Islam*; the females were bound to embrace the religion of their masters, and a race of sincere proselytes was gradually multiplied by the education of the infant captives. But the millions of African and Asiatic converts, who swelled the native band of the faithful Arabs, must have been allured, rather than constrained, to declare their belief in one God and the apostle of God. By the repetition of a sentence and the loss of a foreskin, the subject or the slave, the captive or the criminal, arose in a moment the free and equal companion of the victorious Moslems. Every sin was expiated, every engagement was dissolved: the vow of celibacy was superseded by the indulgence of nature; the active spirits who slept in the cloister were awakened by the trumpet of the Saracens; and in the convulsion of the world, every member of a new society ascended to the natural level of his capacity and courage. The minds of the multitude were tempted by the invisible as well as temporal blessings of the Arabian prophet; and charity will hope, that many of his proselytes entertained a serious conviction of the truth and sanctity of his revelation. In the eyes of an inquisitive Polytheist, it must appear worthy of the human and the divine nature. More pure than the system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of Moses, the religion of Mahomet might seem less inconsistent with reason, than the creed of mystery and superstition, which, in the seventh century, disgraced the simplicity of the gospel.

In the extensive provinces of Persia and Africa, the na-

p. 14): a rigid theory!

* The distinction between a proscribed and a tolerated sect, between the *Harbi* and the people of the Book, the believers in some divine revelation, is correctly defined in the conversation of the caliph Al Mamun with the idolaters, or Sabæans, of Charræ. Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* p. 107, 108.

tional religion has been eradicated by the Mahometan faith. The ambiguous theology of the Magi stood alone among the sects of the East: but the profane writings of Zoroaster* might, under the reverend name of Abraham, be dexterously connected with the chain of divine revelation. Their evil principle, the demon Ahriman, might be represented as the rival or as the creature of the God of light. The temples of Persia were devoid of images; but the worship of the sun and of fire might be stigmatized as a gross and criminal idolatry.† The milder sentiment was consecrated by the practice of Mahomet‡ and the prudence of the caliphs; the Magians or Ghebers were ranked with the Jews and Christians among the people of the written law;§ and as late as the third century of the Hegira, the city of Herat will afford a lively contrast of private zeal and public toleration.¶ Under the payment of an annual tribute, the Mahometan law secured to the Ghebers of Herat their civil and religious liberties: but the recent and humble mosch was oversha-

* The Zend or Pazend, the Bible of the Ghebers, is reckoned by themselves, or at least by the Mahometans, among the ten books which Abraham received from heaven; and their religion is honourably styled the religion of Abraham. (D'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 701. Hyde, *de Religione veterum Persarum*, c. 3, p. 27, 28, &c.) I much fear that we do not possess any pure and free description of the system of Zoroaster. Dr. Prideaux (*Connection*, vol. i. p. 300, octavo) adopts the opinion, that he had been the slave and scholar of some Jewish prophet in the captivity of Babylon. Perhaps the Persians, who have been the masters of the Jews, would assert the honour (a poor honour) of being *their* masters.

† The Arabian Nights, a faithful and amusing picture of the Oriental world, represent in the most odious colours, the Magians, or worshippers of fire, to whom they attribute the annual sacrifice of a Mussulman. The religion of Zoroaster has not the least affinity with that of the Hindoos, yet they are often confounded by the Mahometans; and the sword of Timour was sharpened by this mistake. (*Hist. de Timour Bec*, par Cherefeddin Ali Yezdi, l. 5.)

‡ Vie de Mahomet, par Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 114, 115.

§ Hæ tres sectæ, Judæi, Christiani, et qui inter Persas Magorum institutis addicti sunt, κατ' ἑξοχὴν, *populi liberi* dicuntur. (Reland. *Dissertat.* tom. iii. p. 15.) The caliph, Al Mamun, confirms this honourable distinction in favour of the three sects, with the vague and equivocal religion of the Sabæans, under which the ancient Polytheists of Charæ were allowed to shelter their idolatrous worship. (Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* p. 167, 168.)

¶ This singular story is related by D'Herbelot (*Bibliot. Orient.* p. 448, 449), on the faith of Khondemir, and by Mirchond himself. (*Hist. priorum Regum Persarum*, &c. p. 9, 10,

dowed by the antique splendour of the adjoining temple of fire. A fanatic imam deplored, in his sermons, the scandalous neighbourhood, and accused the weakness or indifference of the faithful. Excited by his voice, the people assembled in tumult; the two houses of prayer were consumed by the flames, but the vacant ground was immediately occupied by the foundations of a new mosch. The injured Magi appealed to the sovereign of Chorasán; he promised justice and relief; when, behold! four thousand citizens of Herat, of a grave character and mature age, unanimously swore that the idolatrous fane had *never* existed; the inquisition was silenced, and their conscience was satisfied (says the historian Mirchond)* with this holy and meritorious perjury.† But the greatest part of the temples of Persia were ruined by the insensible and general desertion of their votaries. It was *insensible*, since it is not accompanied with any memorial of time or place, of persecution or resistance. It was *general*, since the whole realm, from Shiraz to Samarcand, imbibed the faith of the Koran: and the preservation of the native tongue reveals the descent of the Mahometans of Persia.‡

not. p. 88. 99.)

* Mirchond (Mohammed Emir Khoondah Shah), a native of Herat, composed in the Persian language a general history of the East, from the creation to the year of the Hegira 875 (A.D. 1471). In the year 904 (A.D. 1498), the historian obtained the command of a princely library, and his applauded work, in seven or twelve parts, was abbreviated in three volumes by his son Khondemir, A.H. 927, A.D. 1520. The two writers most accurately distinguished by Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Genghizcan, p. 537, 538. 544, 545), are loosely confounded by D'Herbelot (p. 358. 410. 994, 995), but his numerous extracts, under the improper name of Khondemir, belong to the father rather than the son. The historian of Genghizcan refers to a MS. of Mirchond, which he received from the hands of his friend D'Herbelot himself. A curious fragment (the Taherian and Soffarian Dynasties) has been lately published in Persic and Latin (Vienne, 1782, in quarto, cum notis Bernard de Jenisch), and the editor allows us to hope for a continuation of Mirchond.

† Quo testimonio boni se quidpiam præstitisse opinabantur. Yet Mirchond must have condemned their zeal, since he approved the legal toleration of the Magi, cui (the fire temple) peracto singulis annis censu, uti sacra Mohammedis lege cautum, ab omnibus molestiis ac oneribus libero esse licuit.

‡ The last Magian of name and power appears to be Mardavige the Dilemite, who, in the beginning of the tenth century, reigned in the northern provinces of Persia, near the Caspian Sea. (D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 355.) But his soldiers and successors, the *Bowides*, either professed or embraced the

In the mountains and deserts, an obstinate race of unbelievers adhered to the superstition of their fathers; and a faint tradition of the Magian theology is kept alive in the province of Kirman, along the banks of the Indus, among the exiles of Surat, and in the colony which, in the last century, was planted by Shaw Abbas at the gates of Ispahan. The chief pontiff has retired to mount Elbourz, eighteen leagues from the city of Yezd: the perpetual fire (if it continue to burn) is inaccessible to the profane; but his residence is the school, the oracle, and the pilgrimage, of the Ghebers, whose hard and uniform features attest the unmingled purity of their blood. Under the jurisdiction of their elders, eighty thousand families maintain an innocent and industrious life; their subsistence is derived from some curious manufactures and mechanic trades; and they cultivate the earth with the fervour of a religious duty. Their ignorance withstood the despotism of Shaw Abbas, who demanded with threats and tortures the prophetic books of Zoroaster; and this obscure remnant of the Magians is spared by the moderation or contempt of their present sovereigns.*

The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the light of the gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished. The arts, which had been taught by Carthage and Rome, were involved in a cloud of ignorance; the doctrine of Cyprian and Augustin was no longer studied. Five hundred episcopal churches were overturned by the hostile fury of the Donatists, the Vandals, and the Moors. The zeal and numbers of the clergy declined; and the people, without discipline, or knowledge, or hope, submissively sank under the yoke of the Arabian prophet. Within fifty years after the expulsion of the Greeks, a lieutenant of Africa informed the

Mahometan faith; and under their dynasty (A.D. 938—1020), I should place the fall of the religion of Zoroaster.

* The present state of the Ghebers in Persia is taken from Sir John Chardin, not indeed the most learned, but the most judicious and inquisitive, of our modern travellers. (*Voyages en Perse*, tom. ii. p. 109. 179—187, in quarto.) His brethren, Pietro de la Valle, Olearius, Thevenot, Tavernier, &c. whom I have fruitlessly searched, had neither eyes nor attention for this interesting people. [A more recent account of this gradually-expiring sect, may be found in Porter's Travels, vol. ii. p. 45.]

caliph that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion,* and, though he sought to disguise his fraud and rebellion, his specious pretence was drawn from the rapid and extensive progress of the Mahometan faith. In the next age, an extraordinary mission of five bishops was detached from Alexandria to Cairoan. They were ordained by the Jacobite patriarch to cherish and revive the dying embers of Christianity:† but the interposition of a foreign prelate, a stranger to the Latins, an enemy to the Catholics, supposes the decay and dissolution of the African hierarchy. It was no longer the time when the successor of St. Cyprian, at the head of a numerous synod, could maintain an equal contest with the ambition of the Roman pontiff. In the eleventh century, the unfortunate priest who was seated on the ruins of Carthage, implored the arms and the protection of the Vatican; and he bitterly complains that his naked body had been scourged by the Saracens, and that his authority was disputed by the four suffragans, the tottering pillars of his throne. Two epistles of Gregory VII.‡ are destined to soothe the distress of the Catholics and the pride of a Moorish prince. The pope assures the sultan that they both worship the same God, and may hope to meet in the bosom of Abraham; but the complaint, that three bishops could no longer be found to consecrate a brother, announces the speedy and inevitable ruin of the episcopal order. The Christians of Africa and Spain had long since submitted to the practice of circumcision and the legal abstinence from wine and pork; and the name of *Mozarabes*§ (adoptive

57. 516.—ED.]

* The letter of Abdoulrahman, governor or tyrant of Africa, to the caliph Aboul Abbas, the first of the Abbassides, is dated A.H. 132. (Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 168.)

† Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 66.

Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 287, 288.

‡ Among the Epistles of the Popes, see Leo IX., epist. 3, Gregor. VII., l. 1, epist. 22, 23; l. 3, epist. 19—21, and the criticisms of Pagi (tom. iv. A.D. 1053, No. 14, A.D. 1073, No. 13), who investigates the name and family of the Moorish prince, with whom the proudest of the Roman pontiffs so politely corresponds.

§ Mozarabes, or Mostarabes, *adscititii*, as it is interpreted in Latin. (Pocock, Specimen, Hist. Arabum. p. 39, 40. Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 18.) The Mozarabic liturgy, the ancient ritual of the church of Toledo, has been attacked by the popes, and exposed to the doubtful trials of the sword and of fire. (Marian. Hist. Hispan. tom. i. l. 9, c. 18, p. 378.) It was, or rather it is, in the Latin tongue; yet in the eleventh

Arabs) was applied to their civil or religious conformity.* About the middle of the twelfth century, the worship of Christ and the succession of pastors were abolished along the coast of Barbary, and in the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, of Valencia and Grenada.† The throne of the Almohades, or Unitarians, was founded on the blindest fanaticism, and their extraordinary rigour might be provoked or justified by the recent victories and intolerant zeal of the princes of Sicily and Castile, of Arragon and Portugal. The faith of the Mozarabes was occasionally revived by the papal missionaries; and, on the landing of Charles V. some families of Latin Christians were encouraged to rear their heads at Tunis and Algiers. But the seed of the gospel was quickly eradicated, and the long province from Tripoli to the Atlantic has lost all memory of the language and religion of Rome.‡

After the revolution of eleven centuries, the Jews and Christians of the Turkish empire enjoy the liberty of conscience which was granted by the Arabian caliphs. During the first age of the conquest, they suspected the loyalty of the Catholics, whose name of Melchites betrayed their secret attachment to the Greek emperor, while the Nestorians and Jacobites, his inveterate enemies, approved themselves the sincere and voluntary friends of the Mahometan

century it was found necessary (A. E. c. 1087, A.D. 1049) to transcribe an Arabic version of the canons of the councils of Spain (Bibliot. Arab. Hist. tom. i. p. 547), for the use of the bishops and clergy in the Moorish kingdoms.

* About the middle of the tenth century, the clergy of Cordova was reproached with this criminal compliance, by the intrepid envoy of the emperor Otho I. (Vit. Johan. Gorz, in *Secul. Benedict.* V. No. 115, apud Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xii. p. 91.)

† Pagi, *Critica*, tom. iv. A.D. 1149, No. 8, 9. He justly observes, that when Seville, &c. were retaken by Ferdinand of Castile, no Christians, except captives, were found in the place; and that the Mozarabic churches of Africa and Spain, described by James à Vitriaco, A.D. 1518 (*Hist. Hierosol.* c. 80, p. 1095, in *Gest. Dei per Francos*), are copied from some older book. I shall add, that the date of the Hegira, 677 (A.D. 1278), must apply to the copy, not the composition, of a treatise of jurisprudence, which states the civil rights of the Christians of Cordova (*Bibliot. Arab. Hist.* tom. i. p. 471), and that the Jews were the only dissenters whom Abul Waled, king of Grenada (A.D. 1313), could either discountenance or tolerate (tom. ii. p. 288).

‡ Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 288. Leo Africanus would have flattered his Roman masters, could he have discovered any latent relics of the Christianity of Africa.

government.* Yet this partial jealousy was healed by time and submission; the churches of Egypt were shared with the Catholics,† and all the Oriental sects were included in the common benefits of toleration. The rank, the immunities, the domestic jurisdiction, of the patriarchs, the bishops, and the clergy, were protected by the civil magistrate; the learning of individuals recommended them to the employments of secretaries and physicians; they were enriched by the lucrative collection of the revenue; and their merit was sometimes raised to the command of cities and provinces. A caliph of the house of Abbas was heard to declare, that the Christians were most worthy of trust in the administration of Persia. "The Moslems," said he, "will abuse their present fortune; the Magians regret their fallen greatness; and the Jews are impatient for their approaching deliverance."‡ But the slaves of despotism are exposed to the alternatives of favour and disgrace. The captive churches of the East have been afflicted in every age by the avarice or bigotry of their rulers; and the ordinary and legal restraints must be offensive to the pride or the zeal of the Christians.§ About two hundred years after Mahomet, they were separated from their fellow-subjects by a turban or girdle of a less honourable colour; instead of horses or mules, they were condemned to ride on asses, in the attitude of women. Their public and private buildings

* Absit (said the Catholic to the vizir of Bagdad) ut pari loco habeas Nestorianos, quorum præter Arabas nullus alius rex est, et Græcos quorum reges amovendo Arabibus bello non desistunt, &c. See in the collections of Assemanus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 94—101), the state of the Nestorians under the caliphs. That of the Jacobites is more concisely exposed in the Preliminary Dissertation of the second volume of Assemanus.

† Eutyech. Annal. tom. ii. p. 384. 387, 388. Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 205, 206. 257. 332. A taint of the Monothelite heresy might render the first of these Greek patriarchs less loyal to the emperors and less obnoxious to the Arabs.

‡ Motadhed, who reigned from A.D. 892 to 902. The Magians still held their name and rank among the religions of the empire. (Assemani Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 97.)

§ Reland explains the general restraints of the Mahometan policy and jurisprudence. (Dissertat. tom. iii. p. 16—20.) The oppressive edicts of the caliph Motawakkel (A.D. 847—861), which are still in force, are noticed by Eutyechius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 448) and D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 640). A persecution of the caliph Omar II. is related, and most probably magnified, by the Greek Theophanes.

were measured by a diminutive standard; in the streets or the baths it is their duty to give way or bow down before the meanest of the people; and their testimony is rejected, if it may tend to the prejudice of a true believer. The pomp of processions, the sounds of bells or of psalmody, is interdicted in their worship; a decent reverence for the national faith is imposed on their sermons and conversations; and the sacrilegious attempt to enter a mosch, or to seduce a Mussulman, will not be suffered to escape with impunity. In a time, however, of tranquillity and justice, the Christians have never been compelled to renounce the gospel or to embrace the Koran; but the punishment of death is inflicted on the apostates who have professed and deserted the law of Mahomet. The martyrs of Cordova provoked the sentence of the cadhi, by the public confession of their inconstancy, or their passionate invectives against the person and religion of the prophet.*

At the end of the first century of the Hegira, the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. Their prerogative was not circumscribed, either in the right or in fact, by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church, the votes of a senate, or the memory of a free constitution. The authority of the companions of Mahomet expired with their lives; and the chiefs or emirs of the Arabian tribes left behind, in the desert, the spirit of equality and independence. The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mahomet; and if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the East, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their tyrants the acts of violence and severity that were exercised at their own expense. Under the last of the Ommiades,

(Chron. p. 334.)

* The martyrs of Cordova (A.D. 850, &c.) are commemorated and justified by St. Eulogius, who at length fell a victim himself. A synod, convened by the caliph, ambiguously censured their rashness. The moderate Fleury cannot reconcile their conduct with the discipline of antiquity, *toutefois l'autorité de l'Eglise*, &c. (Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. x. p. 415—522, particularly p. 451. 508, 509.) Their authentic acts throw a strong though a transient light on the Spanish church in the ninth century.

the Arabian empire extended two hundred days' journey from East to West, from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. And if we retrench the sleeve of the robe, as it is styled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the solid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan.* We should vainly seek the indissoluble union and easy obedience that pervaded the government of Augustus and the Antonines: but the progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions. The language and laws of the Koran were studied with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville: the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Tigris.†

CHAPTER LII.—THE TWO SIEGES OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE ARABS—THEIR INVASION OF FRANCE AND DEFEAT BY CHARLES MARTEL.—CIVIL WAR OF THE OMMIADES AND ABBASSIDES.—LEARNING OF THE ARABS.—LUXURY OF THE CALIPHS.—NAVAL ENTERPRISES ON CRETE, SICILY, AND ROME.—DECAY AND DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE CALIPHS.—DEFEATS AND VICTORIES OF THE GREEK EMPERORS.

WHEN the Arabs first issued from the desert, they must have been surprised at the ease and rapidity of their own success. But when they advanced in the career of victory to the banks of the Indus and the summit of the Pyrenees; when they had repeatedly tried the edge of their scymetars and the energy of their faith, they might be

* See the article *Eslamiah* (as we say Christendom) in the Bibliothèque Orientale (p. 325). This chart of the Mahometan world is suited by the author, Ebn Alwardi, to the year of the Hegira 385 (A.D. 995). Since that time the losses in Spain have been overbalanced by the conquests in India, Tartary, and the European Turkey.

† The Arabic of the Koran is taught as a dead language in the college of Mecca. By the Danish traveller, this ancient idiom is compared to the Latin; the vulgar tongue of Hejaz and Yemen to the Italian; and the Arabian dialects of Syria, Egypt, Africa, &c. to the Provençal, Spanish, and Portuguese. (Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 74, &c.)

equally astonished that any nation could resist their invincible arms, that any boundary should confine the dominion of the successor of the prophet. The confidence of soldiers and fanatics may indeed be excused, since the calm historian of the present hour, who strives to follow the rapid course of the Saracens, must study to explain by what means the church and state were saved from this impending, and, as it should seem, from this inevitable danger. The deserts of Scythia and Sarmatia might be guarded by their extent, their climate, their poverty, and the courage of the northern shepherds; China was remote and inaccessible; but the greatest part of the temperate zone was subject to the Mahometan conquerors, the Greeks were exhausted by the calamities of war and the loss of their fairest provinces, and the barbarians of Europe might justly tremble at the precipitate fall of the Gothic monarchy. In this inquiry I shall unfold the events that rescued our ancestors of Britain, and our neighbours of Gaul, from the civil and religious yoke of the Koran; that protected the majesty of Rome, and delayed the servitude of Constantinople; that invigorated the defence of the Christians; and scattered among their enemies the seeds of division and decay.

Forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, his disciples appeared in arms under the walls of Constantinople.* They were animated by a genuine or fictitious saying of the prophet, that, to the first army which besieged the city of the Cæsars, their sins were forgiven: the long series of Roman triumphs would be meritoriously transferred to the conquerors of New Rome; and the wealth of nations was deposited in this well-chosen seat of royalty and commerce. No sooner had the caliph Moawiyah suppressed his rivals and established his throne, than he aspired to expiate the guilt of civil blood, by the success and glory of his holy expedition;† his preparations by sea

* Theophanes places the *seven* years of the siege of Constantinople in the year of *our* Christian era 673, (of the Alexandrian 665, Sept. 1,) and the peace of the Saracens, *four* years afterwards; a glaring inconsistency! which Petavius, Goar, and Pagi (*Critica*. tom. iv. p. 63, 64) have struggled to remove. Of the Arabians, the Hegira 52 (A.D. 672, January 8) is assigned by Elmacin, the year 48 (A.D. 668, Feb. 20) by Abulfeda, whose testimony I esteem the most convenient and creditable.

† For this first siege of Constantinople, see

and land were adequate to the importance of the object; his standard was intrusted to Sophian, a veteran warrior, but the troops were encouraged by the example and presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The Greeks had little to hope, nor had their enemies any reasons of fear, from the courage and vigilance of the reigning emperor, who disgraced the name of Constantine, and imitated only the inglorious years of his grandfather Heraclius. Without delay or opposition, the naval forces of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, which even now, under the feeble and disorderly government of the Turks, is maintained as the natural bulwark of the capital.* The Arabian fleet cast anchor, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. During many days, from the dawn of light to the evening, the line of assault was extended from the golden gate to the eastern promontory, and the foremost warriors were impelled by the weight and effort of the succeeding columns. But the besiegers had formed an insufficient estimate of the strength and resources of Constantinople. The solid and lofty walls were guarded by numbers and discipline; the spirit of the Romans was rekindled by the last danger of their religion and empire; the fugitives from the conquered provinces more successfully renewed the defence of Damascus and Alexandria; and the Saracens were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire. This firm and effectual resistance diverted their arms to the more easy attempts of plundering the European and Asiatic coasts of the Propontis; and, after keeping the sea from

Nicephorus (Breviar. p. 21, 22), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 294), Cedrenus (Compend. p. 437), Zonaras (Hist. tom. ii. l. 14, p. 89), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 56, 57), Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 107, 108, vers. Reiske), D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. *Constantinah*,) Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 127, 128.

* The state and defence of the Dardanelles is exposed in the Memoirs of the Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 39-97), who was sent to fortify them against the Russians. From a principal actor, I should have expected more accurate details; but he seems to write for the amusement, rather than the instruction, of his reader. Perhaps, on the approach of the enemy, the minister of Constantine was occupied, like that of Mustapha, in finding two canary-birds, who should sing precisely the same note.

the month of April to that of September, on the approach of winter they retreated fourscore miles from the capital, to the isle of Cyzicus, in which they had established their magazine of spoil and provisions. So patient was their perseverance, or so languid were their operations, that they repeated, in the six following summers, the same attack and retreat, with a gradual abatement of hope and vigour, till the mischances of shipwreck and disease, of the sword and of fire, compelled them to relinquish the fruitless enterprise. They might bewail the loss, or commemorate the martyrdom, of thirty thousand Moslems, who fell in the siege of Constantinople; and the solemn funeral of Abu Ayub, or Job, excited the curiosity of the Christians themselves. That venerable Arab, one of the last of the companions of Mahomet, was numbered among the *ansars*, or auxiliaries, of Medina, who sheltered the head of the flying prophet. In his youth he fought, at Beder and Ohud, under the holy standard; in his mature age he was the friend and follower of Ali; and the last remnant of his strength and life was consumed in a distant and dangerous war against the enemies of the Koran. His memory was revered; but the place of his burial was neglected and unknown, during a period of seven hundred and eighty years, till the conquest of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second. A seasonable vision (for such are the manufacture of every religion) revealed the holy spot at the foot of the walls and the bottom of the harbour; and the mosch of Ayub has been deservedly chosen for the simple and martial inauguration of the Turkish sultans.*

The event of the siege revived, both in the East and West, the reputation of the Roman arms, and cast a momentary shade over the glories of the Saracens. The Greek ambassador was favourably received at Damascus, in a general council of the emirs or Koreish; a peace, or truce of thirty years, was ratified between the two empires; and the stipulation of an annual tribute, fifty horses of a noble breed, fifty slaves, and three thousand

* Demetrius Cantemir's *Hist. of the Othman Empire*, p. 105, 106. Rycant's *State of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 10, 11. *Voyages de Thevenot*, part 1, p. 189. The Christians, who suppose that the martyr Abu Ayub is vulgarly confounded with the patriarch Job, betray their own ignorance rather than that of the Turks.

pieces of gold, degraded the majesty of the commander of the faithful.* The aged caliph was desirous of possessing his dominions, and ending his days in tranquillity and repose; while the Moors and Indians trembled at his name, his palace and city of Damascus was insulted by the Mardaites, or Maronites, of mount Libanus, the firmest barrier of the empire, till they were disarmed and transplanted by the suspicious policy of the Greeks.† After the revolt of Arabia and Persia, the house of Ommiyah‡ was reduced to the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt; their distress and fear enforced their compliance with the pressing demands of the Christians; and the tribute was increased to a slave, a horse, and a thousand pieces of gold, for each of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the solar year. But as soon as the empire was again united by the arms and policy of Abdalmalek, he disclaimed a badge of servitude not less injurious to his conscience than to his pride; he discontinued the payment of the tribute; and the resentment of the Greeks was disabled from action by the mad tyranny of the second Justinian, the just rebellion of his subjects, and the frequent change of his antagonists and successors. Till the reign of Abdalmalek, the Saracens had been content with the free possession of the Persian and Roman treasures, in the coin of Chosroes and Cæsar. By the command of that caliph, a national mint was established, both for silver and gold, and the inscription of the

* Theophanes, though a Greek, deserves credit for these tributes (Chronograph. p. 295, 296. 300, 301), which are confirmed, with some variation, by the Arabic History of Abulpharagius. (Dynast. p. 128, vera Pocock).

† The censure of Theophanes is just and pointed, *τὴν Ῥωμαικὴν δυναστείαν ἀκρωτηριάσας . . . πάνδεινα κατὰ πικρονθέν ἡ Ῥωμανία ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀράβων μέχρι τοῦ νῦν.* (Chronograph. p. 302, 303). The series of these events may be traced in the Annals of Theophanes, and in the Abridgment of the Patriarch Nicephorus, p. 22—24.

‡ These domestic revolutions are related in a clear and natural style, in the second volume of Ockley's History of the Saracens, p. 253—370. Besides our printed authors, he draws his materials from the Arabic MSS. of Oxford, which he would have more deeply searched, had he been confined to the Bodleian Library instead of the city jail; a fate how unworthy of the man and of his country! [D'Israeli, in his "Calamities of Authors," shows that this is not a solitary blot on our literary annals. It has been already noticed by Gibbon in ch. 51 (p. 52). But Oxford was not the scene of Ockley's imprisonment. The Introduction to his second volume is dated from Cambridge Castle. See the Memoir prefixed

dinar, though it might be censured by some timorous casuists, proclaimed the unity of the God of Mahomet.* Under the reign of the caliph Waled, the Greek language and characters were excluded from the accounts of the public revenue.† If this change was productive of the invention or familiar use of our present numerals, the Arabic or Indian ciphers, as they are commonly styled, a regulation of office has promoted the most important discoveries of arithmetic, algebra, and the mathematical sciences.‡

Bohn's Edition of his History.—Ed.]

* Elmacin, who dates the first coinage A.H. 76, A.D. 695, five or six years later than the Greek historians, has compared the weight of the best or common gold dinar, to the drachm or dirhem of Egypt (p. 77), which may be equal to two pennies (forty-eight grains) of our Troy weight (Hooper's Inquiry into Ancient Measures, p. 24—36), and equivalent to eight shillings of our sterling money. From the same Elmacin and the Arabian physicians, some dinars as high as two dirhems, as low as half a dirhem, may be deduced. The piece of silver was the dirhem, both in value and weight; but an old, though fair coin, struck at Waset, A.H. 88, and preserved in the Bodleian Library, wants four grains of the Cairo standard. (See the Modern Univ. Hist. tom. i. p. 548, of the French translation.) [The law of Mahomet forbade all imitation of the human figure. The first Mahometans therefore used the coins of the lands which they conquered. When they found it necessary to issue their own, they could only determine their value by copying on one side the monies current among them, while they covered the obverse with texts of the Koran. Abdalmelik's first mint-master was a Jew, named Somyor. Their gold dinar weighed seventy-two grains of barley, and was worth about nine shillings. But the Arabian term for these coins was *Markusch*. By the diffusion of commerce they were circulated over Europe and introduced the term *marcus*, *mark*, into the monetary vocabulary of every country. They were copied by our Anglo-Saxon Offa, whose name appears on one of his coins among the words, "Mahomet is the prophet of God." Ockley, p. 487. Condé, p. 76. Humphrey's Manual, p. 414. 518. 534. Bohn's Editions.—Ed.]

† *Kai ikwlyse grafesthai ellhnioti tous dhymoius twn logothesiwn kwdikas, all' 'Araβiois autā parasheimainesthai xwris twn ψήφων, epeiđh αδύνατον τη ekeiwn γλώσσῃ μονάδα, η δυάδα, η τριάδα, η δεκά ημισυ η τρία γράφεσθαι.* Theophan. Chronograph. p. 314. This defect, if it really existed, must have stimulated the ingenuity of the Arabs to invent or borrow.

‡ According to a new, though probable, notion, maintained by M. de Villosion (*Anecdota Græca*, tom. ii. p. 152—157), our ciphers are not of Indian or Arabic invention. They were used by the Greek and Latin arithmeticians long before the age of Boethius. After the extinction of science in the West, they were adopted by the Arabic versions from the original MSS. and restored to the Latins about the eleventh century.

Whilst the caliph Waled sat idle on the throne of Damascus, while his lieutenants achieved the conquest of Transoxiana and Spain, a third army of Saracens overspread the provinces of Asia Minor, and approached the borders of the Byzantine capital. But the attempt and disgrace of the second siege was reserved for his brother Soliman, whose ambition appears to have been quickened by a more active and martial spirit. In the revolutions of the Greek empire, after the tyrant Justinian had been punished and avenged, a humble secretary, Anastasius or Artemius, was promoted by chance or merit to the vacant purple. He was alarmed by the sound of war; and his ambassador returned from Damascus with the tremendous news, that the Saracens were preparing an armament by sea and land, such as would transcend the experience of the past, or the belief of the present, age. The precautions of Anastasius were not unworthy of his station or of the impending danger. He issued a peremptory mandate, that all persons who were not provided with the means of subsistence for a three years' siege, should evacuate the city; the public granaries and arsenals were abundantly replenished; the walls were restored and strengthened; and the engines for casting stones, or darts, or fire, were stationed along the ramparts, or in the brigantines of war, of which an additional number was hastily constructed. To prevent is safer as well as more honourable, than to repel, an attack; and a design was meditated, above the usual spirit of the Greeks, of burning the naval stores of the enemy, the cypress timber that had been hewn in mount Libanus, and was piled along the sea-shore of Phœnicia for the service of the Egyptian fleet. This generous enterprise was defeated by the cowardice or treachery of the troops, who, in the new language of the empire, were styled of the *obsequian themes*.* They murdered their chief, deserted their standard

* In the division of the *themes* or provinces, described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Thematibus*, l. 1, p. 9, 10,) the *obsequium*, a Latin appellation of the army and palace, was the fourth in the public order. Nice was the metropolis, and its jurisdiction extended from the Hellespont over the adjacent parts of Bithynia and Phrygia. (See the two maps prefixed by Delisle to the *Imperium Orientale* of Banduri.) [The term *Obsequium* was introduced into the *Pandects* (l. 37. Tit. 15), and Justinian's Code (l. 6. Tit. 6), to denote the respectful obedience due to superiors, as from children to parents and from

in the isle of Rhodes, dispersed themselves over the adjacent continent, and deserved pardon or reward by investing with the purple a simple officer of the revenue. The name of Theodosius might recommend him to the senate and people; but, after some months he sank into a cloister, and resigned, to the firmer hand of Leo the Isaurian, the urgent defence of the capital and empire. The most formidable of the Saracens, Moslemah, the brother of the caliph, was advancing at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs and Persians, the greater part mounted on horses or camels; and the successful sieges of Tyana, Amorium, and Pergamus, were of sufficient duration to exercise their skill, and to elevate their hopes. At the well-known passage of Abydus on the Hellespont, the Mahometan arms were transported, for the first time, from Asia to Europe.* From thence, wheeling round the Thracian cities of the Propontis, Moslemah invested Constantinople on the land side, surrounded his camp with a ditch and rampart, prepared and planted his engines of assault, and declared, by words and actions, a patient resolution of expecting the return of seed-time and harvest, should the obstinacy of the besieged prove equal to his own. The Greeks would gladly have ransomed their religion and empire, by a fine or assessment of a piece of gold on the head of each inhabitant of the city; but the liberal offer was rejected with disdain, and the presumption of Moslemah was exalted by the speedy approach and invincible force of the navies of Egypt and Syria. They are said to have amounted to eighteen hundred ships: the number betrays their inconsiderable size; and of the

freedmen to masters. It was thence flatteringly applied to the services of attendants in the palace, and the pomp of retinue that surrounded the emperor in public. Of this his guards were an important section; and the legion set apart for that duty was thence styled *Obsequian*. Accustomed to an idle life at Constantinople, their employment in actual warfare may have provoked discontent and revolt. The Asiatic district, to which the name of *Obsequium Thema* was given, was probably so distinguished, for the generally quiet and loyal deportment of its inhabitants. Ducange, 4. 1301. Zedler, 25. 270.—Ed.]

* [In describing the *second* siege of Constantinople, the words "for the *first* time," cannot have been so inadvertently used, as to apply to more than the passage across the Hellespont at Abydus. Gibbon's German translator has so understood and rendered them.—Ed.]

twenty stout and capacious vessels whose magnitude impeded their progress, each was manned with no more than one hundred heavy-armed soldiers. This huge armada proceeded on a smooth sea and with a single gale, towards the mouth of the Bosphorus; the surface of the strait was overshadowed, in the language of the Greeks, with a moving forest, and the same fatal night had been fixed by the Saracen chief for a general assault by sea and land. To allure the confidence of the enemy, the emperor had thrown aside the chain that usually guarded the entrance of the harbour; but while they hesitated whether they should seize the opportunity, or apprehend the snare, the ministers of destruction were at hand. The fireships of the Greeks were launched against them; the Arabs, their arms, and vessels, were involved in the same flames; the disorderly fugitives were dashed against each other, or overwhelmed in the waves; and I no longer find a vestige of the fleet that had threatened to extirpate the Roman name. A still more fatal and irreparable loss was that of the caliph Solman, who died of an indigestion* in his camp near Kinnisrin, or Chalcis, in Syria, as he was preparing to lead against Constantinople the remaining forces of the East. The brother of Moslemah was succeeded by a kinsman and an enemy; and the throne of an active and able prince was degraded by the useless and pernicious virtues of a bigot. While he started and satisfied the scruples of a blind conscience, the siege was continued through the winter by the neglect rather than by the resolution of the caliph Omar.† The winter proved uncommonly rigorous: above a hundred

* The caliph had emptied two baskets of eggs and of figs, which he swallowed alternately, and the repast was concluded with marrow and sugar. In one of his pilgrimages to Mecca, Soliman ate, at a single meal, seventy pomegranates, a kid, six fowls, and a huge quantity of the grapes of Tayef. If the bill of fare be correct, we must admire the appetite rather than the luxury of the sovereign of Asia. (Abulfeda, *Annal. Moslem.* p. 126.)

† See the article of Omar Ben Abdalaziz, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 689, 690,) *præferens*, says Elmacin (p. 91,) *religionem suam rebus suis mundanis*. He was so desirous of being with God, that he would not have anointed his ear (his own saying) to obtain a perfect cure of his last malady. The caliph had only one shirt, and in an age of luxury his annual expense was no more than two drachms. (Abulpharagius, p. 131.) *Haud diu gavisus eo principe fuit orbis Moslemus.* (Abulfeda, p. 127.)

days the ground was covered with deep snow, and the natives of the sultry climes of Egypt and Arabia lay torpid and almost lifeless in their frozen camp. They revived on the return of spring; a second effort had been made in their favour; and their distress was relieved by the arrival of two numerous fleets, laden with corn, and arms, and soldiers; the first from Alexandria, of four hundred transports and galleys; the second of three hundred and sixty vessels from the ports of Africa. But the Greek fires were again kindled, and if the destruction was less complete, it was owing to the experience which had taught the Moslems to remain at a safe distance, or to the perfidy of the Egyptian mariners, who deserted with their ships to the emperor of the Christians. The trade and navigation of the capital were restored; and the produce of the fisheries supplied the wants, and even the luxury, of the inhabitants. But the calamities of famine and disease were soon felt by the troops of Moslemah, and as the former was miserably assuaged, so the latter was dreadfully propagated, by the pernicious nutriment which hunger compelled them to extract from the most unclean or unnatural food. The spirit of conquest, and even of enthusiasm, was extinct: the Saracens could no longer straggle beyond their lines, either single or in small parties, without exposing themselves to the merciless retaliation of the Thracian peasants. An army of Bulgarians was attracted from the Danube by the gifts and promises of Leo; and these savage auxiliaries made some atonement for the evils which they had inflicted on the empire, by the defeat and slaughter of twenty-two thousand Asiatics. A report was dexterously scattered, that the Franks, the unknown nations of the Latin world, were arming by sea and land, in the defence of the Christian cause, and their formidable aid was expected with far different sensations in the camp and city. At length, after a siege of thirteen months,* the hopeless Moslemah received from the caliph the welcome permission of retreat. The march of the Arabian cavalry over the Hellespont, and

* Both Nicephorus and Theophanes agree, that the siege of Constantinople was raised the fifteenth of August (A.D. 718); but as the former, our best witness, affirms that it continued thirteen months, the latter must be mistaken in supposing that it began on the same day of the preceding year. I do not find that Pagi has remarked

through the provinces of Asia, was executed without delay or molestation; but an army of their brethren had been cut in pieces on the side of Bithynia, and the remains of the fleet were so repeatedly damaged by tempest and fire, that only five galleys entered the port of Alexandria to relate the tale of their various and almost incredible disasters.*

In the two sieges, the deliverance of Constantinople may be chiefly ascribed to the novelty, the terrors, and the real efficacy, of the *Greek fire*.† The important secret of compounding and directing this artificial flame was imparted by Callinicus, a native of Heliopolis in Syria, who deserted from the service of the caliph to that of the emperor.‡ The skill of a chemist and engineer was equivalent to the succour of fleets and armies; and this discovery or improvement of the military art was fortunately reserved for the distressful period, when the degenerate Romans of the East were incapable of contending with the warlike enthusiasm and youthful vigour of the Saracens. The historian who presumes to analyze this extraordinary composition, should suspect his own ignorance, and that of his Byzantine guides, so prone to the marvellous, so careless, and, in this instance, so jealous of the truth. From their obscure, and perhaps fallacious hints, it should seem that the principal ingredient of the Greek fire was the *naphtha*,§ or liquid bitu-

this inconsistency.

* In the second siege of Constantinople, I have followed Nicephorus (Brev. p. 33—36), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 324—334), Cedrenus (Compend. p. 449—452), Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 98—102), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 88), Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 126), and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 130), the most satisfactory of the Arabs.

† Our sure and indefatigable guide in the middle ages and Byzantine history, Charles du Fresne du Cange, has treated in several places of the Greek fire, and his collections leave few gleanings behind. See particularly Glossar. Med. et Infim. Græcitat. p. 1275, sub voce Πῦρ θαλάσσιον, ὕγρον. Glossar. Med. et Infim. Latinitat. *Ignis Græcus*. Observations sur Villehardouin, p. 305, 306. Observations sur Joinville, p. 71, 72.

‡ Theophanes styles him ἀρχιτεκτών (p. 295). Cedrenus (p. 437,) brings this artist from (the ruins of) Heliopolis in Egypt; and chemistry was indeed the peculiar science of the Egyptians.

§ The naphtha, the oleum incendiarium of the history of Jerusalem (Gesta Dei per Francos, p. 1167), the Oriental fountain of James de Vitry (l. 3, c. 84), is introduced on slight evidence and strong probability. Cinnamus (l. 6, p. 165), calls the Greek fire πῦρ Μήδικον;

men, a light, tenacious, and inflammable oil,* which springs from the earth, and catches fire as soon as it comes in contact with the air. The naphtha was mingled, I know not by what methods or in what proportions, with sulphur and with the pitch that is extracted from evergreen firs.† From this mixture, which produced a thick smoke and a loud explosion, proceeded a fierce and obstinate flame, which not only rose in perpendicular ascent, but likewise burnt with equal vehemence in descent or lateral progress; instead of being extinguished, it was nourished and quickened, by the element of water; and sand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was justly denominated by the Greeks the *liquid* or the *maritime* fire. For the annoyance of the enemy, it was employed with equal effect, by sea and land, in battles or in sieges. It was either poured from the ramparts in large boilers, or launched in red-hot balls of stone and iron, or darted in arrows and javelins, twisted round with flax and tow, which had deeply imbibed the inflammable oil; sometimes it was deposited in fire-ships, the victims and instruments of a

and the naphtha is known to abound between the Tigris and the Caspian Sea. According to Pliny (Hist. Natur. 2. 109), it was subservient to the revenge of Medea, and in either etymology the *ἐλαιον Μηδίας*, or *Μηδείας* (Procop. de Bell. Gothic. l. 4, c. 11), may fairly signify this liquid bitumen.

* On the different sorts of oils and bitumens, see Dr. Watson's (the present bishop of Llandaff's) Chemical Essays, vol. iii. Essay 1, a classic book, the best adapted to infuse the taste and knowledge of chemistry. The less perfect ideas of the ancients may be found in Strabo (Geograph. l. 16, p. 1078), and Pliny (Hist. Natur. 2. 108, 109). Huic (*Napthæ*) magna cognatio est ignium, transiliuntque protinus in eam undecunque visam. Of our travellers I am best pleased with Otter (tom. i. p. 153—158.)

† Anna Comnena has partly drawn aside the curtain. 'Ἀπὸ τῆς πεύκης, καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τοιοῦτων δένδρων ἀειθαλῶν συνάγεται δάκρυον ἄκανστον. Τοῦτο μετὰ θείου τριβόμενον ἐμβάλλεται εἰς ἀβλίσκους καλάμων καὶ ἐμφύσεται παρὰ τοῦ παίζοντος λάβρῳ καὶ συνεχεῖ πνεύματι. (Alexiad. l. 13, p. 383.) Elsewhere (l. 11, p. 336), she mentions the property of burning, κατὰ τὸ πρᾶνός καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα. Leo, in the nineteenth chapter of his Tactics (Opera Meursii, tom. vi. p. 848, edit. Lami, Florent. 1745), speaks of the new invention of πῦρ μετὰ βρόντης καὶ κάπνου. These are genuine and Imperial testimonies. [The nature and composition of the Greek fire are explained by Vulturius, De Re Militari, l. 9, and Porta, in Magia Naturali, l. 12. Beckmann's Hist. of Inventions, vol. ii. p. 249, and Joinville's Memoirs, p. 406. edit. Bohn.—Ed.]

more ample revenge, and was most commonly blown through long tubes of copper, which were planted on the prow of a galley, and fancifully shaped into the mouths of savage monsters, that seemed to vomit a stream of liquid and consuming fire. This important art was preserved at Constantinople, as the palladium of the state; the galleys and *artillery* might occasionally be lent to the allies of Rome; but the composition of the Greek fire was concealed with the most jealous scruple, and the terror of the enemies was increased and prolonged by their ignorance and surprise. In the treatise of the administration of the empire, the royal author * suggests the answers and excuses that might best elude the indiscreet curiosity and importunate demands of the Barbarians. They should be told that the mystery of the Greek fire had been revealed by an angel to the first and greatest of the Constantines, with a sacred injunction, that this gift of heaven, this peculiar blessing of the Romans, should never be communicated to any foreign nation: that the prince and subject were alike bound to religious silence, under the temporal and spiritual penalties of treason and sacrilege; and that the impious attempt would provoke the sudden and supernatural vengeance of the God of the Christians. By these precautions, the secret was confined, above four hundred years, to the Romans of the East; and, at the end of the eleventh century, the Pisans, to whom every sea and every art were familiar, suffered the effects, without understanding the composition, of the Greek fire. It was at length either discovered or stolen by the Mahometans; and, in the holy wars of Syria and Egypt, they retorted an invention, contrived against themselves, on the heads of the Christians. A knight, who despised the swords and lances of the Saracens, relates, with heartfelt sincerity, his own fears, and those of his companions, at the sight and sound of the mischievous engine that discharged a torrent of the Greek fire, the *feu Gregeois*, as it is styled by the more early of the French writers. It came flying through the air, says Joinville,† like a winged long-tailed dragon, about the thick-

* Constantin. Porphyrogenit. de Administrat. Imperii, c. 13, p. 64. 65.

† Histoire de St. Louis, p. 39. Paris, 1668, p. 44. Paris, de l'Imprimerie Royale. 1761. The former of these editions is precious for the observations of Ducange; the latter for the pure and original text

ness of a hogshead, with the report of thunder, and the velocity of lightning; and the darkness of the night was dispelled by this deadly illumination. The use of the Greek, or, as it might now be called, the Saracen fire, was continued to the middle of the fourteenth century,* when the scientific, or casual compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, effected a new revolution in the art of war, and the history of mankind.†

Constantinople and the Greek fire might exclude the Arabs from the eastern entrance of Europe; but in the West, on the side of the Pyrenees, the provinces of Gaul were threatened and invaded by the conquerors of Spain.‡ The decline of the French monarchy invited the attack of these insatiate fanatics. The descendants of Clovis had lost the inheritance of his martial and ferocious spirit; and

of Joinville. We must have recourse to that text to discover, that the feu Gregeois was shot with a pile or javelin, from an engine that acted like a sling.

* The vanity, or envy, of shaking the established property of Fame, has tempted some moderns to carry gunpowder above the fourteenth (see Sir William Temple, Dutens, &c.), and the Greek fire above the seventh, century (see the Salluste du President des Brosses, tom. ii. p. 381); but their evidence, which precedes the vulgar era of the invention, is seldom clear or satisfactory, and subsequent writers may be suspected of fraud or credulity. In the earliest sieges, some combustibles of oil and sulphur have been used, and the Greek fire has *some* affinities with gunpowder both in nature and effects; for the antiquity of the first, a passage of Procopius (de Bell. Goth. lib. 4, c. 11); for that of the second, some facts in the Arabic history of Spain (A.D. 1249, 1312, 1332. Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. ii. p. 6—8), are the most difficult to elude.

† That extraordinary man, Friar Bacon, reveals two of the ingredients, saltpetre and sulphur, and conceals the third in a sentence of mysterious gibberish, as if he dreaded the consequences of his own discovery. Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 430, new edition.)

‡ For the invasion of France, and the defeat of the Arabs by Charles Martel, see the *Historia Arabum* (c. 11—14) of Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, who had before him the Christian chronicle of Isidore Pacensis, and the Mahometan history of Novairi. The Moslems are silent or concise in the account of their losses, but M. Cardonne (tom. i. p. 129—131) has given a *pure* and simple account of all that he could collect from Ibn Halikan, Hidjazi, and an anonymous writer. The texts of the chronicles of France, and lives of saints, are inserted in the collection of Bouquet (tom. iii.) and the annals of Pagi, who (tom. iii. under the proper years) has restored the chronology, which is anticipated six years in the Annals of Baronius. The Dictionary of Bayle (*Abderame* and *Munuza* has more merit for lively reflection than

their misfortune or demerit has affixed the epithet of *lazy* to the last kings of the Merovingian race.* They ascended the throne without power, and sunk into the grave without a name. A country palace, in the neighbourhood of Compiègne,† was allotted for their residence or prison; but each year, in the month of March or May, they were conducted in a wagon drawn by oxen to the assembly of the Franks, to give audience to foreign ambassadors, and to ratify the acts of the mayor of the palace. That domestic officer was become the minister of the nation, and the master of the prince. A public employment was converted into the patrimony of a private family: the elder Pepin left a king of mature years under the guardianship of his own widow and her child; and these feeble regents were forcibly dispossessed by the most active of his bastards. A government, half savage and half corrupt, was almost dissolved; and the

original research.

* Eginhart, de Vita Caroli Magni, c. 2, p. 13—18, edit. Schmink, Utrecht, 1711. Some modern critics accuse the ministers of Charlemagne of exaggerating the weakness of the Merovingians; but the general outline is just, and the French reader will for ever repeat the beautiful lines of Boileau's *Lutrin*. [See Canto II. near the conclusion, beginning.

Hélas ! qu'est devenu ce temps, cet heureux temps,
Où les rois s'honoroient du nom de fainéans,
S'endormoient sur le trône, et, me servant sans honte,
Laissoient leur sceptre aux mains ou d'un maire ou d'un comte.—ED.]

† *Mamacæ* on the Oyse, between Compiègne and Noyon, which Eginhart calls *perparvi redditus villam*. (See the notes, and the map of ancient France for Dom. Bouquet's Collection.) Compendium, or Compiègne, was a palace of more dignity (Hadrian. Valesii *Notitia Galliarum*, p. 152), and that laughing philosopher, the Abbé Galliani (*Dialogues sur le Commerce des Bleds*), may truly affirm, that it was the residence of the *Rois très Chrétiens et très chevelus*. [Misled by the ancient name of Noyon, (*Noviodunum* or *Noviomagus*) which was common to many other towns, (see Reichard, *Orbis Terrarum Antiqua*, ix. Gallia), some writers have placed *Mamacæ* in the former island of the Batavi, near Nimwegen, in Dutch Guelderland. Zedler's *Lexicon* (21. 973,) quoting Eckhart (*Franc. Orient.* tom. i. p. 285,) has adopted this error. Mabillon (*De Re Diplomatica*, p. 308) has determined, with great precision, from original documents, the situation of this place. It stood on the left bank of the Isara (Oise) not far from its confluence with the Axome, (Aisne) and was a favorite residence of the Frank monarchs from the time of Dagobert, as appears from many deeds and acts, "*feliciter data*" there. The village of Maumarque or Mommarque now preserves it memory.—ED.]

tributary dukes, the provincial counts, and the territorial lords, were tempted to despise the weakness of the monarch, and to imitate the ambition of the mayor. Among these independent chiefs, one of the boldest and most successful, was Eudes, duke of Aquitain, who, in the southern provinces of Gaul, usurped the authority and even the title of king. The Goths, the Gascons, and the Franks, assembled under the standard of this Christian hero; he repelled the first invasion of the Saracens; and Zama, lieutenant of the caliph, lost his army and his life under the walls of Thoulouse. The ambition of his successors was stimulated by revenge; they repassed the Pyrenees with the means and the resolution of conquest. The advantageous situation which had recommended Narbonne,* as the first Roman colony, was again chosen by the Moslems; they claimed the province of Septimania or Languedoc as a just dependence of the Spanish monarchy; the vineyards of Gascony and the city of Bordeaux were possessed by the sovereign of Damascus and Samarcand; and the south of France, from the mouth of the Garonne to that of the Rhone, assumed the manners and religion of Arabia.

But these narrow limits were scorned by the spirit of Abdalrahman, or Abderame, who had been restored by the caliph Hashem to the wishes of the soldiers and people of Spain. That veteran and daring commander adjudged to the obedience of the prophet whatever yet remained of France or of Europe, and prepared to execute the sentence, at the head of a formidable host, in the full confidence of surmounting all opposition either of nature or of man. His first care was to suppress a domestic rebel, who commanded the most important passes of the Pyrenees: Munuza, a Moorish chief, had accepted the alliance of the duke of Aquitain; and Eudes, from a motive of private or public interest, devoted his beautiful daughter to the embraces of the African misbeliever. But the strongest fortresses of Cerdagne were invested by a superior force; the rebel was overtaken and slain in the mountains; and his widow was

* Even before that colony, A.U.C. 630, (Velleius Patercul. l. 15,) in the time of Polybius (Hist. l. 3, p. 265, edit. Gronov.), Narbonne was a Celtic town of the first eminence, and one of the most northern places of the known world. (D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 473.)

sent a captive to Damascus, to gratify the desires, or more probably the vanity, of the commander of the faithful. From the Pyrenees, Abderame proceeded without delay to the passage of the Rhone and the siege of Arles. An army of Christians attempted the relief of the city: the tombs of their leaders were yet visible in the thirteenth century; and many thousands of their dead bodies were carried down the rapid stream into the Mediterranean sea. The arms of Abderame were not less successful on the side of the ocean. He passed without opposition the Garonne and Dordogne, which unite their waters in the gulf of Bordeaux; but he found, beyond those rivers, the camp of the intrepid Eudes, who had formed a second army and sustained a second defeat, so fatal to the Christians, that, according to their sad confession, God alone could reckon the number of the slain. The victorious Saracen overran the provinces of Aquitain, whose Gallic names are disguised, rather than lost, in the modern appellations of Perigord, Saintonge, and Poitou; his standards were planted on the walls, or at least before the gates, of Tours and of Sens; and his detachments overspread the kingdom of Burgundy as far as the well-known cities of Lyons and Besançon. The memory of these devastations, for Abderame did not spare the country or the people, was long preserved by tradition; and the invasion of France by the Moors, or Mahometans, affords the ground-work of those fables, which have been so wildly disfigured in the romances of chivalry, and so elegantly adorned by the Italian muse. In the decline of society and art, the deserted cities could supply a slender booty to the Saracens; their richest spoil was found in the churches and monasteries, which they stripped of their ornaments and delivered to the flames; and the tutelar saints, both Hilary of Poitiers and Martin of Tours, forgot their miraculous powers in the defence of their own sepulchres.* A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles from the rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire;

* With regard to the sanctuary of St. Martin of Tours, Roderic Ximenes accuses the Saracens of the deed. *Turonis civitatem, ecclesiam et palatia, vastatione et incendio simili diruit et consumpsit.* The continuator of Fredegarius imputes to them no more than the intention. *Ad domum beatissimi Martini evertendam destinant.* At Carolus, &c. The French annalist was more jealous of the honour of

the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.*

From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man. Charles, the illegitimate son of the elder Pepin, was content with the titles of mayor or duke of the Franks, but he deserved to become the father of a line of kings. In a laborious administration of twenty-four years he restored and supported the dignity of the throne, and the rebels of Germany and Gaul were successively crushed by the activity of a warrior, who, in the same campaign, could display his banner on the Elbe, the Rhone, and the shores of the ocean. In the public danger, he was summoned by the voice of his country; and his rival, the duke of Aquitain, was reduced to appear among the fugitives and suppliants. "Alas!" exclaimed the Franks, "what a misfortune! what an indignity! We have long heard of the name and conquests of the Arabs: we were apprehensive of their attack from the East; they have now conquered Spain, and invade our country, on the side of the West. Yet their numbers, and (since they have no buckler) their arms, are inferior to our own." "If you follow my advice," replied the prudent mayor of the palace, "you will not interrupt their march, nor precipitate your attack. They are like a torrent, which it is dangerous to stem in its career. The thirst of riches, and the consciousness of success, redouble their valour, and valour is of more avail than arms or numbers. Be patient till they have loaded themselves with the incumbrance of wealth. The possession of wealth

the saint.

* Yet I sincerely doubt whether the Oxford mosch would have produced a volume of controversy so elegant and ingenious as the sermons lately preached by Mr. White, the Arabic professor, at Mr. Bampton's lecture. His observations on the character and religion of Mahomet are always adapted to his argument, and generally founded in truth and reason. He sustains the part of a lively and eloquent advocate, and sometimes rises to the merit of an historian and philosopher.

will divide their counsels, and assure your victory." This subtle policy is perhaps a refinement of the Arabian writers; and the situation of Charles will suggest a more narrow and selfish motive of procrastination; the secret desire of humbling the pride, and wasting the provinces, of the rebel duke of Aquitain. It is yet more probable, that the delays of Charles were inevitable and reluctant. A standing army was unknown under the first and second race: more than half the kingdom was now in the hands of the Saracens: according to their respective situation, the Franks of Neustria and Austrasia were too conscious or too careless of the impending danger; and the voluntary aids of the Gepidæ and Germans were separated by a long interval from the standard of the Christian general. No sooner had he collected his forces, than he sought and found the enemy in the centre of France, between Tours and Poitiers. His well-conducted march was covered by a range of hills, and Abderame appears to have been surprised by his unexpected presence. The nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, advanced with equal ardour to an encounter which would change the history of the world. In the six first days of desultory combat, the horsemen and archers of the East maintained their advantage; but in the closer onset of the seventh day, the Orientals were oppressed by the strength and stature of the Germans, who, with stout hearts and *iron hands*,* asserted the civil and religious freedom of their posterity. The epithet of *Martel*, the *Hammer*, which has been added to the name of Charles, is expressive of his weighty and irresistible strokes; the valour of Eudes was excited by resentment and emulation; and their companions, in the eye of history, are the true peers and paladins of French chivalry. After a bloody field, in which Abderame was slain, the Saracens, in the close of the evening, retired to their camp. In the disorder and despair of the night, the various tribes of Yemeu and Damascus, of Africa and Spain, were provoked to turn their arms against each other; the remains of their host were suddenly dissolved, and each *emir* consulted his safety by a hasty and separate retreat.

* Gens Austris membrorum præ-eminentiâ valida, et gens Germana corde et corpore præstantissima; quasi in ictu oculi, manu ferrea, et pectore arduo, Arabes extinxerunt. (Roderic. Toletan. c. 14.)

At the dawn of day, the stillness of a hostile camp was suspected by the victorious Christians; on the report of their spies, they ventured to explore the riches of the vacant tents; but, if we except some celebrated relics, a small portion of the spoil was restored to the innocent and lawful owners. The joyful tidings were soon diffused over the Catholic world, and the monks of Italy could affirm and believe that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and seventy-five, thousand of the Mahometans had been crushed by the hammer of Charles;* while no more than fifteen hundred Christians were slain in the field of Tours. But this incredible tale is sufficiently disproved by the caution of the French general, who apprehended the snares and accidents of a pursuit, and dismissed his German allies to their native forests. The inactivity of a conqueror betrays the loss of strength and blood, and the most cruel execution is inflicted, not in the ranks of battle, but on the backs of a flying enemy. Yet the victory of the Franks was complete and final; Aquitain was recovered by the arms of Eudes; the Arabs never resumed the conquest of Gaul, and they were soon driven beyond the Pyrenees by Charles Martel and his valiant race.† It might have been expected that

* These numbers are stated by Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Aquileia (*de Gestis Langobard.* l. 6, p. 921, edit. Grot.) and Anastasius, the librarian of the Roman church (in *Vit. Gregorii II.*), who tells a miraculous story of three consecrated sponges, which rendered invulnerable the French soldiers among whom they had been shared. It should seem that, in his letters to the pope, Eudes usurped the honour of the victory, for which he is chastised by the French annalists, who, with equal falsehood, accuse him of inviting the Saracens. [The defeat and death of Abderahman are more candidly confessed and more fully described by the Arabian writers, than is their wont on such occasions. They say that the Christians pursued the beaten troops through several successive days and inflicted "unimaginable horrors." But they console themselves by adding, that the conquerors were obliged to raise the siege of Narbonne, and retired into the interior of their dominions with great loss. In these accounts Charles Martel appears as "King Calvus," and the river Loire takes the form of the "Owar." Condé, vol. i. p. 108—111.—Ed.]

† Narbonne, and the rest of Septimania, was recovered by Pepin, the son of Charles Martel, A.D. 755. (*Pagi, Critica*, tom. iii. p. 300.) Thirty-seven years afterwards it was pillaged by a sudden inroad of the Arabs, who employed the captives in the construction of the mosch of Cordova. (*De Guignes, Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 354.) [*Jusuf El Fehri*, who was made Ameer or Governor of Spain, A.H.

the saviour of Christendom would have been canonized, or at least applauded, by the gratitude of the clergy, who are indebted to his sword for their present existence. But in the public distress the mayor of the palace had been compelled to apply the riches, or at least the revenues, of the bishops and abbots, to the relief of the state and the reward of the soldiers. His merits were forgotten, his sacrilege alone was remembered, and, in an epistle to a Carlovingian prince, a Gallic synod presumes to declare that his ancestor was damned; that on the opening of his tomb, the spectators were affrighted by a smell of fire and the aspect of a horrid dragon; and that a saint of the times was indulged with a pleasant vision of the soul and body of Charles Martel, burning, to all eternity, in the abyss of hell.*

The loss of an army, or a province, in the Western world, was less painful to the court of Damascus, than the rise and progress of a domestic competitor. Except among the Syrians, the caliphs of the house of Ommiyah had never been the objects of the public favour. The life of Mahomet recorded their perseverance in idolatry and rebellion; their conversion had been reluctant, their elevation irregular and factious, and their throne was cemented with the most holy and noble blood of Arabia. The best of their race, the pious Omar, was dissatisfied with his own title: their personal virtues were insufficient to justify a departure from the order of succession; and the eyes and wishes of the faithful were turned towards the line of Hashem and the kindred of the apostle of God. Of these the Fatimites were either rash or pusillanimous; but the descendants of Abbas cherished, with courage and discretion, the hopes of their rising fortunes. From an obscure residence in Syria, they secretly dispatched their agents and missionaries, who

129 (A.D. 746) divided his dominion into five provinces, the fifth of which was that of Narbona, extending from the eastern side of the Pyrenees to the city of Nismes and the river Rhone. It was the frontier land, and had to be laboriously maintained against the people of Afranc (France). Condé, vol. i. p. 142—145.—Ed.]

* This pastoral letter, addressed to Lewis the Germanic, the grandson of Charlemagne, and most probably composed by the pen of the artful Hincmar, is dated in the year 858, and signed by the bishops of the provinces of Rheims and Rouen. (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles. A.D. 741. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. x. p. 514—516.*) Yet Baronius himself, and the French critics, reject with contempt this episcopal fiction.

preached in the Eastern provinces their hereditary indefeasible right; and Mohammed, the son of Ali, the son of Abdallah, the son of Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, gave audience to the deputies of Chorasan, and accepted their free gift of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. After the death of Mohammed, the oath of allegiance was administered in the name of his son Ibrahim to a numerous band of votaries, who expected only a signal and a leader; and the governor of Chorasan continued to deplore his fruitless admonitions and the deadly slumber of the caliphs of Damascus, till he himself, with all his adherents, was driven from the city and palace of Meru, by the rebellious arms of Abu Moslem.* That maker of kings, the author, as he is named, of the *call* of the Abbassides, was at length rewarded for his presumption of merit with the usual gratitude of courts. A mean, perhaps a foreign, extraction, could not repress the aspiring energy of Abu Moslem. Jealous of his wives, liberal of his wealth, prodigal of his own blood and of that of others, he could boast with pleasure, and possibly with truth, that he had destroyed six hundred thousand of his enemies; and such was the intrepid gravity of his mind and countenance, that he was never seen to smile except on a day of battle. In the visible separation of parties, the *green* was consecrated to the Fatimites; the Ommiades were distinguished by the *white*; and the *black*, as the most adverse, was naturally adopted by the Abbassides. Their turbans and garments were stained with that gloomy colour; two black standards, on pike-staves nine cubits long, were borne aloft in the van of Abu Moslem; and their allegorical names of the *night* and the *shadow* obscurely represented the indissoluble union and perpetual succession of the line of Hashem. From the Indus to the Euphrates, the East was convulsed by the quarrel of the white and the black factions; the Abbassides were most frequently victorious; but their public success was clouded by the personal misfortune of their chief. The court of

* The steed and the saddle, which had carried any of his wives, were instantly killed or burnt, lest they should be afterwards mounted by a male. Twelve hundred mules or camels were required for his kitchen furniture; and the daily consumption amounted to three thousand cakes, a hundred sheep, besides oxen, poultry, &c. (Abulpharagius, *Hist. Dynast.* p. 140.).

Damascus, awakening from a long slumber, resolved to prevent the pilgrimage of Mecca, which Ibrahim had undertaken with a splendid retinue, to recommend himself at once to the favour of the prophet and of the people. A detachment of cavalry intercepted his march and arrested his person; and the unhappy Ibrahim, snatched away from the promise of untasted royalty, expired in iron fetters in the dungeons of Haran. His two younger brothers, Saffah and Almansor, eluded the search of the tyrant, and lay concealed at Cufa, till the zeal of the people and the approach of his Eastern friends, allowed them to expose their persons to the impatient public. On Friday, in the dress of a caliph, in the colours of the sect, Saffah proceeded with religious and military pomp to the mosch; ascending the pulpit, he prayed and preached as the lawful successor of Mahomet; and, after his departure, his kinsmen bound a willing people by an oath of fidelity. But it was on the banks of the Zab, and not in the mosch of Cufa, that this important controversy was determined. Every advantage appeared to be on the side of the white faction: the authority of established government; an army of a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers, against a sixth part of that number; and the presence and merit of the caliph Mervan, the fourteenth and last of the house of Ommiyah. Before his accession to the throne, he had deserved, by his Georgian warfare, the honourable epithet of the ass of Mesopotamia;* and he might have been ranked among the greatest princes, had not, says Abulfeda, the eternal order decreed that moment for the ruin of his family; a decree against which all human prudence and fortitude must struggle in vain. The orders of Mervan were mistaken or disobeyed; the return of his horse, from which he had dismounted on a necessary occasion, impressed the belief of his death; and the enthusiasm of the black squadrons was ably conducted by Ab-

* *Al Hemar*. He had been governor of Mesopotamia, and the Arabic proverb praises the courage of that warlike breed of asses who never fly from an enemy. The surname of Mervan may justify the comparison of Homer (*Iliad*, A. 557, &c.,) and both will silence the moderns, who consider the ass as a stupid and ignoble emblem. (D'Hérbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* p. 558.) [Condé (p. 150) gives this surname as *Alhemard*, and says that Mervan was "brave in arms and prudent in counsel." For the wild asses of Arabia, see Burckhardt's *Notes on*

dallah, the uncle of his competitor. After an irretrievable defeat, the caliph escaped to Mosul; but the colours of the Abbassides were displayed from the rampart; he suddenly repassed the Tigris, cast a melancholy look on his palace of Haran, crossed the Euphrates, abandoned the fortifications of Damascus, and, without halting in Palestine, pitched his last and fatal camp at Busir on the banks of the Nile.* His speed was urged by the incessant diligence of Abdallah, who in every step of the pursuit acquired strength and reputation; the remains of the white faction were finally vanquished in Egypt; and the lance, which terminated the life and anxiety of Mervan, was not less welcome perhaps to the unfortunate than to the victorious chief. The merciless inquisition of the conqueror eradicated the most distant branches of the hostile race; their bones were scattered, their memory was accursed, and the martyrdom of Hosein was abundantly revenged on the posterity of his tyrants. Fourscore of the Ommiades, who had yielded to the faith or clemency of their foes, were invited to a banquet at Damascus. The laws of hospitality were violated by a promiscuous massacre; the board was spread over their fallen bodies; and the festivity

the Bedouins, p. 125.—ED.]

* Four several places, all in Egypt, bore the name of Busir, or Busiris, so famous in Greek fable. The first, where Mervan was slain, was to the west of the Nile, in the province of Fium, or Arsinoë; the second in the Delta, in the Sebenytic nome; the third, near the pyramids; the fourth, which was destroyed by Diocletian, in the Thebais. (See vol. i. p. 346.) I shall here transcribe a note of the learned and orthodox Michaelis: *Videntur in pluribus Ægypti superioris urbibus Busiri Coptoque arma sumpsisse Christiani, libertatemque de religione sentiendi defendisse, sed succubuisse quo in bello Coptus et Busiris diruta, et circa Esnam magna strages edita. Bellum narrant sed causam belli ignorant scriptores Byzantini, alioqui Coptum et Busirim non rebellasse dicturi, sed causam Christianorum suscepturi.* (Not. 211, p. 100.) For the geography of the four Busirs, see Abulfeda (*Descript. Ægypt.* p. 9, vers. Michaelis, Gottingæ, 1776, in quarto), Michaelis, Not. 122—127, p. 58—63, and D'Anville (*Mémoire sur l'Égypte*, p. 85. (147. 205.)) [According to Condé's authorities, Abdallah sustained a check at Alardania in Palestine, for which the command was taken from him and given to his brother Saleh. It was by this new general that Mervan was overcome in his last battle "at a country palace near Saïda, called Busir-Coridas." (Condé, p. 148.) The province of El Faiûm had its name from the Coptic *Phiom*, the Lake (Moeris); and the ancient Arsinoë is now Medinet-el-Faiûm. All traces of Busiris have disappeared. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*, p. 92—94.—ED.]

of the guests was enlivened by the music of their dying groans. By the event of the civil war the dynasty of the Abbassides was firmly established; but the Christians only could triumph in the mutual hatred and common loss of the disciples of Mahomet.*

Yet the thousands who were swept away by the sword of war might have been speedily retrieved in the succeeding generation, if the consequences of the revolution had not tended to dissolve the power and unity of the empire of the Saracens. In the proscription of the Ommiades, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman alone escaped the rage of his enemies, who hunted the wandering exile from the banks of the Euphrates to the valleys of mount Atlas. His presence in the neighbourhood of Spain revived the zeal of the white faction. The name and cause of the Abbassides had been first vindicated by the Persians; the West had been pure from civil arms; and the servants of the abdicated family still held, by a precarious tenure, the inheritance of their lands and the offices of government. Strongly prompted by gratitude, indignation, and fear, they invited the grandson of the caliph Hashem to ascend the throne of his ancestors; and, in his desperate condition, the extremes of rashness and prudence were almost the same. The acclamations of the people saluted his landing on the coast of Andalusia; and, after a successful struggle, Abdalrahman established the throne of Cordova, and was the father of the Ommiades of Spain, who reigned above two hundred and fifty years from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees.† He slew in battle a lieutenant of the Abbas-

* See Abulfeda (*Annal. Moslem.* p. 136—145), Eutychius (*Annal.* tom. ii. p. 392, vers. Pocock), Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 109—121), Abulpharagius (*Hist. Dynast.* p. 134—140), Roderic of Toledo (*Hist. Arabum*, c. 18, p. 33), Theophanes (*Chronograph.* p. 356, 357, who speaks of the Abbassides under the names of *Χωραάννιται* and *Μαυροφόροι*), and the Bibliothèque de D'Herbelot, in the articles of *Omniades*, *Abbassides*, *Mærvan*, *Ibrahim*, *Saffah*, *Abou Moslem*. [The first of the Abbassides is generally known as Abul-Abbas, and Saffah is said to have been a surname given him after his relentless shedding of the blood of the rival family. Condé (vol. i. p. 147) calls him Abdallah Abulabas Asefah.—ED.]

† For the revolution of Spain, consult Roderic of Toledo (c. 18, p. 34, &c.), the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* (tom. ii. p. 30. 198), and Cardonne (*Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 180—197. 205. 272. 323, &c.). [The most

sides, who had invaded his dominions with a fleet and army; the head of Ala, in salt and camphor, was suspended by a daring messenger before the palace of Mecca; and the caliph Almansor rejoiced in his safety, that he was removed by seas and lands from such a formidable adversary. Their mutual designs or declarations of offensive war, evaporated without effect; but instead of opening a door to the conquest of Europe, Spain was dis severed from the trunk of the monarchy, engaged in perpetual hostility with the East, and inclined to peace and friendship with the Christian sovereigns of Constantinople and France. The example of the Ommiades was imitated by the real or fictitious progeny of Ali, the Edrissites of Mauritania, and the more powerful Fatimites of Africa and Egypt. In the tenth century, the chair of Mahomet was disputed by three caliphs or commanders of the faithful, who reigned at Bagdad, Cairoan, and Cordova, excommunicated each other, and agreed only in a principle of discord, that a sectary is more odious and criminal than an unbeliever.*

Mecca was the patrimony of the line of Hashem, yet the Abbassides were never tempted to reside either in the birth-place or the city of the prophet. Damascus was disgraced by the choice, and polluted with the blood, of the Ommiades; and after some hesitation, Almansor, the brother and successor of Saffah, laid the foundations of

complete narrative of this event and of the reign of Abderahman is contained in the first twenty-four chapters of the second book of Condé's History, vol. i. p. 163—226, edit. Bohn.—Ed.]

* I shall not stop to refute the strange errors and fancies of Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii. p. 371—374, octavo edition) and Voltaire (*Histoire Générale*, c. 28, tom. ii. p. 124, 125, édition de Lausanne), concerning the division of the Saracen empire. The mistakes of Voltaire proceeded from the want of knowledge or reflection; but Sir William was deceived by a Spanish impostor, who has framed an apocryphal history of the conquest of Spain by the Arabs. [Sir W. Temple names no authority. But it is evident that he followed, and that Gibbon here alludes to, the *Morisco* Miguel de Luna's pretended version of a History by Tarif Aben Taric. Barbin published a translation of De Luna at Paris in 1680. That of Lobineau appeared in 1708, ten years after the death of Sir W. Temple. It is remarkable that two French translations should have been made, in such rapid succession, of a work now generally regarded as fictitious, and of which Condé says (Preface, p. 10), that its "absurd fables and impudent assumption do not merit the most cursory mention."—Ed.]

Bagdad,* the imperial seat of his posterity during a reign of five hundred years.† The chosen spot is on the eastern bank of the Tigris, about fifteen miles above the ruins of Modain; the double wall was of a circular form; and such was the rapid increase of a capital, now dwindled to a provincial town, that the funeral of a popular saint might be attended by eight hundred thousand men and sixty thousand women of Bagdad and the adjacent villages. In this *city of peace*,‡ amidst the riches of the east, the Abbassides soon disdained the abstinence and frugality of the first caliphs, and aspired to emulate the magnificence of the Persian kings. After his wars and buildings Almansor left behind him in gold and silver about thirty millions sterling;§ and this treasure was exhausted in a few years by the vices or virtues of his children. His son Mahadi, in a single pilgrimage to Mecca, expended six millions of dinars of gold. A pious and charitable motive may sanctify

* The geographer D'Anville (*l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 121—123), and the Orientalist D'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque*, p. 167, 168), may suffice for the knowledge of Bagdad. Our travellers, Pietro della Valle (*tom. i. p. 688—698*), Tavernier (*tom. i. p. 230—238*), Thevenot (*part 2, p. 209—212*), Otter (*tom. i. p. 162—168*), and Niebuhr (*Voyage en Arabie*, *tom. ii. p. 239—271*), have seen only its decay; and the Nubian geographer (p. 204), and the travelling Jew, Benjamin of Tudela (*Itinerarium*, p. 112—123, à Const. l'Empereur, apud Elzevir, 1633), are the only writers of my acquaintance who have known Bagdad under the reign of the Abbassides.

† The foundations of Bagdad were laid A.H. 145, A.D. 762. Moctasem, the last of the Abbassides, was taken and put to death by the Tartars, A.H. 656, A.D. 1258, the 20th of February.

‡ *Medinat al Salem*, *Dar al Salam*. *Urbs pacis*, or, as is more neatly compounded by the Byzantine writers, *Εἰρηνόπολις* (*Irenopolis*). There is some dispute concerning the etymology of Bagdad, but the first syllable is allowed to signify a garden in the Persian tongue; the garden of Dad, a Christian hermit, whose cell had been the only habitation on the spot. ["The Persian historians pretend that the original city was built by the first kings of Persia, and named the 'Garden of Dad' from an idol previously worshipped there." *Almansor* was the founder only of the second city. *Layard's N. and B. p. 476*. Consult the same work for the present state of Bagdad. See also *Sir R. K. Porter's Travels*, p. 275.—Ed.]

§ Reliquit in arario sexcenties millies mille stateres, et quater et vices millies mille aureos aureos. *Elmacin, Hist. Saracen*, p. 126. I have reckoned the gold pieces at eight shillings, and the proportion to the silver as twelve to one. But I will never answer for the numbers of Erpenius; and the Latins are scarcely above the savages in the

the foundation of cisterns and caravanseras, which he distributed along a measured road of seven hundred miles; but his train of camels, laden with snow, could serve only to astonish the natives of Arabia, and to refresh the fruits and liquors of the royal banquet.* The courtiers would surely praise the liberality of his grandson Almamon, who gave away four-fifths of the income of a province, a sum of two millions four hundred thousand gold dinars, before he drew his foot from the stirrup. At the nuptials of the same prince, a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride,† and a lottery of lands and houses displayed the capricious bounty of fortune. The glories of the court were brightened rather than impaired in the decline of the empire; and a Greek ambassador might admire or pity the magnificence of the feeble Moctader. "The caliph's whole army," says the historian Abulfeda, "both horse and foot, was under arms, which together made a body of one hundred and sixty thousand men. His state-officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were seven thousand eunuchs, four thousand of them white, the remainder black. The porters or doorkeepers were in number seven hundred. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were seen swimming upon the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself less splendid, in which were hung up thirty-eight thousand pieces of tapestry, twelve thousand five hundred of which were of silk embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floor were twenty-two thousand. A hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion.‡ Among the

language of arithmetic.

* D'Herbelot, p. 530. Abulfeda, p. 154. *Nivem Meccam apportavit, rem ibi aut nunquam aut rarissimam visam.*

† Abulfeda, p. 184. 189, describes the splendour and liberality of Almamon. Milton has alluded to this Oriental custom:

Or where the gorgeous East, with richest hand,
Showers on her kings Barbaric pearls and gold.

I have used the modern word *lottery*, to express the *missilia* of the Roman emperors, which entitled to some prize the person who caught them as they were thrown among the crowd.

‡ When Bell of Antermony (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 99) accompanied the Russian ambassador to the audience of the unfortunate Shah Hussein of Persia, two lions were introduced, to denote the power of the king

other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury, was a tree of gold and silver spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery affected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony. Through this scene of magnificence, the Greek ambassador was led by the vizir to the foot of the caliph's throne."* In the West, the Omniades of Spain supported, with equal pomp, the title of Commander of the faithful. Three miles from Cordova, in honour of his favourite sultana, the third and greatest of the Abdelrahmans constructed the city, palace, and gardens, of Zehra. Twenty-five years, and above three millions sterling, were employed by the founder; his liberal taste invited the artists of Constantinople, the most skilful sculptors and architects of the age; and the buildings were sustained or adorned by twelve hundred columns of Spanish and African, of Greek and Italian marble. The hall of audience was incrustated with gold and pearls, and a great basin in the centre was surrounded with the curious and costly figures of birds and quadrupeds. In a lofty pavilion of the gardens, one of these basins and fountains, so delightful in a sultry climate, was replenished, not with water, but with the purest quicksilver. The seraglio of Abdalrahman, his wives, concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to six thousand three hundred persons; and he was attended to the field by a guard of twelve thousand horse, whose belts and scymetars were studded with gold.†

In a private condition, our desires are perpetually re-

over the fiercest animals.

* Abulfeda, p. 237. D'Herbelot, p. 590. This embassy was received at Bagdad, A.H. 305, A.D. 917. In the passage of Abulfeda, I have used, with some variations, the English translation of the learned and amiable Mr. Harris of Salisbury. (Philological Inquiries, p. 363, 364.)

† Cardonne, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, tom. i. p. 330—336. A just idea of the taste and architecture of the Arabians of Spain, may be conceived from the description and plates of the Alhambra of Grenada. (Swinburne's *Travels*, p. 171—188. [Since Gibbon wrote, several fine works on the Alhambra and the Moorish architecture of Spain have been published; especially Murphy's great work, entitled the *Arabian Antiquities of Spain*; Owen Jones's *Alhambra*; Coste, *Architecture Arabe*; and *L'Espagne Artistique*. See also, Condé, vol. i. p. 417—419, a glowing description of the Medina Azahra, its gardens and pavilions, its natural beauties and costly splendours, among which Abderahman

pressed by poverty and subordination; but the lives and labours of millions are devoted to the service of a despotic prince, whose laws are blindly obeyed, and whose wishes are instantly gratified. Our imagination is dazzled by the splendid picture; and whatever may be the cool dictates of reason, there are few among us who would obstinately refuse a trial of the comforts and the cares of royalty. It may, therefore, be of some use to borrow the experience of the same Abdalrahman, whose magnificence has perhaps excited our admiration and envy, and to transcribe an authentic memorial which was found in the closet of the deceased caliph. "I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies. Riches and honours, power and pleasure, have waited on my call, nor does any earthly blessing appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In this situation I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount to *fourteen*:—O man! place not thy confidence in this present world!"* The luxury of the caliphs, so useless to their private happiness, relaxed the nerves, and terminated the progress, of the Arabian empire. Temporal

delighted to repose. All parts of his dominions were decorated by his munificence. Ib. p. 454.—Ed.]

* Cardonne, tom. i. p. 329, 330. This confession, the complaints of Solomon of the vanity of this world (read Prior's verbose but eloquent poem), and the happy ten days of the emperor Seged (Rambler, No. 204, 205), will be triumphantly quoted by the detractors of human life. Their expectations are commonly immoderate; their estimates are seldom impartial. If I may speak of myself (the only person of whom I can speak with certainty), *my* happy hours have far exceeded, and far exceed, the scanty numbers of the caliph of Spain; and I shall not scruple to add, that many of them are due to the pleasing labour of the present composition. [Such labourers may well be happy, and deserve to be so. Their pursuits must not be degraded by a comparison with those which are prompted only by ambition and wealth. See the close of ch. 48, vol. v. p. 353. Yet Abderahman was not indifferent to intellectual enjoyments. The picture left us of the last months of his life exhibits to us a cultivated mind and refined taste. Withdrawn from the cares of government, he retired to Medina Azahra, and there "passed the shadowy hours of twilight in the orange groves and amid the citron bowers of his gardens," conversing with the learned, the lovely, and the witty, whom he had collected around him. It was in one of these conversations, that he made to Suleiman, or Abu Ayub, the confession, said by Cardonne to have been found in his closet Condé, vol. i. p. 457.—Ed.]

and spiritual conquest had been the sole occupation of the first successors of Mahomet; and after supplying themselves with the necessaries of life, the whole revenue was scrupulously devoted to that salutary work. The Abbassides were impoverished by the multitude of their wants, and their contempt of economy. Instead of pursuing the great object of ambition, their leisure, their affections, the powers of their mind, were diverted by pomp and pleasure; the rewards of valour were embezzled by women and eunuchs, and the royal camp was encumbered by the luxury of the palace. A similar temper was diffused among the subjects of the caliph. Their stern enthusiasm was softened by time and prosperity; they sought riches in the occupations of industry, fame in the pursuits of literature, and happiness in the tranquillity of domestic life. War was no longer the passion of the Saracens; and the increase of pay, the repetition of donatives, were insufficient to allure the posterity of those voluntary champions who had crowded to the standard of Abubeker and Omar for the hopes of spoil and of paradise.

Under the reign of the Ommiades, the studies of the Moslems were confined to the interpretation of the Koran, and the eloquence and poetry of their native tongue. A people continually exposed to the dangers of the field must esteem the healing powers of medicine, or rather of surgery; but the starving physicians of Arabia murmured a complaint, that exercise and temperance deprived them of the greatest part of their practice.* After their civil and domestic wars, the subjects of the Abbassides, awakening from this mental lethargy, found leisure, and felt curiosity, for the acquisition of profane science. This spirit was first encouraged by the caliph Almansor, who, besides his knowledge of the Mahometan law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy. But when the sceptre devolved to Almamon, the seventh of the Abbassides, he completed the designs of his grandfather, and invited the Muses from their ancient seats. His ambassadors at Con-

* The Gulistan (p. 239) relates the conversation of Mahomet and a physician. (Epistol. Renaudot. in Fabricius, *Bibliot. Græc.* tom. i. p. 814.) The prophet himself was skilled in the art of medicine; and Gagnier (*Vie de Mahomet*, tom. iii. p. 394-405) has given an extract of the aphorisms which are extant under his name.

stantinople, his agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, collected the volumes of Grecian science; at his command they were translated by the most skilful interpreters into the Arabic language; his subjects were exhorted assiduously to peruse these instructive writings; and the successor of Mahomet assisted with pleasure and modesty at the assemblies and disputations of the learned. "He was not ignorant," says Abulpharagius, "that *they* are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties. The mean ambition of the Chinese or the Turks may glory in the industry of their hands, or the indulgence of their brutal appetites. Yet these dexterous artists must view, with hopeless emulation, the hexagons and pyramids of the cells of a bee-hive;* these fortitudinous heroes are awed by the superior fierceness of the lions and tigers; and in their amorous enjoyments, they are much inferior to the vigour of the grossest and most sordid quadrupeds. The teachers of wisdom are the true luminaries and legislators of a world, which, without their aid, would again sink in ignorance and barbarism."† The zeal and curiosity of Almamon were imitated by succeeding princes of the line of Abbas; their rivals, the Fatimites of Africa and the Omniades of Spain, were the patrons of the learned, as well as the commanders of the faithful; the same royal prerogative was claimed by their independent emirs of the provinces; and their emulation diffused the taste and the rewards of science from Samarcand and Bochara to Fez and Cordova. The vizir

* See their curious architecture in Reaumur. (*Hist. des Insectes* tom. v. *Memoire* 8.) These hexagons are closed by a pyramid; the angles of the three sides of a similar pyramid, such as would accomplish the given end with the smallest quantity possible of materials, were determined by a mathematician, at one hundred and nine degrees twenty-six minutes for the larger, seventy degrees thirty-four minutes for the smaller. The actual measure is one hundred and nine degrees twenty-eight minutes, seventy degrees thirty-two minutes. Yet this perfect harmony raises the work at the expense of the artist; the bees are not masters of transcendent geometry.

† Saed Ebn Ahmed, cadhi of Toledo, who died A.H. 462, A.D. 1069 has furnished Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 160) with this curious passage, as well as with the text of Pocock's *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*. A number of literary anecdotes of philosophers, physicians, &c. who have flourished under each caliph, form the principal merit of the dynasties of Abulpharagius.

of a sultan consecrated a sum of two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the foundation of a college at Bagdad, which he endowed with an annual revenue of fifteen thousand dinars. The fruits of instruction were communicated, perhaps at different times, to six thousand disciples of every degree, from the son of the noble to that of the mechanic ; a sufficient allowance was provided for the indigent scholars ; and the merit or industry of the professors was repaid with adequate stipends. In every city the productions of Arabic literature were copied and collected by the curiosity of the studious, and the vanity of the rich. A private doctor refused the invitation of the sultan of Bochara, because the carriage of his books would have required four hundred camels. The royal library of the Fatimites consisted of one hundred thousand manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were lent, without jealousy or avarice, to the students of Cairo. Yet this collection must appear moderate, if we can believe that the Omniades of Spain had formed a library of six hundred thousand volumes, forty-four of which were employed in the mere catalogue. Their capital, Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malaga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than three hundred writers, and above seventy public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom. The age of Arabian learning continued about five hundred years, till the great irruption of the Moguls, and was coeval with the darkest and most slothful period of European annals ; but since the sun of science has arisen in the West, it should seem that the Oriental studies have languished and declined.*

* These literary anecdotes are borrowed from the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana* (tom. ii. p. 38. 71. 201, 202), *Leo Africanus* (de Arab. Medicis et Philosophis, in *Fabric. Bibliot. Græc.* tom. xiii. p. 259—298, particularly 274), and *Renaudot* (*Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 274, 275, 536, 537), besides the chronological remarks of *Abulpharagius*. [The literary history of Spain, under the Omniades, may be collected from many of *Condé's* chapters. He relates their special care for the education of their sons, and their general provisions for that of their subjects ; their patronage of learned men, and their anxiety to collect for the use of others, as well as for their own study, the works of the best authors. *Al Hakem II.*, the son of the great *Abderahman III.*, was eminent for these pursuits. He had agents in various countries to purchase or copy MSS. for him, and thus collected the extensive

In the libraries of the Arabians, as in those of Europe, the far greater part of the innumerable volumes were possessed only of local value or imaginary merit.* The shelves were crowded with orators and poets, whose style was adapted to the taste and manners of their countrymen; with general and partial histories, which each revolving generation supplied with a new harvest of persons and events; with codes and commentaries of jurisprudence, which derived their authority from the law of the prophet; with the interpreters of the Koran, and orthodox tradition; and with the whole theological tribe, polemics, mystics, scholastics, and moralists, the first or the last of writers, according to the different estimate of sceptics or believers. The works of speculation or science may be reduced to the four classes of philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and physic. The sages of Greece were translated and illustrated in the Arabic language, and some treatises, now lost in the original, have been recovered in the versions of the East,† which possessed and studied the writings of Aristotle and Plato, of Euclid and Apollonius, of Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen.‡ Among the ideal systems, which have varied

library mentioned by Gibbon. His catalogue of forty-four vols. contained not only the names of the books and their authors, but also each man's genealogy, with the dates of his birth and death. (Condé, vol. i. p. 460, &c.)—ED.]

* The Arabic catalogue of the Escorial will give a just idea of the proportion of the classes. In the library of Cairo, the MSS. of astronomy and medicine amounted to six thousand five hundred, with two fair globes, the one of brass, the other of silver. (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 417.)

† As for instance, the fifth, sixth, and seventh books (the eighth is still wanting) of the Conic Sections of Apollonius Pergæus, which were printed from the Florence MSS. 1661. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 559.) Yet the fifth book had been previously restored by the mathematical divination of Viviani. See his Eloge in Fontenelle, tom. v. p. 59, &c.)

‡ The merit of these Arabic versions is freely discussed by Renaudot (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. i. p. 812—816), and piously defended by Gasira (Bibliot. Arab. Hispana, tom. i. p. 238—240). Most of the versions of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, &c. are ascribed to Honain, a physician of the Nestorian sect, who flourished at Bagdad, in the court of the caliphs, and died A.D. 876. He was at the head of a school or manufactory of translations, and the works of his sons and disciples were published under his name. See Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 88. 115. 171—174, and apud Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 438), D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 456), Asseman. (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iii. p. 164), and

with the fashion of the times, the Arabians adopted the philosophy of the Stagirite, alike intelligible or alike obscure for the readers of every age. Plato wrote for the Athenians, and his allegorical genius is too closely blended with the language and religion of Greece. After the fall of that religion, the Peripatetics, emerging from their obscurity, prevailed in the controversies of the Oriental sects; and their founder was long afterwards restored by the Mahometans of Spain to the Latin schools.* The physics, both of the Academy and the Lycæum, as they are built, not on observation, but on argument, have retarded the progress of real knowledge. The metaphysics of infinite, or finite spirit, have too often been enlisted in the service of superstition. But the human faculties are fortified by the art and practice of dialectics; the ten Predicaments of Aristotle collect and methodize our ideas,† and his syllogism is the keenest weapon of dispute. It was dexterously wielded in the schools of the Saracens, but as it is more effectual for the detection of error than for the investigation of truth, it is not surprising that new generations of masters and disciples should still revolve in the same circle of logical argument. The mathematics are distinguished by a peculiar privilege, that, in the course of ages, they may always advance, and can never recede. But the ancient geometry, if I am not misinformed, was resumed in the same state by the Italians of the fifteenth century; and whatever may be the origin of the name, the science of algebra is ascribed to the Grecian Diophantus by the modest testimony of the Arabs

Casiri (Bibliot. Arab. Hispana, tom. i. p. 238, &c. 251. 286—290. 302. 304, &c.). [Civilization and literature, although so long retrograde among the nations that succumbed to the Saracen arms, still had not lost all their efficacy to soften and smooth the roughness of Barbarian conquerors. The rude were made acquainted with the works of better ages, and from the recorded thoughts of the enlightened, learned themselves to think. A single century transformed the wild camel-driver of the desert into the student of the college, and elevated Bagdad above Constantinople, Athens, and Rome. The rapid change which one century made in the character and habits of the Arabians proves the usual course of human nature.—ED.]

* See Mosheim, Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 181. 214. 236. 257. 315. 338. 396. 438, &c.

† The most elegant commentary on the Categories or Predicaments of Aristotle may be found in the Philosophical Arrangements of Mr. James Harris (London, 1775, in octavo), who laboured to revive the studies of Grecian literature and

themselves.* They cultivated with more success the sublime science of astronomy, which elevates the mind of man to disdain his diminutive planet and momentary existence. The costly instruments of observation were supplied by the caliph Almamon, and the land of the Chaldeans still afforded the same spacious level, the same unclouded horizon. In the plains of Sinaar, and a second time in those of Cufa, his mathematicians accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determinéd at twenty-four thousand miles the entire circumference of our globe.† From the reign of the Abbassides to that of the grandchildren of Tamerlane, the stars, without the aid of glasses, were diligently observed; and the Astronomical Tables of Bagdad, Spain, and Samarcand,‡ correct some minute errors, without daring to renounce the hypothesis of Ptolemy, without advancing a step towards the discovery of the solar system.

philosophy.

* Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 81. 222. Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 370, 371. In quem (says the primate of the Jacobites) si immiserit se lector, oceanum hoc in genere (*algebra*) inveniet. The time of Diophantus of Alexandria is unknown, but his six books are still extant, and have been illustrated by the Greek Planudes and the Frenchman Meziriac. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. iv. p. 12—15.) [Was this Diophantus the same as the philosopher of that name, who educated Libanius about the year 330, and spoke the funeral oration of Proæresius at Athens in 367? It is an interesting subject for inquiry. The above dates clearly determinè the time of the latter, and he is known to have been by birth an Arabian. (Clinton (who quotes Libanius, Eunapius, and Suidas), F. R. i. 369. 401. 469). The writer of the books on Algebra is said by Abulpharagius to have lived about A.D. 365, and the best informed moderns believe that he flourished in the fourth century (Colebrooke's Preface to his Algebra). It appears therefore probable, that there was but one Diophantus; that after leaving Arabia, his first place of abode was Antioch, where he was the preceptor of Libanius; that he thence proceeded to Athens, and afterwards to Alexandria, where it was likely that his mathematical talents would be more encouraged. This identity, if ascertained, would prove that the science of Algebra did come originally from Arabia.—ED.]

† Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 210, 211, vers. Reiske) describes this operation according to Ibn Challecan, and the best historians. This degree most accurately contains two hundred thousand royal or Hashemite cubits, which Arabia had derived from the sacred and legal practice both of Palestine and Egypt. This ancient cubit is repeated four hundred times in each basis of the great pyramid, and seems to indicate the primitive and universal measures of the East. See the *Métrologie* of the laborious M. Pauton, p. 101—105.

‡ See the Astronomical Tables of Ulugh Begh. with the preface of Dr. Hyde, in the first volume of his *Syntagma*

In the eastern courts, the truths of science could be recommended only by ignorance and folly, and the astronomer would have been disregarded, had he not debased his wisdom or honesty by the vain predictions of astrology.* But in the science of medicine, the Arabians have been deservedly applauded. The names of Mesua and Geber, of Razis and Avicenna, are ranked with the Grecian masters; in the city of Bagdad, eight hundred and sixty physicians were licensed to exercise their lucrative profession;† in Spain, the life of the Catholic princes was intrusted to the skill of the Saracens,‡ and the school of Salerno, their legitimate offspring, revived in Italy and Europe the precepts of the healing art.§ The success of each professor must have been influenced by personal and accidental causes; but we may form a less fanciful estimate of their general knowledge of anatomy,¶ botany,** and chemistry,†† the threefold basis of their theory and practice. A superstitious reverence for the dead confined both the Greeks and the Arabians to

Dissertationum, Oxon. 1767.

* The truth of astrology was allowed by Albumazar, and the best of the Arabian astronomers, who drew their most certain predictions, not from Venus and Mercury, but from Jupiter and the sun. (Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 161—163.) For the state and science of the Persian astronomers, see Chardin. (Voyages en Perse, tom. iii. p. 162—203.)

† Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. i. p. 438. The original relates a pleasant tale, of an ignorant but harmless practitioner.

‡ In the year 956, Sancho the Fat, king of Leon, was cured by the physicians of Cordova. (Mariana, l. 8, c. 7. tom. i. p. 318.)

§ The School of Salerno, and the introduction of the Arabian sciences into Italy, are discussed with learning and judgment by Muratori (Antiquat. Italise Medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 932—940), and Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 119—127).

¶ See a good view of the progress of anatomy in Wotton. (Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning, p. 208—256.) His reputation has been unworthily depreciated by the wits in the controversy of Boyle and Bentley.

** Bibliot. Arab. Hispanica, tom. i. p. 275. Al Beithar of Malaga, their greatest botanist, had travelled into Africa, Persia, and India.

†† Dr. Watson (Elements of Chemistry, vol. i. p. 17, &c.) allows the original merit of the Arabians. Yet he quotes the modest confession of the famous Geber of the ninth century (D'Herbelot, p. 387), that he had drawn most of his science, perhaps of the transmutation of metals, from the ancient aægea. Whatever might be the origin or extent of their knowledge, the arts of chemistry and alchymy appear to have been known in Egypt at least three hundred years before Mahomet. (Wotton's Reflections, p. 121—123. Pauw, Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les

the dissection of apes and quadrupeds; the more solid and visible parts were known in the time of Galen, and the finer scrutiny of the human frame was reserved for the microscope and the injections of modern artists. Botany is an active science, and the discoveries of the torrid zone might enrich the herbal of Dioscorides with two thousand plants. Some traditionary knowledge might be secreted in the temples and monasteries of Egypt; much useful experience had been acquired in the practice of arts and manufactures; but the *science* of chemistry owes its origin and improvement to the industry of the Saracens. They first invented and named the alembic for the purposes of distillation, analyzed the substances of the three kingdoms of nature, tried the distinction and affinities of alkalis and acids, and converted the poisonous minerals into soft and salutary medicines. But the most eager search of Arabian chemistry was the transmutation of metals, and the elixir of immortal health; the reason and the fortunes of thousands were evaporated in the crucibles of alchymy, and the consummation of the great work was promoted by the worthy aid of mystery, fable, and superstition.

But the Moslems deprived themselves of the principal benefits of a familiar intercourse with Greece and Rome, the knowledge of antiquity, the purity of taste, and the freedom of thought. Confident in the riches of their native tongue, the Arabians disdained the study of any foreign idiom. The Greek interpreters were chosen among their Christian subjects; they formed their translations, sometimes on the original text, more frequently perhaps on a Syriac version; and in the crowd of astronomers and physicians, there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian, being taught to speak the language of the Saracens.* The mythology of Homer would have provoked the abhorrence of those stern fanatics; they possessed in lazy ignorance the colonies of the Macedonians, and the provinces of Carthage and Rome; the heroes of Plutarch and Livy

Chinois, tom. i. p. 376—429.)

* Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 26. 148) mentions a *Syriac* version of Homer's two poems by Theophilus, a Christian Maronite of Mount Libanus, who professed astronomy at Roha or Edessa, towards the end of the eighth century. His work would be a literary curiosity. I have read somewhere, but I do not believe, that Plutarch's Lives were translated into Turkish

were buried in oblivion; and the history of the world before Mahomet was reduced to a short legend of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Persian kings. Our education in the Greek and Latin schools may have fixed in our minds a standard of exclusive taste; and I am not forward to condemn the literature and judgment of nations, of whose language I am ignorant. Yet I *know* that the classics have much to teach, and I *believe* that the Orientals have much to learn: the temperate dignity of style, the graceful proportions of art, the forms of visible and intellectual beauty, the just delineation of character and passion, the rhetoric of narrative and argument, the regular fabric of epic and dramatic poetry.* The influence of truth and reason is of a less ambiguous complexion. The philosophers of Athens and Rome enjoyed the blessings and asserted the rights, of civil and religious freedom. Their moral and political writings might have gradually unlocked the fetters of Eastern despotism, diffused a liberal spirit of inquiry and toleration, and encouraged the Arabian sages to suspect that their caliph was a tyrant and their prophet an impostor.† The instinct of superstition was alarmed by the introduction even of the abstract sciences; and the more rigid doctors of the law condemned the rash and pernicious curiosity of Almamon.‡ To the thirst of martyrdom, the vision of paradise, and the belief of predestination, we must ascribe the invincible enthusiasm of the prince and people. And the sword of the Saracens became less formidable, when their youth was drawn away from the camp to the college, when the armies of the faithful presumed to read and to reflect. Yet the foolish vanity of the Greeks was jealous of their studies, and reluctantly imparted the sacred fire to the Barbarians of the East.§

for the use of Mahomet the Second.

* I have perused with much pleasure, Sir William Jones's Latin Commentary on Asiatic Poetry (London, 1774, in octavo), which was composed in the youth of that wonderful linguist. At present, in the maturity of his taste and judgment, he would perhaps abate of the fervent, and even partial, praise which he has bestowed on the Orientals.

† Among the Arabian philosophers, Averroes has been accused of despising the religions of the Jews, the Christians, and the Mahometans. (See his article in Bayle's Dictionary.) Each of these sects would agree, that in two instances out of three, his contempt was reasonable.

‡ D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 546.

§ Θεόφιλος ἀποπον κρίνας εἰ τὴν τῶν ὕντων γυνῶσιν, δι' ἣν τὸ

In the bloody conflict of the Ommiades and Abbassides, the Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs, and enlarging their limits. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of the new dynasty, who siezed in his turn the favourable opportunity, while a woman and a child, Irene and Constantine, were seated on the Byzantine throne. An army of ninety-five thousand Persians and Arabs was sent from the Tigris to the Thracian Bosphorus, under the command of Harun,* or Aaron, the second son of the commander of the faithful. His encampment on the opposite heights of Chrysopolis or Scutari, informed Irene, in her palace of Constantinople, of the loss of her troops and provinces. With the consent or connivance of their sovereign, her ministers subscribed an ignominious peace; and the exchange of some royal gifts could not disguise the annual tribute of seventy thousand dinars of gold, which was imposed on the Roman empire. The Saracens had too rashly advanced into the midst of a distant and hostile land; their retreat was solicited by the promise of faithful guides and plentiful markets; and not a Greek had courage to whisper, that their weary forces might be surrounded and destroyed in their necessary passage between a slippery mountain and the river Sangarius. Five years after this expedition, Harun ascended the throne of his father and his elder brother; the most powerful and vigorous monarch of his race, illustrious in the West as the ally of Charlemagne, and familiar to the most childish readers, as the perpetual hero of the Arabian Tales. His title to the name of *Al Rashid* (the *Just*) is sullied by the extirpation of the generous, perhaps the innocent, Barmecides; yet he could listen to the complaint of a poor widow who had been pillaged by his troops, and who dared, in a passage of the

* *Ῥωμαίων γένος θανάμζεται, ἔκδοτον ποιήσει τοῖς ἔθνεσι*, &c. Cedrenus, p. 548, who relates how manfully the emperor refused a mathematician to the instances and offers of the caliph Almamon. This absurd scruple is expressed almost in the same words by the continuator of Theophanes. (*Scriptores post Theophanem*, p. 118.)

* See the reign and character of Harun al Rashid, in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 431—433, under his proper title; and in the relative articles to which M. d'Herbelot refers. That learned collector has shown much taste in stripping the Oriental chronicles of their instructive and amusing anecdotes. [For the birth-place of Harun al Rashid, see vol. v. p. 144. Note.—ED.]

Koran, to threaten the inattentive despot with the judgment of God and posterity. His court was adorned with luxury and science; but in a reign of three-and-twenty years, Harun repeatedly visited his provinces from Chorasán to Egypt; nine times he performed the pilgrimage of Mecca; eight times he invaded the territories of the Romans; and as often as they declined the payment of the tribute, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of submission. But when the unnatural mother of Constantine was deposed and banished, her successor Nicephorus resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. The epistle of the emperor to the caliph was pointed with an allusion to the game of chess, which had already spread from Persia to Greece. "The queen (he spoke of Irene) considered you as a rook and herself a pawn. That pusillanimous female submitted to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the Barbarians. Restore therefore the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." At these words the ambassadors cast a bundle of swords before the foot of the throne. The caliph smiled at the menace, and drawing his scymetar, *samsamah*, a weapon of historic or fabulous renown, he cut asunder the feeble arms of the Greeks, without turning the edge, or endangering the temper of his blade. He then dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity: "In the name of the most merciful God, Harun al Rashid, commander of the faithful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear, thou shalt behold my reply." It was written in characters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia, and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the arts of deceit and the show of repentance. The triumphant caliph retired, after the fatigues of the campaign, to his favourite palace of Racca on the Euphrates:* but the distance of five hundred miles, and the inclemency of the season, encouraged his adversary to violate the peace. Nicephorus was astonished by the bold and rapid march of

* For the situation of Racca, the old Nicephorium, consult D'Anville. (*L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 24—27.) The Arabian Nights represent Harun al Rashid as almost stationary in Bagdad. He respected the royal seat of the Abbassides, but the vices of the inhabitants had driven him from the city. (*Abulfed. Annal.* p. 167.)

the commander of the faithful, who repassed in the depth of winter, the snows of mount Taurus; his stratagems of policy and war were exhausted; and the perfidious Greek escaped with three wounds from a field of battle overspread with forty thousand of his subjects. Yet the emperor was ashamed of submission, and the caliph was resolved on victory. One hundred and thirty-five thousand regular soldiers received pay, and were inscribed in the military roll; and above three hundred thousand persons of every denomination marched under the black standard of the Abbassides. They swept the surface of Asia Minor far beyond Tyana and Ancyra, and invested the Pontic Heraclea,* once a flourishing state, now a paltry town; at that time capable of sustaining in her antique walls a month's siege against the forces of the East. The ruin was complete, the spoil was ample; but if Harun had been conversant with Grecian story, he would have regretted the statue of Hercules, whose attributes, the club, the bow, the quiver, and the lion's hide, were sculptured in massy gold. The progress of desolation by sea and land, from the Euxine to the isle of Cyprus, compelled the emperor Nicephorus to retract his haughty defiance. In the new treaty the ruins of Heraclea were left for ever as a lesson and a trophy; and the coin of the tribute was marked with the image and superscription of Harun and his three sons.† Yet this plurality of lords might contribute to remove the dishonour of the Roman name. After the death of their father, the heirs of the caliph were involved in civil discord, and the conqueror, the liberal Almamon, was sufficiently engaged in the restoration of domestic peace and the introduction of foreign science.

Under the reign of Almamon at Bagdad, of Michael the

* M. D. Tournefort, in his coasting voyage from Constantinople to Trebizond, passed a night at Heraclea or Eregri. His eye surveyed the present state, his reading collected the antiquities, of the city. (*Voyage du Levant*, tom. iii. lettre 16, p. 23—35.) We have a separate history of Heraclea in the fragments of Memnon, which are preserved by Photius.

† The wars of Harun al Rashid against the Roman empire, are related by Theophanes (384. 385. 391. 396. 407, 408), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. 15, p. 115. 124), Cedrenus (p. 477, 478), Euty chius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 407), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 136. 151, 152), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 147. 151), and Abulfeda (p. 156. 166—

Stammerer at Constantinople, the islands of Crete* and Sicily were subdued by the Arabs. The former of these conquests is disdained by their own writers, who were ignorant of the fame of Jupiter and Minos, but it has not been overlooked by the Byzantine historians, who now begin to cast a clearer light on the affairs of their own times.† A band of Andalusian volunteers, discontented with the climate or government of Spain, explored the adventures of the sea; but as they sailed in no more than ten or twenty galleys, their warfare must be branded with the name of piracy. As the subjects and sectaries of the *white* party, they might lawfully invade the dominions of the *black* caliphs. A rebellious faction introduced them into Alexandria;‡ they

168).

* The authors from whom I have learned the most of the ancient and modern state of Crete, are Belon (Observations, &c. c. 3—20, Paris, 1555), Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. i. lettres 2 et 3), and Meursius (*Crete*, in his works, tom. iii. p. 343—544). Although Crete is styled by Homer *Πίσυρα*, by Dionysius *λίπαρη τε καὶ εὐβορος*, I cannot conceive that mountainous island to surpass, or even to equal, in fertility, the greater part of Spain.

† The most authentic and circumstantial intelligence is obtained from the four books of the Continuation of Theophanes, compiled by the pen or the command of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the life of his father, Basil the Macedonian. (Scriptores post Theophanem, p. 1—162, à Francisc. Combesis, Paris, 1685.) The loss of Crete and Sicily is related, l. 2, p. 46—52. To these we may add the secondary evidence of Joseph Genesisius (l. 2, p. 21. Venetiis, 1733), George Cedrenus (Compend. p. 506—508), and John Scylitzes Curopalata (apud Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 827, No. 24, &c.). But the modern Greeks are such notorious plagiarists, that I should only quote a plurality of names.

‡ Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 251—256. 268—270) has described the ravages of the Andalusian Arabs in Egypt, but has forgotten to connect them with the conquest of Crete. [Condé's account of these events differs materially from Gibbon's. He says that in suppressing an insurrection at Cordova, A.H. 202 (A.D. 817) the cruelty of Al Hakem I. drove 15,000 of his subjects into Africa. Eight thousand of these settled in Mauritania; the rest made their way by land to Egypt. Finding the gates of Alexandria shut against them, they forced an entrance and exercised with great licence all the rights of conquerors. At length, by virtue of a treaty, a large sum of money was paid them and ships provided for their conveyance to Crete, which was assigned to them for their residence. At first they subsisted by piracy, plundering the shores of Asia and the isles of Greece. Enriched by these spoils, they were desirous of returning to Spain. To prevent this, their leader, Omar Ben Xoaib, burnt their fleet and induced them to build Candax, A.D. 822. This is Condé's version of these transactions, vol. i. p. 260—

cut in pieces both friends and foes, pillaged the churches and the moschs, sold above six thousand Christian captives, and maintained their station in the capital of Egypt, till they were oppressed by the forces and the presence of Almamon himself. From the mouth of the Nile to the Hellespont the islands and sea-coasts both of the Greeks and Moslems were exposed to their depredations; they saw, they envied, they tasted, the fertility of Crete, and soon returned with forty galleys to a more serious attack. The Andalusians wandered over the land fearless and unmolested; but when they descended with their plunder to the sea-shore, their vessels were in flames, and their chief, Abu Caab, confessed himself the author of the mischief. Their clamours accused his madness or treachery: "Of what do you complain?" replied the crafty emir. "I have brought you to a land flowing with milk and honey. Here is your true country; repose from your toils, and forget the barren place of your nativity."—"And our wives and children?"—"Your beauteous captives will supply the place of your wives, and in their embraces you will soon become the fathers of a new progeny." The first habitation was their camp, with a ditch and rampart, in the bay of Suda; but an apostate monk led them to a more desirable position in the eastern parts; and the name of Candax, their fortress and colony, has been extended to the whole island, under the corrupt and modern appellation of *Candia*. The hundred cities of the age of Minos were diminished to thirty; and of these, only one, most probably Cydonia, had courage to retain the substance of freedom and the profession of Christianity. The Saracens of Crete soon repaired the loss of their navy; and the timbers of mount Ida were launched into the main. During a hostile period of one hundred and thirty-eight years, the princes of Constantinople attacked these licentious corsairs with fruitless curses and ineffectual arms.

The loss of Sicily* was occasioned by an act of superstitious rigour. An amorous youth, who had stolen a nun from her cloister, was sentenced by the emperor to the

264.—ED.]

* *Ἀηλοῖ* (says the continuator of Theophanes, l. 2, p. 51), δὲ ταῦτα σαφέστατα καὶ πλατικώτερον ἢ τότε γραφεῖσα Θεογνώστω καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθοῦσα ἡμῶν. This history of the loss of Sicily is no longer extant. Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. vii. p. 7. 19. 21, &c.) has added some circumstances from the Italian chronicles.

amputation of his tongue. Euphemius appealed to the reason and policy of the Saracens of Africa; and soon returned with the imperial purple, a fleet of one hundred ships, and an army of seven hundred horse and ten thousand foot. They landed at Mazara near the ruins of the ancient Selinus; but after some partial victories, Syracuse* was delivered by the Greeks, the apostate was slain before her walls, and his African friends were reduced to the necessity of feeding on the flesh of their own horses. In their turn they were relieved by a powerful reinforcement of their brethren of Andalusia; the largest and western part of the island was gradually reduced, and the commodious harbour of Palermo was chosen for the seat of the naval and military power of the Saracens. Syracuse preserved about fifty years the faith which she had sworn to Christ and to Cæsar. In the last and fatal siege, her citizens displayed some remnant of the spirit which had formerly resisted the powers of Athens and Carthage. They stood above twenty days against the battering-rams and *catapultæ*, the mines and tortoises of the besiegers; and the place might have been relieved, if the mariners of the imperial fleet had not been detained at Constantinople in building a church to the Virgin Mary. The deacon Theodosius, with the bishop and clergy, was dragged in chains from the altar to Palermo, cast into a subterraneous dungeon, and exposed to the hourly peril of death or apostacy. His pathetic, and not inelegant, complaint, may be read as the epitaph of his country.† From the Roman conquest to this final calamity, Syracuse, now dwindled to the primitive isle of Ortygia, had insensibly declined. Yet the relics were still precious; the plate of the cathedral weighed five thousand pounds of silver; the entire spoil was computed at one million of pieces of gold (about four hundred thousand pounds sterling), and the captives must outnumber the seventeen

* The splendid and interesting tragedy of *Tancrede* would adapt itself much better to this epoch, than to the date (A.D. 1005) which Voltaire himself has chosen. But I must gently reproach the poet for infusing into the Greek subjects the spirit of modern knights and ancient republicans.

† The narrative or lamentation of Theodosius is transcribed and illustrated by Pagi. (*Critica*, tom. iii. p. 719, &c.) Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in *Vit. Basil.* c. 69, 70, p. 190—192) mentions the loss of Syracuse and the triumph of the

thousand Christians who were transported from the sack of Tauromenium into African servitude. In Sicily the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated; and such was the docility of the rising generation, that fifteen thousand boys were circumcised and clothed on the same day with the son of the Fatimite caliph. The Arabian squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Biserta, and Tunis; a hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; nor could the suburbs of Rome be defended by the name of the Cæsars and apostles. Had the Mahometans been united, Italy must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of the prophet. But the caliphs of Bagdad had lost their authority in the West; the Aglabites and Fatimites usurped the provinces of Africa; their emirs of Sicily aspired to independence; and the design of conquest and dominion was degraded to a repetition of predatory inroads.*

In the sufferings of prostrate Italy, the name of Rome awakens a solemn and mournful recollection. A fleet of Saracens from the African coast presumed to enter the mouth of the Tiber, and to approach a city which even yet, in her fallen state, was revered as the metropolis of the Christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people; but the tombs and temples of St. Peter and St. Paul were left exposed in the suburbs of the Vatican and of the Ostian way. Their invisible sanctity had protected them against the Goths, the Vandals, and the Lombards; but the Arabs disdained both the gospel and the legend; and their rapacious spirit was approved and animated by the precepts of the Koran. The Christian *idols* were stripped of their costly offerings; a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter; and if the bodies or the buildings were left entire, their deliverance must be imputed to the haste, rather than the scruples, of the Saracens. In their course along the Appian way, they pillaged Fundi and besieged Gaeta; but they had turned aside from the walls of Rome, and, by their divisions, the

demons.

* The extracts from the Arabic histories of Sicily, are given in Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 271—273) and in the first volume of Muratori's *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*. M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 363, 364) has added some important facts.

Capitol was saved from the yoke of the prophet of Mecca. The same danger still impended on the heads of the Roman people; and their domestic force was unequal to the assault of an African emir. They claimed the protection of their Latin sovereign; but the Carlovingian standard was overthrown by a detachment of the barbarians; they meditated the restoration of the Greek emperors; but the attempt was treasonable, and the succour remote and precarious.* Their distress appeared to receive some aggravation from the death of their spiritual and temporal chief; but the pressing emergency superseded the forms and intrigues of an election; and the unanimous choice of pope Leo the Fourth† was the safety of the church and city. This pontiff was born a Roman; the courage of the first ages of the republic glowed in his breast; and, amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman Forum. The first days of his reign were consecrated to the purification and removal of relics, to prayers and processions, and to all the solemn offices of religion, which served at least to heal the imagination, and restore the hopes, of the multitude. The public defence had been long neglected, not from the presumption of peace, but from the distress and poverty of the times. As far as the scantiness of his means, and the shortness of his leisure, would allow, the ancient walls were repaired by the command of Leo; fifteen towers, in the most accessible stations, were built or renewed; two of these commanded on either side the Tiber; and an iron chain was drawn across the stream to impede the ascent of a hostile navy. The Romans were assured of a short respite by the welcome news, that the siege of Gaeta had been raised, and that a part of the

* One of the most eminent Romans (Gratianus, *magister militum et Romani palatii superista*) was accused of declaring, *Quia Franci nihil nobis boni faciunt, neque adjutorium præbent, sed magis quæ nostra sunt violenter tollunt. Quare non advocamus Græcos, et cum eis fœdus pacis componentes, Francorum regem et gentem de nostro regno et dominatione expellimus?* Anastasius in Leone IV. p. 199.

† Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, tom. ii. c. 38, p. 124,) appears to be remarkably struck with the character of pope Leo IV. I have borrowed his general expression, but the sight of the Forum has furnished me with a more distinct and lively image.

enemy, with their sacrilegious plunder, had perished in the waves.

But the storm which had been delayed, soon burst upon them with redoubled violence. The Aglabite,* who reigned in Africa, had inherited from his father a treasure and an army; a fleet of Arabs and Moors, after a short refreshment in the harbours of Sardinia, cast anchor before the mouth of the Tiber, sixteen miles from the city; and their discipline and numbers appeared to threaten, not a transient inroad, but a serious design of conquest and dominion. But the vigilance of Leo had formed an alliance with the vassals of the Greek empire, the free and maritime states of Gaeta, Naples, and Amalfi; and in the hour of danger, their galleys appeared in the port of Ostia, under the command of Cæsarius, the son of the Neapolitan duke, a noble and valiant youth, who had already vanquished the fleets of the Saracens. With his principal companions, Cæsarius was invited to the Lateran palace, and the dexterous pontiff affected to inquire their errand, and to accept with joy and surprise their providential succour. The city bands, in arms, attended their father to Ostia, where he reviewed and blessed his generous deliverers. They kissed his feet, received the communion with martial devotion, and listened to the prayer of Leo, that the same God who had supported St. Peter and St. Paul on the waves of the sea, would strengthen the hands of his champions against the adversaries of his holy name. After a similar prayer, and with equal resolution, the Moslems advanced to the attack of the Christian galleys, which preserved their advantageous station along the coast. The victory inclined to the side of the allies, when it was less gloriously decided in their favour by a sudden tempest, which confounded the skill and courage of the stoutest mariners. The Christians were sheltered in a friendly harbour, while the Africans were scattered and dashed in pieces among the rocks and islands of a hostile shore. Those who escaped from shipwreck and hunger, neither found nor deserved mercy at the hands of

* De Guignes, *Hist. Générale des Huns*, tom. i. p. 363, 364. Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, sous la Domination des Arabes*, tom. ii. p. 24, 25. I observe, and cannot reconcile, the difference of these writers in the succession of the Aglabites. [For the succession of the Beni Aglab in Africa, see Condé's *Arabs in Spain*,

their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder was more usefully employed to restore the sacred edifices which they had attempted to subvert. The pontiff, at the head of the citizens and allies, paid his grateful devotion at the shrines of the apostles; and among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows of pure and massy silver were suspended round the altar of the fisherman of Galilee. The reign of Leo the Fourth was employed in the defence and ornament of the Roman State. The churches were renewed and embellished; near four thousand pounds of silver were consecrated to repair the losses of St. Peter; and his sanctuary was decorated with a plate of gold of the weight of two hundred and sixteen pounds, embossed with the portraits of the pope and emperor, and encircled with a string of pearls. Yet this vain magnificence reflects less glory on the character of Leo, than the paternal care with which he rebuilt the walls of Horta and Ameria; and transported the wandering inhabitants of Centumcellæ to his new foundation of Leopoli, twelve miles from the sea-shore.* By his liberality a colony of Corsicans, with their wives and children, was planted in the station of Porto at the mouth of the Tiber; the falling city was restored for their use, the fields and vineyards were divided among the new settlers: their first efforts were assisted by a gift of horses and cattle; and the hardy exiles, who breathed revenge against the Saracens, swore to live and die under the standard of St. Peter. The nations of the West and North who visited the threshold of the apostles, had gradually formed the large and populous suburb of the Vatican, and their various habitations were distinguished, in the language of the times, as the *schools* of the Greeks and Goths, of the Lombards and Saxons. But this venerable spot was still open to sacrilegious insult; the design of enclosing it with walls and towers exhausted all that authority could command, or charity would supply; and the pious labour of four years was animated in every season, and at every hour, by the presence of the inde-

vol. ii. c. 75.—Ed.]

* Beretti (*Chorographia Italiæ Mediævi*, p. 106. 108,) has illustrated Centumcellæ, Leopoli, Civitas Leonina, and the other places of the Roman duchy.

fatigable pontiff. The love of fame, a generous but worldly passion, may be detected in the name of the *Leonine city*, which he bestowed on the Vatican; yet the pride of the dedication was tempered with Christian penance and humility. The boundary was trod by the bishop and his clergy, barefoot in sackcloth and ashes; the songs of triumph were modulated to psalms and litanies; the walls were besprinkled with holy water; and the ceremony was concluded with a prayer, that under the guardian care of the apostles and the angelic host, both the old and the new Rome might ever be preserved pure, prosperous, and impregnable.*

The emperor Theophilus, son of Michael the Stammerer, was one of the most active and high-spirited princes who reigned at Constantinople during the middle age. In offensive or defensive war, he marched in person five times against the Saracens, formidable in his attack, esteemed by the enemy in his losses and defeat. In the last of these expeditions he penetrated into Syria, and besieged the obscure town of Sozopetra, the casual birth-place of the caliph Motassem, whose father Harun was attended in peace or war by the most favourite of his wives and concubines. The revolt of a Persian impostor employed at that moment the arms of the Saracen, and he could only intercede in favour of a place for which he felt and acknowledged some degree of filial affection. These solicitations determined the emperor to wound his pride in so sensible a part. Sozopetra was levelled with the ground, the Syrian prisoners were marked or mutilated with ignominious cruelty, and a thousand female captives were forced away from the adjacent territory. Among these a matron of the house of Abbas invoked, in an agony of despair, the name of Motassem; and the insults of the Greeks engaged the honour of her kinsman to avenge his indignity, and to answer her appeal. Under the reign of the two elder

* The Arabs and the Greeks are alike silent concerning the invasion of Rome by the Africans. The Latin chronicles do not afford much instruction. (See the Annals of Baronius and Pagi.) Our authentic and contemporary guide for the popes of the ninth century is Anastasius, librarian of the Roman church. His life of Leo IV. contains twenty-four pages (p. 175—199, edit. Paris); and if a great part consist of superstitious trifles, we must blame or commend his hero, who was much oftener in a church than in a camp.

brothers, the inheritance of the youngest had been confined to Anatolia, Armenia, Georgia, and Circassia; this frontier station had exercised his military talents; and among his accidental claims to the name of *Octonary*,* the most meritorious are the *eight* battles which he gained or fought against the enemies of the Koran. In this personal quarrel, the troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt, were recruited from the tribes of Arabia, and the Turkish hordes; his cavalry might be numerous, though we should deduct some myriads from the hundred and thirty thousand horses of the royal stables; and the expense of the armament was computed at four millions sterling, or one hundred thousand pounds of gold. From Tarsus, the place of assembly, the Saracens advanced in three divisions along the high road of Constantinople; Motassem himself commanded the centre, and the vanguard was given to his son Abbas, who, in the trial of the first adventures, might succeed with the more glory, or fail with the least reproach. In the revenge of his injury, the caliph prepared to retaliate a similar affront. The father of Theophilus was a native of Amorium† in Phrygia; the original seat of the imperial house had been adorned with privileges and monuments; and whatever might be the indifference of the people, Constantinople itself was scarcely of more value in the eyes of the sovereign and his court. The name of AMORIUM was inscribed on the shields of the Saracens; and their three armies were again united under the walls of the devoted city. It had been proposed by the wisest counsellors, to evacuate Amorium, to remove the inhabitants,

* The same number was applied to the following circumstances in the life of Motassem: he was the *eighth* of the Abbassides; he reigned *eight* years, *eight* months, and *eight* days; left *eight* sons, *eight* daughters, *eight* thousand slaves, *eight* millions of gold.

† Amorium is seldom mentioned by the old geographers, and totally forgotten in the Roman Itineraries. After the sixth century, it became an episcopal see, and at length the metropolis of the new Galatia (Carol. Sc^{to}. Paulo, Geograph. Sacra. p. 234.). The city rose again from its ruins, if we should read *Ammuria*, not *Anguria*, in the text of the Nubian Geographer (p. 236.). [For Amorium, see ch. 48 vol. v. p. 310. *Anguria* was the mediæval name of Ancyra, of which there were two, one in Phrygia, the other in Galatia. See Cellarius (tom. ii. p. 127 and 151.) The latter is the modern Angora (Malte Brun and Balbi, p. 650) which contains 80,000 inhabitants and is celebrated for its goats, that furnish our *mohair*. It does not appear

and to abandon the empty structures to the vain resentment of the Barbarians. The emperor embraced the more generous resolution of defending, in a siege and battle, the country of his ancestors. When the armies drew near, the front of the Mahometan line appeared to a Roman eye more closely planted with spears and javelins; but the event of the action was not glorious on either side to the national troops. The Arabs were broken, but it was by the swords of thirty thousand Persians, who had obtained service and settlement in the Byzantine empire. The Greeks were repulsed and vanquished, but it was by the arrows of the Turkish cavalry; and had not their bow-strings been damped and relaxed by the evening rain, very few of the Christians could have escaped with the emperor from the field of battle. They breathed at Dorylæum, at the distance of three days; and Theophilus, reviewing his trembling squadrons, forgave the common flight both of the prince and people. After this discovery of his weakness, he vainly hoped to deprecate the fate of Amorium; the inexorable caliph rejected with contempt his prayers and promises; and detained the Roman ambassadors to be the witnesses of his great revenge. They had nearly been the witnesses of his shame. The vigorous assaults of fifty-five days were encountered by a faithful governor, a veteran garrison, and a desperate people; and the Saracens must have raised the siege if a domestic traitor had not pointed to the weakest part of the wall, a place which was decorated with the statues of a lion and a bull. The vow of Motassem was accomplished with unrelenting rigour; tired, rather than satiated, with destruction, he returned to his new palace of Samara, in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, while the *unfortunate* * Theophilus implored the tardy and doubtful aid of his Western rival the emperor of the Franks. Yet in the siege of Amorium above seventy thousand Moslems had perished; their loss had been revenged by the slaughter of thirty thousand Christians, and the suffer-

that Amorium ever revived.—ED.]

* In the East he was styled *Δυστυχής* (Continuator Theophan. l. 3, p. 84,) but such was the ignorance of the West, that his ambassadors, in public discourse, might boldly narrate, *de victoriis, quas adversus externas bellando gentes celitus fuerat assecutus*. (Annalist. Bertinian. apud Pagi, tom. iii. p. 720.)

ings of an equal number of captives, who were treated as the most atrocious criminals. Mutual necessity could sometimes extort the exchange or ransom of prisoners;* but in the national and religious conflict of the two empires, peace was without confidence, and war without mercy. Quarter was seldom given in the field; those who escaped the edge of the sword, were condemned to hopeless servitude, or exquisite torture; and a Catholic emperor relates, with visible satisfaction, the execution of the Saracens of Crete, who were flayed alive, or plunged into caldrons of boiling oil.† To a point of honour Motassem had sacrificed a flourishing city, two hundred thousand lives, and the property of millions. The same caliph descended from his horse, and dirtied his robe, to relieve the distress of a decrepit old man, who, with his laden ass, had tumbled into a ditch. On which of these actions did he reflect with the most pleasure, when he was summoned by the angel of death?‡

With Motassem, the eighth of the Abbassides, the glory of his family and nation expired. When the Arabian conquerors had spread themselves over the East, and were mingled with the servile crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they insensibly lost the freeborn and martial virtues of the desert. The courage of the South is the artificial fruit of discipline and prejudice; the active power of enthusiasm had decayed, and the mercenary forces of the caliphs were

* Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 167, 168,) relates one of these singular transactions on the bridge of the river Lamus in Cilicia, the limit of the two empires, and one day's journey westward of Tarsus. (D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 91.) Four thousand four hundred and sixty Moslems, eight hundred women and children, one hundred confederates, were exchanged for an equal number of Greeks. They passed each other in the middle of the bridge, and when they reached their respective friends, they shouted *Allah Acbar*, and *Kyrie Eleison*. Many of the prisoners of Amorium were probably among them, but in the same year (A.H. 231,) the most illustrious of them, the forty-two martyrs, were beheaded by the caliph's order.

† Constantin. Porphyrogenitus, in Vit. Basil. c. 61, p. 186. These Saracens were indeed treated with peculiar severity as pirates and renegadoes.

‡ For Theophilus, Motassem, and the Amorian war, see the Continuator of Theophanes (l. 3, p. 77—84), Genesis (l. 3, p. 24—34), Cedrenus (528—532), Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 180), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 165, 166), Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 191), D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 639, 640).

recruited in those climates of the North, of which valour is the hardy and spontaneous production. Of the Turks,* who dwelt beyond the Oxus and Jaxartes, the robust youths, either taken in war or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field, and the profession of the Mahometan faith. The Turkish guards stood in arms round the throne of their benefactor, and their chiefs usurped the dominion of the palace and the provinces. Motassem, the first author of this dangerous example, introduced into the capital above fifty thousand Turks; their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and the quarrels of the soldiers and people induced the caliph to retire from Bagdad, and establish his own residence and the camp of his Barbarian favourites at Samara, on the Tigris, about twelve leagues above the city of peace.† His son Motawakkel was a jealous and cruel tyrant: odious to his subjects, he cast himself on the fidelity of the strangers, and these strangers, ambitious and apprehensive, were tempted by the rich promise of a revolution. At the instigation, or at least in the cause of his son, they burst into his apartment at the hour of supper, and the caliph was cut into seven pieces by the same swords which he had recently distributed among the guards of his life and throne. To this throne, yet streaming with a father's blood, Mostanser was triumphantly led; but in a reign of six months, he found only the pangs of a guilty conscience. If he wept at the sight of an old tapestry which represented the crime and punishment of the son of Chosroes; if his days were abridged by grief and remorse, we may allow some pity to a parricide, who exclaimed in the bitterness of death, that he had lost both this world and the world to come. After this act of treason, the ensigns of royalty, the garment and walking-staff of Mahomet, were given and torn away by the foreign mercenaries, who in four

* M. de Guignes, who sometimes leaps, and sometimes stumbles, in the gulf between Chinese and Mahometan story, thinks he can see that these Turks are the *Hoei-ke*, alias the *Kao-tche*, or *high-wangons*; that they were divided into fifteen hordes, from China and Siberia to the dominions of the caliphs and Samanides, &c. (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 1—33. 124—131.)

† He changed the old name of Sumere, or Samara, into the fanciful title of *Sermén-rai*, that which gives pleasure at first sight. (D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 808. D'Anville, *l'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 97, 98.) [For Samarra, see ch. 24, vol. iii. p. 46; and ch. 50, p. 530, vol. v.—Ed.]

years created, deposed, and murdered three commanders of the faithful. As often as the Turks were inflamed by fear, or rage, or avarice, these caliphs were dragged by the feet, exposed naked to the scorching sun, beaten with iron clubs, and compelled to purchase, by the abdication of their dignity, a short reprieve of inevitable fate.* At length, however, the fury of the tempest was spent or diverted: the Abbassides returned to the less turbulent residence of Bagdad; the insolence of the Turks was curbed with a firmer and more skilful hand, and their numbers were divided and destroyed in foreign warfare. But the nations of the East had been taught to trample on the successors of the prophet; and the blessings of domestic peace were obtained by the relaxation of strength and discipline. So uniform are the mischiefs of military despotism, that I seem to repeat the story of the prætorians of Rome.†

While the flame of enthusiasm was damped by the business, the pleasure, and the knowledge of the age, it burnt with concentrated heat in the breasts of the chosen few, the congenial spirits, who were ambitious of reigning either in this world or in the next. How carefully soever the book of prophecy had been sealed by the apostle of Mecca, the wishes, and (if we may profane the word) even the reason, of fanaticism, might believe that, after the successive missions of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, the same God, in the fulness of time, would reveal a still more perfect and permanent law. In the two hundred and seventy-seventh year of the Hegira, and in the neighbourhood of Cufa, an Arabian preacher, of the name of Carmath, assumed the lofty and incomprehensible style of the

* Take a specimen, the death of the caliph Motaz: *Correptum pedibus pertrahunt, et sudibus probe permulcant, et spoliatum laceris vestibus in sole collocant, præ ejus acerrimo sætæ pedes alternos attollebat et demittebat. Adstantium aliquis misero colaphos continuo ingerebat, quos ille objectis manibus avertere studebat. . . . Quo facto traditus tortori fuit, totoque triduo cibo potuque prohibitis. . . Suffocatus, &c. (Abulfeda, p. 206.)* Of the caliph Mohtadi, he says, *cervices ipsi perpetuis ictibus contundebant, testiculosque pedibus conculcabant. (p. 208.)*

† See under the reigns of Motassem, Motawakkel, Mostanser, Mostain, Motaz, Mohtadi, and Motamed, in the *Bibliothèque* of D'Hérbelot, and the now familiar *Annals* of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda.

Guide, the Director, the Demonstration, the Word, the Holy Ghost, the Camel, the Herald of the Messiah, who had conversed with him in a human shape, and the representative of Mohammed the son of Ali, of St. John the Baptist, and of the angel Gabriel. In his mystic volume, the precepts of the Koran were refined to a more spiritual sense: he relaxed the duties of ablution, fasting, and pilgrimage; allowed the indiscriminate use of wine and forbidden food; and nourished the fervour of his disciples by the daily repetition of fifty prayers. The idleness and ferment of the rustic crowd awakened the attention of the magistrates of Cufa; a timid persecution assisted the progress of the new sect, and the name of the prophet became more revered after his person had been withdrawn from the world. His twelve apostles dispersed themselves among the Bedoweens, "a race of men," says Abulfeda, "equally devoid of reason and of religion;" and the success of their preaching seemed to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. The Carmathians were ripe for rebellion, since they disclaimed the title of the house of Abbas, and abhorred the worldly pomp of the caliphs of Bagdad. They were susceptible of discipline, since they vowed a blind and absolute submission to their imam, who was called to the prophetic office by the voice of God and the people. Instead of the legal tithes, he claimed the fifth of their substance and spoil; the most flagitious sins were no more than the type of disobedience; and the brethren were united and concealed by an oath of secrecy. After a bloody conflict, they prevailed in the province of Bahrein, along the Persian gulf; far and wide, the tribes of the desert were subject to the sceptre, or rather to the sword, of Abu Said and his son Abu Taher; and these rebellious imams could muster in the field a hundred and seven thousand fanatics. The mercenaries of the caliph were dismayed at the approach of an enemy who neither asked nor accepted quarter; and the difference between them, in fortitude and patience, is expressive of the change which three centuries of prosperity had effected in the character of the Arabians. Such troops were discomfited in every action; the cities of Racca and Baalbec, of Cufa, and Bassora, were taken and pillaged; Bagdad was filled with consternation; and the caliph trembled behind the veils of his palace. In a daring inroad beyond the Tigris, Abu Taher

advanced to the gates of the capital with no more than five hundred horse. By the special order of Mochtader, the bridges had been broken down, and the person or head of the rebel was expected every hour by the commander of the faithful. His lieutenant, from a motive of fear or pity, apprised Abu Taher of his danger, and recommended a speedy escape. "Your master," said the intrepid Carmathian to the messenger, "is at the head of thirty thousand soldiers; three such men as these are wanting in his host:" at the same instant, turning to three of his companions, he commanded the first to plunge a dagger into his breast, the second to leap into the Tigris, and the third to cast himself headlong down a precipice. They obeyed without a murmur. "Relate," continued the imam, "what you have seen: before the evening your general shall be chained among my dogs." Before the evening, the camp was surprised and the menace was executed. The rapine of the Carmathians was sanctified by their aversion to the worship of Mecca; they robbed a caravan of pilgrims, and twenty thousand devout Moslems were abandoned on the burning sands to a death of hunger and thirst. Another year they suffered the pilgrims to proceed without interruption; but, in the festival of devotion, Abu Taher stormed the holy city, and trampled on the most venerable relics of the Mahometan faith. Thirty thousand citizens and strangers were put to the sword; the sacred precincts were polluted by the burial of three thousand dead bodies; the well of Zemzem overflowed with blood; the golden spout was forced from its place; the veil of the Caaba was divided among these impious sectaries; and the black stone, the first monument of the nation, was borne away in triumph to their capital. After this deed of sacrilege and cruelty, they continued to infest the confines of Irak, Syria, and Egypt; but the vital principle of enthusiasm had withered at the root. Their scruples or their avarice again opened the pilgrimage of Mecca, and restored the black stone of the Caaba; and it is needless to inquire into what factions they were broken, or by whose swords they were finally extirpated. The sect of the Carmathians may be considered as the second visible cause of the decline and fall of the empire of the caliphs.*

* For the sect of the Carmathians, consult Elmacin (*Hist. Saraceni.* p. 219. 224. 229. 231. 238. 241. 243), Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 179—

The third and most obvious cause was the weight and magnitude of the empire itself. The caliph Almamon might proudly assert, that it was easier for him to rule the East and the West, than to manage a chess board of two feet square;* yet I suspect, that in both those games he was guilty of many fatal mistakes; and I perceive, that in the distant provinces the authority of the first and most powerful of the Abbassides was already impaired. The analogy of despotism invests the representative with the full majesty of the prince; the division and balance of powers might relax the habits of obedience, might encourage the passive subject to inquire into the origin and administration of civil government. He who is born in the purple is seldom worthy to reign; but the elevation of a private man, of a peasant perhaps, or a slave, affords a strong presumption of his courage and capacity. The viceroy of a remote kingdom aspires to secure the property and inheritance of his precarious trust; the nations must rejoice in the presence of their sovereign; and the command of armies and treasures are at once the object and the instrument of his ambition. A change was scarcely visible as long as the lieutenants of the caliph were content with their vicarious title; while they solicited for themselves or their sons a renewal of the imperial grant, and still maintained on the coin, and in the public prayers, the name and prerogative of the commander of the faithful. But in the long and hereditary exercise of power, they assumed the pride and attributes of royalty; the alternative of peace or war, of reward or punishment, depended solely on their will; and the revenues of their government were reserved for local services or private magnificence. Instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of the prophet were flattered with the ostentatious gift of an elephant, or a cast of hawks, a suit of silk hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber.†

182), Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 218, 219, &c., 245, 265. 274), and D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 256—258. 635). I find some inconsistencies of theology and chronology, which it would not be easy nor of much importance to reconcile.

* Hyde, Syntagma Dissertat. tom. ii. p. 57, in Hist. Shahiludii.

† The dynasties of the Arabian empire may be studied in the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, under the *proper* years; in the dictionary of D'Herbelot, under the *proper* names. The

After the revolt of Spain, from the temporal and spiritual supremacy of the Abbassides, the first symptoms of disobedience broke forth in the province of Africa. Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, the lieutenant of the vigilant and rigid Harun, bequeathed to the dynasty of the *Aglabites* the inheritance of his name and power. The indolence or policy of the caliphs dissembled the injury and loss, and pursued only with poison the founder of the *Edrisites*,* who erected the kingdom and city of Fez on the shores of the Western ocean.† In the East, the first dynasty was that of the *Taherites*,‡ the posterity of the valiant Taher, who, in the

tables of M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns. tom. i.) exhibit a general chronology of the East, interspersed with some historical anecdotes; but his attachment to national blood has sometimes confounded the order of time and place.

* The Aglabites and Edrisites are the professed subject of M. de Cardonne. (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 1-63.) [The seventy-fifth chapter of Condé's second book relates the history of the Beni Aglab; the first of them entered Africa in the caliphate of Al-manzor, A.H. 144, (A.D. 761). One of his sons was appointed Wali or governor of the province, and another led the expedition against Sicily. The family soon threw off their allegiance to the caliph, and reigned as independent kings till A.H. 297 (A.D. 909), when Zeyadalata, the last of them, was expelled by the Fatimite Obeidala.—Ed.]

† To escape the reproach of error, I must criticise the inaccuracies of M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 359,) concerning the Edrisites. 1. The dynasty and city of Fez could not be founded in the year of the Hegira 173, since the founder was a *posthumous* child of a descendant of Ali, who fled from Mecca in the year 168. 2. This founder, Edris, the son of Edris, instead of living to the improbable age of one hundred and twenty years, A.H. 313, died A.H. 214, in the prime of manhood. 3. The dynasty ended A.H. 307, twenty-three years sooner than it is fixed by the historian of the Huns. See the accurate Annals of Abulfeda, p. 158, 159, 185, 238. [These events and dates are given very differently by Condé. The first Edris was a great grandson of Hosein, the son of Ali. His eldest brother, the Imaum Muhamad, having rebelled against the caliph Al Mahdi, was defeated and slain near Mecca, A.H. 169 (A.D. 785). Edris fled first to Egypt, and thence to western Africa, where he was proclaimed king in the moon Ramazan of the year 172 (A.D. 788). Some accounts have the date 171. By a rapid course of conquest he established the kingdom of Fez; but was soon afterwards poisoned by an emissary of Harun al Rashid. His beautiful slave Kinza, or Kethira, bore him a posthumous son, who became the second sovereign of the dynasty. This Edris founded the city of Fez A.H. 191 (A.D. 806), and died A.H. 210 (A.D. 825) æt. 33. His descendants continued to occupy the throne till A.H. 357 (A.D. 967). Condé, vol. i. 225. 250. 256. 388-398. 412-415.—Ed.]

‡ The dynasties of the Taherites and Soffarides, with the rise of

civil wars of the sons of Harun, had served with too much zeal and success the cause of Almamon, the younger brother. He was sent into honourable exile, to command on the banks of the Oxus; and the independence of his successors, who reigned in Chorasan till the fourth generation, was palliated by their modest and respectful demeanour, the happiness of their subjects and the security of their frontier. They were supplanted by one of those adventurers so frequent in the annals of the East, who left his trade of a brazier (from whence the name of *Soffarides*) for the profession of a robber. In a nocturnal visit to the treasure of the prince of Sistan Jacob, the son of Leith, stumbled over a lump of salt, which he unwarily tasted with his tongue. Salt, among the Orientals, is the symbol of hospitality, and the pious robber immediately retired without spoil or damage. The discovery of this honourable behaviour recommended Jacob to pardon and trust; he led an army at first for his benefactor, at last for himself, subdued Persia, and threatened the residence of the Abbassides. On his march towards Bagdad, the conqueror was arrested by a fever. He gave audience in bed to the ambassador of the caliph; and beside him on a table were exposed a naked scymetar, a crust of brown bread, and a bunch of onions. "If I die," said he, "your master is delivered from his fears. If I live, *this* must determine between us. If I am vanquished, I can return without reluctance to the homely fare of my youth." From the height where he stood, the descent would not have been so soft or harmless; a timely death secured his own repose and that of the caliph, who paid with the most lavish concessions the retreat of his brother Amrou to the palaces of Shiraz and Ispahan. The Abbassides were too feeble to contend, too proud to forgive; they invited the powerful dynasty of the *Samanides*, who passed the Oxus with ten thousand horse, so poor that their stirrups were of wood; so brave that they vanquished the Soffarian army, eight times more numerous than their own. The captive Amrou was sent in chains, a grateful offering to the court of Bagdad, and as the victor was content with the inheritance of

that of the Samanides, are described in the original history and Latin version of Mirchond; yet the most interesting facts had already been drained by the diligence of M. d'Herbelot.

Transoxiana and Chorasán, the realms of Persia returned for awhile to the allegiance of the caliphs. The provinces of Syria and Egypt were twice dismembered by their Turkish slaves, of the race of *Toulun* and *Ikshid*. * These Barbarians, in religion and manners the countrymen of Mahomet, emerged from the bloody factions of the palace to a provincial command and an independent throne; their names became famous and formidable in their time; but the founders of these two potent dynasties confessed, either in words or actions, the vanity of ambition. The first on his death-bed implored the mercy of God to a sinner, ignorant of the limits of his own power; the second, in the midst of four hundred thousand soldiers and eight thousand slaves, concealed from every human eye the chamber where he attempted to sleep. Their sons were educated in the vices of kings; and both Egypt and Syria were recovered and possessed by the Abbassides during an interval of thirty years. In the decline of their empire, Mesopotamia, with the important cities of Mosul and Aleppo, was occupied by the Arabian princes of the tribe of *Hamadan*. The poets of their court could repeat, without a blush, that nature had formed their countenances for beauty, their tongues for eloquence, and their hands for liberality and valour; but the genuine tale of the elevation and reign of the *Hamadanites* exhibits a scene of treachery, murder, and parricide. At the same fatal period the Persian kingdom was again usurped by the dynasty of the *Bowides*, by the sword of three brothers, who, under various names, were styled the support and columns of the state, and who, from the Caspian Sea to the ocean, would suffer no tyrants but themselves. Under their reign, the language and genius of Persia revived, and the Arabs, three hundred and four years after the death of Mahomet, were deprived of the sceptre of the East.

Bahdi, the twentieth of the Abbassides, and the thirty-ninth of the successors of Mahomet, was the last who deserved the title of commander of the faithful;† the last

* M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 124—154,) has exhausted the Toulunides and Ikshidites of Egypt, and thrown some light on the Carmathians and Hamadanites.

† Hic est ultimus chalifah qui multum atque sæpius pro concione peroraret . . . Fuit etiam ultimus qui otium cum eruditis et facietis hominibus fallere hilariterque agere soleret. Ultimus tandem chali-

(says Abulfeda) who spoke to the people, or conversed with the learned; the last who, in the expense of his household, represented the wealth and magnificence of the ancient caliphs. After him, the lords of the Eastern world were reduced to the most abject misery, and exposed to the blows and insults of a servile condition. The revolt of the provinces circumscribed their dominions within the walls of Bagdad; but that capital still contained an innumerable multitude, vain of their past fortune, discontented with their present state, and oppressed by the demands of a treasury, which had formerly been replenished by the spoil and tribute of nations. Their idleness was exercised by faction and controversy. Under the mask of piety, the rigid followers of Hanbal* invaded the pleasures of domestic life, burst into the houses of plebeians and princes, spilled the wine, broke the instruments, beat the musicians, and dishonoured, with infamous suspicions, the associates of every handsome youth. In each profession, which allowed room for two persons, the one was a votary, the other an antagonist, of Ali; and the Abbassides were awakened by the clamorous grief of the sectaries, who denied their title, and cursed their progenitors. A turbulent people could only be repressed by a military force; but who could satisfy the avarice, or assert the discipline, of the mercenaries themselves? The African and the Turkish guards drew their swords against each other, and the chief commanders, the emirs al Omra,† imprisoned or

farum cui sumptus, stipendia, redditus, et thesauri, culinæ, cæteraque omnis aulica pompa priorum chalifarum ad instar comparata fuerint. Videbimus enim paullo post, quam indignis et servilibus ludibriis exagitati, quam ad humilem fortunam ultimumque contemptum abjecti fuerint hi quondam potentissimi totius terrarum Orientalium orbis domini. Abulfed. Annal. Moslem. p. 261. I have given this passage as the manner and tone of Abulfeda; but the cast of Latin eloquence belongs more properly to Reiske. The Arabian historian (p. 255. 257. 261—269. 283, &c.) has supplied me with the most interesting facts of this paragraph.

* Their master, on a similar occasion, showed himself of a more indulgent and tolerating spirit. Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the head of one of the four orthodox sects, was born at Bagdad, A.H. 164, and died there A.H. 241. He fought and suffered in the dispute concerning the creation of the Koran.

† The office of vizir was superseded by the emir al Omra, Imperator Imperatorum, a title first instituted by Radhi, and which merged at length in the Bowides and Seljukides: vecti-

deposed their sovereigns, and violated the sanctuary of the mosch and harem. If the caliphs escaped to the camp or court of any neighbouring prince, their deliverance was a change of servitude, till they were prompted by despair to invite the Bowides, the sultans of Persia, who silenced the factions of Bagdad by their irresistible arms. The civil and military powers were assumed by Moezaldowlat, the second of the three brothers, and a stipend of sixty thousand pounds sterling was assigned by his generosity for the private expense of the commander of the faithful. But on the fortieth day, at the audience of the ambassadors of Chorasán, and in the presence of a trembling multitude, the caliph was dragged from his throne to a dungeon, by the command of the stranger, and the rude hands of his Dilemites. His palace was pillaged, his eyes were put out, and the mean ambition of the Abbassides aspired to the vacant station of danger and disgrace. In the school of adversity, the luxurious caliphs resumed the grave and abstemious virtues of the primitive times. Despoiled of their armour and silken robes, they fasted, they prayed, they studied the Koran and the tradition of the Sonnites; they performed with zeal and knowledge the functions of their ecclesiastical character. The respect of nations still waited on the successors of the apostle, the oracles of the law and conscience of the faithful; and the weakness or division of their tyrants sometimes restored the Abbassides to the sovereignty of Bagdad. But their misfortunes had been imbibed by the triumph of the Fatimites, the real or spurious progeny of Ali. Arising from the extremity of Africa, these successful rivals extinguished in Egypt and Syria, both the spiritual and temporal authority of the Abbassides; and the monarch of the Nile insulted the humble pontiff on the banks of the Tigris.

In the declining age of the caliphs, in the century which elapsed after the war of Theophilus and Motassem, the hostile transactions of the two nations were confined to some inroads by sea and land, the fruits of their close

galibus, et tributis, et curiis per omnes regiones præfecit, jussitque in omnibus suggestis nominis ejus in concionibus mentionem fieri. (Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 199.) It is likewise mentioned by Elmacin (p. 254, 255).

vicinity and indelible hatred. But when the Eastern world was convulsed and broken, the Greeks were roused from their lethargy by the hopes of conquest and revenge. The Byzantine empire, since the accession of the Basilian race, had reposed in peace and dignity; and they might encounter with their entire strength the front of some petty emir, whose rear was assaulted and threatened by his national foes of the Mahometan faith. The lofty titles of the Morning Star, and the Death of the Saracens,* were applied in the public acclamations to Nicephorus Phocas, a prince as renowned in the camp as he was unpopular in the city. In the subordinate station of great domestic, or general of the East, he reduced the island of Crete, and extirpated the nest of pirates who had so long defied, with impunity, the majesty of the empire.† His military genius was displayed in the conduct and success of the enterprise, which had so often failed with loss and dishonour. The Saracens were confounded by the landing of his troops on safe and level bridges, which he cast from the vessels to the shore. Seven months were consumed in the siege of Candia; the despair of the native Cretans was stimulated by the frequent aid of their brethren of Africa and Spain; and, after the massy wall and double ditch had been stormed by the Greeks, a hopeless conflict was still maintained in the streets and houses of the city. The whole island was subdued in the capital, and a submissive people accepted, without resistance, the baptism of the conqueror.‡

* Luitprand, whose cholerick temper was imbibed by his uneasy situation, suggests the names of reproach and contempt more applicable to Nicephorus than the vain titles of the Greeks, *Ecce venit stella matutina, surgit Eous, reverberat obtutū solis radios, pallida Saracenorum mors, Nicephorus μέδων.*

† Notwithstanding the insinuations of Zonaras, *καὶ ἐν μὴ*, &c. (tom. ii. l. 16, p. 197), it is an undoubted fact, that Crete was completely and finally subdued by Nicephorus Phocas. (Pagi, *Critica*, tom. iii. p. 873—875. Meursius, *Creta*, l. 3, c. 7, tom. iii. p. 464, 465.) [Muratori confirms this from the History of Leo Diaconus and the Chronicle of Lupus Protospatha. *Annali d'Italia* xiii. 75.—Ed.]

‡ A Greek life of St. Nicon, the Armenian, was found in the Sforza library, and translated into Latin by the Jesuit Sirmond for the use of cardinal Baronius. This contemporary legend casts a ray of light on Crete and Peloponnesus in the tenth century. He found the newly-recovered island, *fœdis detestandæ Agarenorum superstitionis vestigiis adhuc plenam ac refertam* . . . but the victorious missionary, perhaps with some

Constantinople applauded the long-forgotten pomp of a triumph; but the imperial diadem was the sole reward that could repay the services, or satisfy the ambition, of Nicephorus.

After the death of the younger Romanus, the fourth in lineal descent of the Basilian race, his widow Theophania successively married Nicephorus Phocas, and his assassin John Zimisces, the two heroes of the age. They reigned as the guardians and colleagues of her infant sons; and the twelve years of their military command form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals. The subjects and confederates, whom they led to war, appeared, at least in the eyes of an enemy, two hundred thousand strong; and of these about thirty thousand were armed with cuirasses;* a train of four thousand mules attended their march; and their evening camp was regularly fortified with an enclosure of iron spikes. A series of bloody and undecisive combats is nothing more than an anticipation of what would have been effected in a few years by the course of nature; but I shall briefly prosecute the conquests of the two emperors from the hills of Cappadocia to the desert of Bagdad. The sieges of Mopsuestia and Tarsus in Cilicia first exercised the skill and perseverance of their troops, on whom, at this moment, I shall not hesitate to bestow the name of Romans. In the double city of Mopsuestia, which is divided by the river Sarus, two hundred thousand Moslems were predestined to death or slavery,† a surprising degree of population, which must at least include the inhabitants of the dependent districts. They were surrounded and taken by assault; but Tarsus was reduced by the slow progress of famine; and no sooner had the Sara-

carnal aid, *ad baptismum omnes veræque fidei disciplinam pepulit. Ecclesiis per totam insulam ædificatis, &c.* (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 961.)

* Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen.* p. 278, 279. Luitprand was disposed to depreciate the Greek power, yet he owns that Nicephorus led against Assyria an army of eighty thousand men.

† Ducenta fere millia hominum numerabat urbs (Abulfeda. *Annal. Moslem.* p. 231) of Mopsuestia, or Masifa, Mampeysta, Mansista, Mamista, as it is corruptly, or perhaps more correctly, styled in the middle ages. (Wesseling, *Itinerar.* p. 580.) Yet I cannot credit this extreme populousness a few years after the testimony of the emperor Leo, οὐ γὰρ πολυπληθία στρατοῦ τοῖς Κιλιξί βαρβάροις ἴστιν. (*Tactica*, c. 18, in *Mauraii Oper.* tom. vi. p. 817.)

cens yielded on honourable terms, than they were mortified by the distant and unprofitable view of the naval succours of Egypt. They were dismissed with a safe conduct to the confines of Syria: a part of the old Christians had quietly lived under their dominion, and the vacant habitations were replenished by a new colony. But the mosch was converted into a stable; the pulpit was delivered to the flames; many rich crosses of gold and gems, the spoil of Asiatic churches, were made a grateful offering to the piety or avarice of the emperor; and he transported the gates of Mopsuestia and Tarsus, which were fixed in the wall of Constantinople, an eternal monument of his victory. After they had forced and secured the narrow passes of mount Amanus, the two Roman princes repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria. Yet, instead of assaulting the walls of Antioch, the humanity or superstition of Nicephorus appeared to respect the ancient metropolis of the East: he contented himself with drawing round the city a line of circumvallation; left a stationary army; and instructed his lieutenant to expect, without impatience, the return of spring. But in the depth of winter, in a dark and rainy night, an adventurous subaltern, with three hundred soldiers, approached the rampart, applied his scaling-ladders, occupied two adjacent towers, stood firm against the pressure of multitudes, and bravely maintained his post till he was relieved by the tardy though effectual support of his reluctant chief. The first tumult of slaughter and rapine subsided; the reign of Cæsar and of Christ was restored; and the efforts of a hundred thousand Saracens, of the armies of Syria and the fleets of Africa, were consumed without effect before the walls of Antioch. The royal city of Aleppo was subject to Seifeddowlat, of the dynasty of Hamadan, who clouded his past glory by the precipitate retreat which abandoned his kingdom and capital to the Roman invaders. In his stately palace, that stood without the walls of Aleppo, they joyfully seized a well-furnished magazine of arms, a stable of fourteen hundred mules, and three hundred bags of silver and gold. But the walls of the city withstood the strokes of their battering-rams; and the besiegers pitched their tents on the neighbouring mountain of Jaushan. Their retreat exasperated the quarrel of the townsmen and mercenaries;

the guard of the gates and ramparts was deserted; and while they furiously charged each other in the market-place, they were surprised and destroyed by the sword of a common enemy. The male sex was exterminated by the sword; ten thousand youths were led into captivity; the weight of the precious spoil exceeded the strength and number of the beasts of burden; the superfluous remainder was burnt; and, after a licentious possession of ten days, the Romans marched away from the naked and bleeding city. In their Syrian inroads, they commanded the husbandmen to cultivate their lands, that they themselves, in the ensuing season, might reap the benefit; more than a hundred cities were reduced to obedience; and eighteen pulpits of the principal moschs were committed to the flames, to expiate the sacrilege of the disciples of Mahomet. The classic names of Hierapolis, Apamea, and Emesa, revive for a moment in the list of conquest; the emperor Zimisces encamped in the paradise of Damascus, and accepted the ransom of a submissive people; and the torrent was only stopped by the impregnable fortress of Tripoli, on the sea-coast of Phœnicia. Since the days of Heraclius, the Euphrates, below the passage of mount Taurus, had been impervious, and almost invisible, to the Greeks. The river yielded a free passage to the victorious Zimisces; and the historian may imitate the speed with which he overran the once famous cities of Samosata, Edessa, Martyropolis, Amida,* and Nisibis, the ancient limit of the empire in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. His ardour was quickened by the desire of grasping the virgin treasures of Ecbatana,† a well-known name, under which the

* The text of Leo the Deacon, in the corrupt names of Emeta and Myctarsim, reveals the cities of Amida and Martyropolis. (Miafarekin. See Abulfeda, Geograph. p. 245, vers. Reiske.) Of the former, Leo observes, *urbs munita et illustris*; of the latter, *clara atque conspicua opibusque et pecore, reliquis ejus provinciis urbibus atque oppidis longe præstans*.

† *Ut et Ecbatana pergeret Agarenorumque regiam everteret . . . aiunt enim urbium quæ usquam sunt ac toto orbe existunt felicissimam esse auroque ditissimam*. (Leo Diacon. apud Pagium, tom. iv. p. 34.) This splendid description suits only with Bagdad, and cannot possibly apply either to Hamadan, the true Ecbatana (D'Anville, Géog. Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 237), or Tauris, which has been commonly mistaken for that city. The name of Ecbatana, in the same indefinite sense, is transferred by a more classic

Byzantine writer has concealed the capital of the Abbasides. The consternation of the fugitives had already diffused the terror of his name; but the fancied riches of Bagdad had already been dissipated by the avarice and prodigality of domestic tyrants. The prayers of the people, and the stern demands of the lieutenant of the Bowides, required the caliph to provide for the defence of the city. The helpless Mothi replied, that his arms, his revenues, and his provinces, had been torn from his hands, and that he was ready to abdicate a dignity which he was unable to support. The emir was inexorable; the furniture of the palace was sold; and the paltry price of forty thousand pieces of gold was instantly consumed in private luxury. But the apprehensions of Bagdad were relieved by the retreat of the Greeks; thirst and hunger guarded the desert of Mesopotamia; and the emperor, satiated with glory, and laden with Oriental spoils, returned to Constantinople, and displayed, in his triumph, the silk, the aromatics, and three hundred myriads of gold and silver. Yet the powers of the East had been bent, not broken, by this transient hurricane. After the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; the subjects disclaimed their involuntary oaths of allegiance; the Moslems again purified their temples, and overturned the idols of the saints and martyrs; the Nestorians and Jacobites preferred a Saracen to an orthodox master; and the numbers and spirit of the Melchites were inadequate to the support of the church and state. Of these extensive conquests, Antioch, with the cities of Cilicia and the isle of Cyprus, was alone restored, a permanent and useful accession, to the Roman empire.*

authority (Cicero pro Lege Maniliâ, c. 4) to the royal seat of Mithridates, king of Pontus.

* See the Annals of Elmacin, Abulpharagius, and Abulfeda, from A.H. 351, to A.H. 361; and the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces, in the Chronicles of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. 16, p. 199; l. 17. 215) and Cedrenus (Compend. p. 649—684). Their manifold defects are partly supplied by the MS. history of Leo the Deacon, which Pagi obtained from the Benedictines, and has inserted almost entire in the Latin version. (Critica, tom. iii. p. 873; tom. iv. p. 37.)

CHAPTER LIII.—STATE OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE IN THE TENTH CENTURY.—EXTENT AND DIVISION.—WEALTH AND REVENUE.—PALACE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.—TITLES AND OFFICES.—PRIDE AND POWER OF THE EMPERORS.—TACTICS OF THE GREEKS, ARABS, AND FRANKS.—LOSS OF THE LATIN TONGUE.—STUDIES AND SOLITUDE OF THE GREEKS.

A RAY of historic light seems to beam from the darkness of the tenth century. We open with curiosity and respect the royal volumes of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,* which he composed at a mature age for the instruction of his son, and which promise to unfold the state of the Eastern empire, both in peace and war, both at home and abroad. In the first of these works he minutely describes the pompous ceremonies of the church and palace of Constantinople, according to his own practice and that of his predecessors.† In the second he attempts an accurate survey of the provinces, the *themes*, as they were then denominated, both of Europe and Asia.‡ The system of Roman tactics, the discipline and order of the troops, and the military operations by land and sea, are explained in the third of these didactic collections, which may be ascribed to Constantine or his father Leo.§

* The epithet of *Πορφυρογέννητος*, Porphyrogenitus, born in the purple, is elegantly defined by Claudian :

*Ardus privatos nescit fortuna Penates ;
Et regnum cum luce dedit. Cognata potestas
Excepit Tyrio venerabile pignus in oestro.*

And Ducange, in his Greek and Latin Glossaries, produces many passages expressive of the same idea.

† A splendid MS. of Constantine, de Ceremoniis Aulæ et Ecclesiæ Byzantinæ, wandered from Constantinople to Buda, Frankfort, and Leipsic, where it was published in a splendid edition by Leich and Reiske (A.D. 1751, in folio), with such lavish praise as editors never fail to bestow on the worthy or worthless object of their toil.

‡ See, in the first volume of Banduri's *Imperium Orientale*, *Constantinus de Thematribus*, p. 1—24, de *Administrando Imperio*, p. 45—127, edit. Venet. The text of the old edition of Meursius is corrected from a MS. of the royal library of Paris, which Isaac Casaubon had formerly seen (*Epist. ad Polybium*, p. 10), and the sense is illustrated by two maps of William De L'Isle, the prince of geographers, till the appearance of the greater D'Anville.

§ The *Tactics* of Leo and Constantine are published with the aid of some new MSS. in the great edition of the works of Meursius, by the learned John Lami (tom. vi. p. 531—920. 1211—1417, Florent. 1745), yet the text is still corrupt and mutilated, the version is still obscure and faulty. The Imperial

In the fourth, of the administration of the empire, he reveals the secrets of the Byzantine policy, in friendly or hostile intercourse with the nations of the earth. The literary labours of the age, the practical systems of law, agriculture, and history, might redound to the benefit of the subject, and the honour of the Macedonian princes. The sixty books of the *Basilics*,* the code of the pandects of civil jurisprudence, were gradually framed in the three first reigns of that prosperous dynasty. The art of agriculture had amused the leisure, and exercised the pens, of the best and wisest of the ancients; and their chosen precepts are comprised in the twenty books of the *Geoponics*† of Constantine. At his command, the historical examples of vice and virtue were methodised in fifty-three books,‡ and every citizen might apply to his contemporaries or himself the lesson or the warning of past times. From the august character of a legislator, the sovereign of the East descends to the more humble office of a teacher and a scribe; and if his successors and subjects were regardless of his paternal cares, *we* may inherit and enjoy the everlasting legacy.

A closer survey will indeed reduce the value of the gift,

library of Vienna would afford some valuable materials to a new editor. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 369, 370.)

* On the subject of the *Basilics*, Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 425—514), and Heineccius (Hist. Juris Romani, p. 396—399), and Giannone (Istoria Civile de Napoli, tom. i. p. 450—458), as historical civilians, may be usefully consulted. XLI. books of this Greek code have been published with a Latin version, by Charles Annibal Fabrottus (Paris, 1647), in seven tomes in folio; four other books have been since discovered, and are inserted in Gerard Meerman's *Novus Thesaurus Juris Civ. et Canon.* tom. v. Of the whole work, the sixty books, John Leunclavius has printed (Basil, 1575), an *eclogue* or synopsis. The CXIII. novels, or new laws, of Leo, may be found in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. [Much labour has since been bestowed on the *Basilica* by Dutch and German jurists. See Brunet, vol. ii. page 260-261, edit. 1842.—ED.]

† I have used the last and best edition of the *Geoponics* (by Nicolas Niclas, Lipsiæ, 1781, two vols. in octavo). I read in the preface, that the same emperor restored the long-forgotten systems of rhetoric and philosophy; and his two books of *Hippiatrica*, or horse-physic, were published at Paris, 1530, in folio (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 493—500).

‡ Of these LIII. books, or titles, only two have been preserved and printed, *de Legationibus* (by Fulvius Ursinus, Antwerp, 1582, and Daniel Hoeschellius, August. Vindel. 1603), and *de Virtutibus et Vitiis* (by Henry Valesius, or de Valois, Paris, 1634).

and the gratitude of posterity: in the possession of these imperial treasures we may still deplore our poverty and ignorance; and the fading glories of their authors will be obliterated by indifference or contempt. The Basilics will sink to a broken copy, a partial and mutilated version in the Greek language, of the laws of Justinian; but the sense of the old civilians is often superseded by the influence of bigotry; and the absolute prohibition of divorce, concubinage, and interest for money, enslaves the freedom of trade and the happiness of private life. In the historical book, a subject of Constantine might admire the inimitable virtues of Greece and Rome: he might learn to what a pitch of energy and elevation the human character had formerly aspired. But a contrary effect must have been produced by a new edition of the lives of the saints which the great logothete, or chancellor of the empire, was directed to prepare; and the dark fund of superstition was enriched by the fabulous and florid legends of Simeon the *Metaphrast*.* The merits and miracles of the whole calendar are of less account in the eyes of a sage, than the toil of a single husbandman, who multiplies the gifts of the Creator, and supplies the food of his brethren. Yet the royal authors of the *Geoponics* were more seriously employed in expounding the precepts of the destroying art, which has been taught since the days of Xenophon,† as the art of heroes and kings. But the

* The life and writings of Simeon Metaphrastes are described by Hankius (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 418—460). This biographer of the saints indulged himself in a loose paraphrase of the sense or nonsense of more ancient acts. His Greek rhetoric is again paraphrased in the Latin version of Surius, and scarcely a thread can be now visible of the original texture.

† According to the first book of the *Cyropædia*, professors of tactics, a small part of the science of war, were already instituted in Persia, by which Greece must be understood. A good edition of all the *Scriptores Tactici* would be a task not unworthy of a scholar. His industry might discover some new MSS. and his learning might illustrate the military history of the ancients. But this scholar should be likewise a soldier; and alas! Quintus Icilius is no more. [The *Mémoires Militaires* of M. Guischart (see note, ch. 56, and Gibbon's Misc. 5. 218—222), were so highly appreciated, that, although he had seen but a short term of service as ensign in a Dutch regiment, Frederick of Prussia appointed him immediately to a distinguished post, and indirectly comparing himself to Julius Cæsar, called his new aide-de-camp Quintus Icilius, by which name he was afterwards generally known. M. Niebuhr gives

Tactics of Leo and Constantine are mingled with the baser alloy of the age in which they lived. It was destitute of original genius; they implicitly transcribe the rules and maxims which had been confirmed by victories. It was unskilled in the propriety of style and method; they blindly confound the most distant and discordant institutions, the phalanx of Sparta and that of Macedon, the legions of Cato and Trajan, of Augustus and Theodosius. Even the use, or at least the importance, of these military rudiments may be fairly questioned: their general theory is dictated by reason; but the merit, as well as difficulty, consists in the application. The discipline of a soldier is formed by exercise rather than by study: the talents of a commander are appropriated to those calm, though rapid minds, which nature produces to decide the fate of armies and nations: the former is the habit of a life, the latter the glance of a moment; and the battles won by lessons of tactics may be numbered with the epic poems created from the rules of criticism. The book of ceremonies is a recital, tedious yet imperfect, of the despicable pageantry which had infected the church and state since the gradual decay of the purity of the one, and the power of the other: A review of the themes or provinces might promise such authentic and useful information, as the curiosity of government only can obtain, instead of traditional fables on the origin of the cities, and malicious epigrams on the vices of their inhabitants.* Such information the historian would have been pleased to record; nor should his silence be condemned if the most interesting objects, the population of the capital and provinces, the amount of the taxes and revenues, the numbers of subjects and

him the credit of being the only modern writer on tactics, who understood the Roman system. Lectures, l. 440, note.—ED.]

* After observing that the demerit of the Cappadocians rose in proportion to their rank and riches, he inserts a more pointed epigram, which is ascribed to Demodocus:

Καππαδόκην ποτ' ἔχιδνα κακὴ δάκειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ
Κάθανε, γευσάμενη αἵματος ἰοβόλου.

The sting is precisely the same with the French epigram against Freron: Un serpent mordit Jean Freron—Eh bien? Le serpent en mourut. But as the Paris wits are seldom read in the Anthology, I should be curious to learn through what channel it was conveyed for their imitation. (Constantin. Porphyrogen. de Themat. c. 2. Brunck. Analect. Græc. tom. ii. p. 56. Brodæi Anthologia. l. 2, p. 244.)

strangers who served under the imperial standard, have been unnoticed by Leo the philosopher, and his son Constantine. His treatise of the public administration is stained with the same blemishes; yet it is discriminated by peculiar merit; the antiquities of the nations may be doubtful or fabulous; but the geography and manners of the Barbaric world are delineated with curious accuracy. Of these nations, the Franks alone were qualified to observe in their turn, and to describe, the metropolis of the East. The ambassador of the great Otho, a bishop of Cremona, has painted the state of Constantinople about the middle of the tenth century: his style is glowing, his narrative lively, his observation keen; and even the prejudices and passions of Luitprand are stamped with an original character of freedom and genius.* From this scanty fund of foreign and domestic materials I shall investigate the form and substance of the Byzantine empire; the provinces and wealth, the civil government and military force, the character and literature, of the Greeks in a period of six hundred years, from the reign of Heraclius to the successful invasion of the Franks or Latins.

After the final division between the sons of Theodosius, the swarms of Barbarians from Scythia and Germany overspread the provinces, and extinguished the empire of ancient Rome. The weakness of Constantinople was concealed by extent of dominion: her limits were inviolate, or at least entire; and the kingdom of Justinian was enlarged by the splendid acquisition of Africa and Italy. But the possession of these new conquests was transient and precarious; and almost a moiety of the Eastern empire was torn away by the arms of the Saracens. Syria and Egypt were oppressed by the Arabian caliphs; and, after the reduction of Africa, their lieutenants invaded and subdued the Roman province which had been changed into the Gothic monarchy of Spain. The islands of the Mediterranean were not inaccessible to their naval powers; and it was from their extreme stations, the harbours of Crete and the fortresses of Cilicia, that the faithful or rebel emirs insulted the majesty of the throne and capital. The remaining provinces, under the obedience

* The *Legatio Luitprandi Episcopi Cremonensis ad Nicephorum Phocam*, is inserted in *Muratori, Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. ii.

of the emperors, were cast into a new mould; and the jurisdiction of the presidents, the consulars, and the counts, was superseded by the institution of the *themes*,* or military governments, which prevailed under the successors of Heraclius, and are described by the pen of the royal author. Of the twenty-nine themes, twelve in Europe and seventeen in Asia, the origin is obscure, the etymology doubtful or capricious: the limits were arbitrary and fluctuating; but some particular names, that sound the most strangely to our ear, were derived from the character and attributes of the troops that were maintained at the expense, and for the guard, of the respective divisions. The vanity of the Greek princes most eagerly grasped the shadow of conquest, and the memory of lost dominion. A new Mesopotamia was created on the western side of the Euphrates; the appellation and prætor of Sicily were transferred to a narrow slip of Calabria; and a fragment of the duchy of Beneventum was promoted to the style and title of the theme of Lombardy. In the decline of the Arabian empire, the successors of Constantine might indulge their pride in more solid advantages. The victories of Nicephorus, John Zimisces, and Basil the Second, revived the fame, and enlarged the boundaries of the Roman name: the province of Cilicia, the metropolis of Antioch, the islands of Crete and Cyprus, were restored to the allegiance of Christ and Cæsar: one third of Italy was

pars 1.

* See Constantine de Thematribus, in Banduri, tom. i. p. 1—30, who owns, that the word is *οὐκ παλαιά*. *Θίμα* is used by Maurice (Stratagem. l. 2. c. 2) for a legion, from whence the name was easily transferred to its post or province. (Ducange, Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 487, 488.) Some etymologies are attempted for the Opsician, Optimatian, Thracesian, themes. [Although he wrote about them, Constantine has given us a very confused idea of what *Themata* actually meant. The history of the word may be found in the Thesaurus Stephani (4. 281). Originally denoting what was *placed* or *fixed*, it was applied to the *stationary* legions, and then to the provinces in which they were quartered. The names by which these were distinguished, may, in a few instances, certainly not in all, have been taken from the legions, by which they were guarded. *Opsician* is evidently a Greek imitation of the Latin *obsequium*. The legion, that was so called, may have been posted along the southern shore of the Propontis, as a convenient station from which detachments might be drafted to take their turn of service at the palace; or the name may have marked the general character of the inhabitants, as suggested in a note to the preceding chapter. See p. 119—120.—Ed.]

annexed to the throne of Constantinople: the kingdom of Bulgaria was destroyed; and the last sovereigns of the Macedonian dynasty extended their sway from the sources of the Tigris to the neighbourhood of Rome. In the eleventh century, the prospect was again clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes: the relics of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers; and almost all the Asiatic branches were dissevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. After these losses, the emperors of the Comnenian family continued to reign from the Danube to Peloponnesus, and from Belgrade to Nice, Trebizond, and the winding stream of the Meander. The spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, were obedient to their sceptre: the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, was accompanied by the fifty islands of the *Ægean* or Holy sea, and the remnant of their empire transcends the measure of the largest of the European kingdoms.

The same princes might assert with dignity and truth, that of all the monarchs of Christendom they possessed the greatest city,† the most ample revenue, the most flourishing and populous state. With the decline and fall of the empire, the cities of the West had decayed and fallen; nor could the ruins of Rome, or the mud walls, wooden hovels, and narrow precincts, of Paris and London, prepare the Latin stranger to contemplate the situation and extent of Con-

* *Ἅγιος πελαγός*, as it is styled by the modern Greeks, from which the corrupt names of Archipelago, l'Archipel, and the Arches, have been transformed by geographers and seamen. (D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 281. *Analyse de la Carte de la Grèce*, p. 60.) The numbers of monks or caloyers in all the islands and the adjacent mountain of Athos (*Observations de Belon*, fol. 32, verso), Monte Santo, might justify the epithet of holy, *ἅγιος*, a slight alteration from the original *αἰγαιός*, imposed by the Dorians, who, in their dialect, gave the figurative name of *αἶγες*, or goats, to the bounding waves. (Vossius, apud Cellarium, *Geograph. Antiq.* tom. i. p. 289.) [The waves of the *Ægean* did not *bound* more than those of any other sea. Its numerous islets, scattered over its surface like *goats* on an extensive plain, are more generally considered to have been the origin of its ancient name. The same feature is still associated with its modern appellation, and every sea, studded with a cluster of islands, is called an Archipelago.—Ed.] † According to the Jewish traveller, who had visited Europe and Asia, Constantinople was equalled only by Bagdad, the great city of the Ismaelites. (*Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle*, par Baratier, tom. i. c. 5, p. 46.)

stantinople, her stately palaces and churches, and the arts and luxury of an innumerable people. Her treasures might attract, but her virgin strength had repelled, and still promised to repel, the audacious invasion of the Persian and Bulgarian, the Arab and the Russian. The provinces were less fortunate and impregnable; and few districts, few cities could be discovered which had not been violated by some fierce Barbarian, impatient to despoil, because he was hopeless to possess. From the age of Justinian the Eastern empire was sinking below its former level; the powers of destruction were more active than those of improvement; and the calamities of war were imbittered by the more permanent evils of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. The captive who had escaped from the Barbarians, was often stripped and imprisoned by the ministers of his sovereign; the Greek superstition relaxed the mind by prayer, and emaciated the body by fasting; and the multitude of convents and festivals diverted many hands and many days from the temporal service of mankind. Yet the subjects of the Byzantine empire were still the most dexterous and diligent of nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation; and, in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper was more useful than the warlike spirit and feudal anarchy of Europe. The provinces that still adhered to the empire were repopled and enriched by the misfortunes of those which were irrecoverably lost. From the yoke of the caliphs, the Catholics of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, retired to the allegiance of their prince, to the society of their brethren; the moveable wealth, which eludes the search of oppression, accompanied and alleviated their exile; and Constantinople received into her bosom the fugitive trade of Alexandria and Tyre. The chiefs of Armenia and Scythia, who fled from hostile or religious persecution, were hospitably entertained; their followers were encouraged to build new cities, and to cultivate waste lands; and many spots, both in Europe and Asia, preserved the name, the manners, or at least the memory, of these national colonies. Even the tribes of Barbarians, who had seated themselves in arms on the territory of the empire, were gradually reclaimed to the laws of the church and state; and as long as they were separated from the Greeks, their posterity supplied a race of faithful

and obedient soldiers. Did we possess sufficient materials to survey the twenty-nine themes of the Byzantine monarchy, our curiosity might be satisfied with a chosen example; it is fortunate enough that the clearest light should be thrown on the most interesting province, and the name of Peloponnesus will awaken the attention of the classic reader.

As early as the eighth century, in the troubled reign of the Iconoclasts, Greece, and even Peloponnesus,* were overrun by some Sclavonian bands who outstripped the royal standard of Bulgaria. The strangers of old, Cadmus, and Danaus, and Pelops, had planted in that fruitful soil the seeds of policy and learning; but the savages of the North eradicated what yet remained of their sickly and withered roots. In this irruption, the country and the inhabitants were transformed; the Grecian blood was contaminated; and the proudest nobles of Peloponnesus were branded with the names of foreigners and *slaves*. By the diligence of succeeding princes, the land was in some measure purified from the Barbarians; and the humble remnant was bound by an oath of obedience, tribute, and military service, which they often renewed, and often violated. The siege of Patras was formed by a singular concurrence of the Sclavonians of Peloponnesus and the Saracens of Africa. In their last distress, a pious fiction of the approach of the prætor of Corinth, revived the courage of the citizens. Their sally was bold and successful; the strangers embarked, the rebels submitted, and the glory of the day was ascribed to a phantom, or a stranger, who fought in the foremost ranks under the character of St. Andrew the apostle. The shrine which contained his relics was decorated with the trophies of victory, and the captive race was for ever devoted to the service and vassalage of the metropolitan church of Patras. By the revolt of two Sclavonian tribes in the neighbourhood of Helos and Lacedæmon, the peace of the peninsula was

* Εσθλαβώθη δὲ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα καὶ γέγονε βάρβαρος, says Constantine (Thematisbus, l. 2, c. 6, p. 25), in a style as barbarous as the idea, which he confirms, as usual, by a foolish epigram. The epitomizer of Strabo likewise observes, καὶ νῦν δὲ πᾶσαν Ἠπειρον, καὶ Ἑλλάδα σχεδόν, καὶ Μακεδονίαν, καὶ Πελοπόννησον Σκύθαι Σκλάβοι νέμονται (l. 7, p. 98, edit. Hudson,) a passage which leads Dodwell a weary dance (Geograph. Minor. tom. ii. dissert. 6, p. 170—191), to enumerate the inroads of the Sclavi, and to fix the date (A.D. 980) of this petty geographer

often disturbed. They sometimes insulted the weakness, and sometimes resisted the oppression, of the Byzantine government, till at length the approach of their hostile brethren extorted a golden bull to define the rights and obligations of the Ezzerites and Milengi, whose annual tribute was defined at twelve hundred pieces of gold. From these strangers the imperial geographer has accurately distinguished a domestic, and perhaps original race, who, in some degree, might derive their blood from the much-injured Helots. The liberality of the Romans, and especially of Augustus, had enfranchised the maritime cities from the dominion of Sparta; and the continuance of the same benefit ennobled them with the title of *Eleuthero*, or free Laconians.* In the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, they had acquired the name of *Mainotes*, under which they dishonour the claim of liberty by the inhuman pillage of all that is shipwrecked on their rocky shores. Their territory, barren of corn, but fruitful of olives, extended to the cape of Malea; they accepted a chief or prince from the Byzantine prætor, and a light tribute of four hundred pieces of gold was the badge of their immunity rather than of their dependence. The freemen of Laconia assumed the character of Romans, and long adhered to the religion of the Greeks. By the zeal of the emperor Basil, they were baptized in the faith of Christ; but the altars of Venus and Neptune had been crowned by these rustic votaries five hundred years after they were proscribed in the Roman world. In the theme of Peloponnesus† forty cities were still numbered, and the declining state of Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, may be suspended in the tenth century, at an equal distance, perhaps, between their antique

* Strabon. Geograph. l. 8, p. 562. Pausanias, Græc. Descriptio. l. 3, c. 21, p. 264, 265. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. 4, c. 8. [The free Laconians of modern times and the Mainotes are two distinct tribes. The former call the mountain-district which they inhabit Tzakonia, a corruption of Laconia, and themselves Tzakoniates. The latter occupy the Brazzo, or Braccio de Maina, a small district between the ancient Tænarus, now Cape Matapan, and the river Calamata. In the early part of the present century, it contained a hundred villages and 45,000 inhabitants, ruled by fourteen chiefs. (Dodwell's Tour in Greece, vol. ii. p. 414.) The erection of Greece into a separate kingdom will probably melt down into the general mass the races that so long maintained a wild and vague independence.—ED.]

† Constantin. de Administrando Imperio, l. 2, c. 50—52.

splendor and their present desolation. The duty of military service, either in person or by substitute, was imposed on the lands or benefices of the province; a sum of five pieces of gold was assessed on each of the substantial tenants; and the same capitation was shared among several heads of inferior value. On the proclamation of an Italian war, the Peloponnesians excused themselves by a voluntary oblation of one hundred pounds of gold (four thousand pounds sterling), and a thousand horses with their arms and trappings. The churches and monasteries furnished their contingent; a sacrilegious profit was extorted from the sale of ecclesiastical honours; and the indigent bishop of Leucadia* was made responsible for a pension of hundred pieces of gold.†

But the wealth of the province, and the trust of the revenue, were founded on the fair and plentiful produce of trade and manufactures; and some symptoms of liberal policy may be traced in a law which exempts from all personal taxes the mariners of Peloponnesus, and the workmen in parchment and purple. This denomination may be fairly applied or extended to the manufactures of linen, woollen, and more especially of silk: the two former of which had flourished in Greece since the days of Homer; and the last was introduced perhaps as early as the reign of Justinian. These arts, which were exercised at Corinth, Thebes, and Argos, afforded food and occupation to a numerous people: the men, women, and children, were distributed according to their age and strength; and if many of these were domestic slaves, their masters, who directed the work and enjoyed the profit, were of a free and honourable condition. The gifts which a rich and generous matron of Peloponnesus presented to the emperor Basil, her adopted son, were doubtless fabricated in the Grecian looms. Danielis bestowed a carpet of fine wool, of a pattern which imitated the spots of

* The rock of Leucate was the southern promontory of his island and diocese. Had he been the exclusive guardian of the Lover's Leap, so well known to the readers of Ovid (*Epist. Sappho*) and the Spectator, he might have been the richest prelate of the Greek Church. [The ancient Leucadia, under the name of Santa Maura, is one of the Ionian Islands, now an appendage of the British empire.—ED.]

† *Leucatenſis mihi juravit epiſcopus, quotannis eccleſiam ſuam debere Nicephoro aureos centum perſolvere, ſimiliter et ceteras plus minusve ſecundum vires ſuas.* (Luitprand in *Legat.* p. 489.)

a peacock's tail, of a magnitude to overspread the floor of a new church, erected in the triple name of Christ, of Michael the archangel, and of the prophet Elijah. She gave six hundred pieces of silk and linen of various use and denomination; the silk was painted with the Tyrian dye, and adorned by the labours of the needle; and the linen was so exquisitely fine, that an entire piece might be rolled in the hollow of a cane.* In his description of the Greek manufactures, a historian of Sicily discriminates their price, according to the weight and quality of the silk, the closeness of the texture, the beauty of the colours, and the taste and materials of the embroidery. A single, or even a double or treble thread was thought sufficient for ordinary sale; but the union of six threads composed a piece of stronger and more costly workmanship. Among the colours, he celebrates, with affectation of eloquence, the fiery blaze of the scarlet, and the softer lustre of the green. The embroidery was raised either in silk or gold: the more simple ornament of stripes or circles was surpassed by the nicer imitation of flowers: the vestments that were fabricated for the palace or the altar often glittered with precious stones, and the figures were delineated in strings of Oriental pearls.† Till the twelfth century, Greece alone, of all the countries of Christendom, was possessed of the insect who is taught by nature, and of the workmen who are instructed by art, to prepare this elegant luxury. But the secret had been stolen by the dexterity and diligence of the Arabs: the caliphs of the East and West scorned to borrow from the unbelievers their furniture and apparel; and two cities of Spain, Almeria and Lisbon, were famous for the manufacture, the use, and perhaps the exportation of silk. It was first introduced into Sicily by the Normans; and this emigration of trade distinguishes

* See Constantine (in Vit. Basil. c. 74—76, p. 195. 197, in Script. post Theophanem), who allows himself to use many technical or barbarous words: barbarous, says he, τῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἀμαθίᾳ, καλὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις κοινολεγεῖν. Ducange labours on some; but he was not a weaver.

† The manufactures of Palermo, as they are described by Hugo Falcandus (Hist. Sicula in proem. in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. v. p. 256), is a copy of those of Greece. Without transcribing his declamatory sentences, which I have softened in the text, I shall observe, that in this passage, the strange word *exarentasmata* is very properly changed for *exanthemata* by Carisius, the first editor. Falcandus lived about the year 1190.

the victory of Roger from the uniform and fruitless hostilities of every age. After the sack of Corinth, Athens, and Thebes, his lieutenant embarked with a captive train of weavers and artificers of both sexes, a trophy glorious to their master, and disgraceful to the Greek emperor.* The king of Sicily was not insensible of the value of the present; and, in the restitution of the prisoners, he excepted only the male and female manufacturers of Thebes and Corinth, who labour, says the Byzantine historian, under a barbarous lord, like the old Eretrians in the service of Darius.† A stately edifice, in the palace of Palermo, was erected for the use of this industrious colony,‡ and the art was propagated by their children and disciples, to satisfy the increasing demand of the Western world. The decay of the looms of Sicily may be ascribed to the troubles of the island, and the competition of the Italian cities. In the year thirteen hundred and fourteen, Lucca alone, among her sister republics, enjoyed the lucrative monopoly.§ A domestic revolution dispersed the manufacturers to Florence, Bologna, Venice, Milan, and even the countries beyond the Alps; and thirteen years after this event, the statutes of Modena enjoin the planting of mulberry-trees, and regulate the duties on raw silk.¶ The northern climates are less propitious to the education of

* Inde ad interiora Græciæ progressi, Corinthum, Thebas, Athenas, antiquâ nobilitate celebres, expugnant; et maximâ ibidem prædâ directâ, opifices etiam qui sericos pannos texere solent, ob ignominiam Imperatoris illius, sui que principis gloriam, captivos deducunt. Quos Rogerius, in Palermo Siciliæ metropoli collocans, artem texendi suos edocere præcepit; et exhinc prædicta ars illa, prius à Græcis tantum inter Christianos habita, Romanis patere cœpit ingeniis. (Otho Frisingen. de Gestis Frederici I. l. 1, c. 33, in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 668). This exception allows the bishop to celebrate Lisbon and Almeria, in sericorum pannorum opificio prænobilissimæ (in Chron. apud Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 415).

† Nicetas in Manuel. l. 2, c. 8, p. 65. He describes these Greeks as skilled *εὐηγρίους ὀθῶνας ὑφαίνειν*, as *ιστῶ προσανίχοντας τῶν ἱερμίτων καὶ χουσοπάστων στολῶν*. ‡ Hugo Falcandus

styles them nobiles officinas. The Arabs had not introduced silk, though they had planted canes and made sugar in the plain of Palermo.

§ See the Life of Castruccio Castrucani, not by Machiavel, but by his more authentic biographer, Nicholas Tegrini. Muratori, who has inserted it in the eleventh volume of his *Scriptores*, quotes this curious passage in his *Italian Antiquities* (tom. i. dissert. 25, p. 378).

¶ From the MS. statutes, as they are quoted by Muratori in his *Italian Antiquities* (tom. ii. dissert. 30, p. 46—48.).

the silk-worm; but the industry of France and England* is supplied and enriched by the productions of Italy and China.

I must repeat the complaint, that the vague and scanty memorials of the times will not afford any just estimate of the taxes, the revenue, and the resources of the Greek empire. From every province of Europe and Asia the rivulets of gold and silver discharged into the imperial reservoir a copious and perennial stream. The separation of the branches from the trunk increased the relative magnitude of Constantinople; and the maxims of despotism contracted the State to the capital, the capital to the palace, and the palace to the royal person. A Jewish traveller, who visited the East in the twelfth century, is lost in his admiration of the Byzantine riches. "It is here," says Benjamin of Tudela, "in the queen of cities, that the tributes of the Greek empire are annually deposited, and the lofty towers are filled with precious magazines of silk, purple, and gold. It is said, that Constantinople pays each day to her sovereign twenty thousand pieces of gold; which are levied on the shops, taverns, and markets, on the merchants of Persia and Egypt, of Russia and Hungary, of Italy and Spain, who frequent the capital by sea and land."† In all pecuniary

* The broad silk manufacture was established in England in the year 1620 (Anderson's Chronological Deduction, vol. ii. p. 4); but it is to the revocation of the edict of Nantes that we owe the Spitalfields colony. [The industrious Protestants of Flanders who fled from Spanish persecution, had at an earlier period brought into our eastern counties the implements and machinery of their textile fabrics. Their principal colony settled in the city of Norwich, where their progenitors had already, in the time of Henry I., laid the foundation of England's manufacturing greatness. Blomefield's History of Norfolk, folio edition, vol. ii. p. 61.—ED.]

† Voyage de Benjamin de Tudèle, tom. i. c. 5, p. 44—52. The Hebrew text has been translated into French by that marvellous child Baratier, who has added a volume of crude learning. The errors and fictions of the Jewish rabbi are not a sufficient ground to deny the reality of his travels. [The travels of De Tudela embrace a period of thirteen years, from 1160 to 1173. They were first printed at Constantinople in 1543 and at Ferrara in 1556. Their genuineness was not questioned till 1774, when Beck conceived his suspicion that they were compiled from learned works to which the author had access in the libraries of Spain. But these sources have never been revealed, and Mr. Asher, in his edition (Hebrew and English) maintains their authenticity. The best English translation is edited by Mr. Thos. Wright, in Bohn's "Early

matters, the authority of a Jew is doubtless respectable; but as the three hundred and sixty-five days would produce a yearly income exceeding seven millions sterling, I am tempted to retrench at least the numerous festivals of the Greek calendar. The mass of treasure that was saved by Theodora and Basil the Second, will suggest a splendid, though indefinite, idea of their supplies and resources. The mother of Michael, before she retired to a cloister, attempted to check or expose the prodigality of her ungrateful son, by a free and faithful account of the wealth which he inherited; one hundred and nine thousand pounds of gold, and three hundred thousand of silver, the fruits of her own economy and that of her deceased husband.* The avarice of Basil is not less renowned than his valour and fortune; his victorious armies were paid and rewarded without breaking into the mass of two hundred thousand pounds of gold (about eight millions sterling), which he had buried in the subterraneous vaults of the palace.† Such accumulation of treasure is rejected by the theory and practice of modern policy; and we are more apt to compute the national riches by the use and abuse of the public credit. Yet the maxims of antiquity are still embraced by a monarch formidable to his enemies; by a republic respectable to her allies; and both have attained their respective ends, of military power and domestic tranquillity.

Whatever might be consumed for the present wants, or reserved for the future use of the State, the first and most sacred demand was for the pomp and pleasure of the emperor; and his discretion only could define the measure of his private expense. The princes of Constantinople were far removed from the simplicity of nature; yet, with the revolving seasons, they were led by taste or fashion, to withdraw to a purer air, from the smoke and tumult of the capital. They enjoyed, or affected to enjoy, the rustic festival of the vintage; their leisure was amused by the exercise of the chase, and the calmer occupation of fishing; and in the summer heats, they were shaded from the sun, and

Travels in Palestine."—ED.]

* See the Continuator of Theophanes (l. 4, p. 107), Cedrenus (p. 544), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. 16, p. 157).

† Zonaras (tom. ii. l. 17, p. 225) instead of pounds, uses the more classic appellation of talents, which, in a literal sense and strict computation, would multiply sixty-fold the

refreshed by the cooling breezes from the sea. The coasts and islands of Asia and Europe were covered with their magnificent villas; but, instead of the modest art which secretly strives to hide itself, and to decorate the scenery of nature, the marble structure of their gardens served only to expose the riches of their lord, and the labours of the architect. The successive casualties of inheritance and forfeiture had rendered the sovereign proprietor of many stately houses in the city and suburbs, of which twelve were appropriated to the ministers of state; but the great palace,* the centre of the imperial residence, was fixed during eleven centuries to the same position, between the hippodrome, the cathedral of St. Sophia, and the gardens which descended by many a terrace to the shores of the Propontis. The primitive edifice of the first Constantine was a copy or rival of ancient Rome; the gradual improvements of his successors aspired to emulate the wonders of the old world,† and, in the tenth century the Byzantine palace excited the admiration, at least of the Latins, by an unquestionable pre-eminence of strength, size, and magnificence.‡ But the toil and treasure of so many ages had produced a vast and irregular pile; each separate building was marked with the character of the times, and of the founder; and the want of space might excuse the reigning monarch who demolished, perhaps with secret satisfaction, the works of his predecessors. The economy of the emperor Theophilus allowed a more free and ample scope for his domestic luxury and splendour. A favourite ambassador, who had astonished the Abbassides themselves by his pride and liberality, pre-

treasure of Basil.

* For a copious and minute description of the imperial palace, see the Constantinop. Christiana (l. 2, c. 4, p. 113—123) of Ducange, the Tillemont of the middle ages. Never has laborious Germany produced two antiquarians more laborious and accurate than these two natives of lively France.

† The Byzantine palace surpasses the Capitol, the palace of Pergamus, the Rufinian wood (*φαιδρον ἀγαλμα*), the temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus, the Pyramids, the Pharos, &c. according to an epigram (Antholog. Græc. l. 4, p. 488, 489. Brodæi, apud Wechel), ascribed to Julian, ex-prefect of Egypt. Seventy-one of his epigrams, some lively, are collected in Brunck (Analect. Græc. tom. ii. p. 493—510), but this is wanting.

‡ Constantinopolitanum Palatium non pulchritudine solum, verum etiam fortitudine, omnibus quas unquam videram munitionibus præstat. (Luitprand, Hist. l. 5, c. 9, p. 465.)

sented on his return the model of a palace which the caliph of Bagdad had recently constructed on the banks of the Tigris. The model was instantly copied and surpassed; the new buildings of Theophilus* were accompanied with gardens and with five churches, one of which was conspicuous for size and beauty; it was crowned with three domes, the roof of gilt brass reposed on columns of Italian marble, and the walls were incrustated with marbles of various colours. In the face of the church, a semicircular portico, of the figure and name of the Greek *sigma*, was supported by fifteen columns of Phrygian marble, and the subterraneous vaults were of a similar construction. The square before the sigma was decorated with a fountain, and the margin of the basin was lined and encompassed with plates of silver. In the beginning of each season, the basin, instead of water, was replenished with the most exquisite fruits, which were abandoned to the populace for the entertainment of the prince. He enjoyed this tumultuous spectacle from a throne resplendent with gold and gems, which was raised by a marble staircase to the height of a lofty terrace. Below the throne were seated the officers of his guards, the magistrates, the chiefs of the factions of the circus; the inferior steps were occupied by the people, and the place below was covered with troops of dancers, singers, and pantomimes. The square was surrounded by the hall of justice, the arsenal, and the various offices of business and pleasure; and the *purple* chamber was named from the annual distribution of robes of scarlet and purple by the hand of the empress herself. The long series of the apartments were adapted to the seasons, and decorated with marble and porphyry, with painting, sculpture, and mosaics, with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones. His fanciful magnificence employed the skill, and patience of such artists as the times could afford; but the taste of Athens would have despised their frivolous and costly labours; a golden tree with its leaves and branches, which sheltered a multitude of birds, warbling their artificial notes, and two lions of massy gold, and of the natural size, who looked and

* See the anonymous continuator of Theophanes (p. 59. 61. 86) whom I have followed in the neat and concise abstract of Le Beau. (Hist. du Bas-Empire, tom. xiv. p. 436—438.)

roared like their brethren of the forest. The successors of Theophilus, of the Basilian and Comnenian dynasties, were not less ambitious of leaving some memorial of their residence; and the portion of the palace most splendid and august, was dignified with the title of the golden *triclinium*.* With becoming modesty, the rich and noble Greeks aspired to imitate their sovereign; and when they passed through the streets on horseback, in their robes of silk and embroidery, they were mistaken by the children for kings.† A matron of Peloponnesus,‡ who had cherished the infant fortunes of Basil the Macedonian, was excited by tenderness or vanity to visit the greatness of her adopted son. In a journey of five hundred miles, from Patras to Constantinople, her age or indolence declined the fatigue of a horse or carriage; the soft litter or bed of Danielis was transported on the shoulders of ten robust slaves; and as they were relieved at easy distances, a band of three hundred was selected for the performance of this service. She was entertained in the Byzantine palace with filial reverence, and the honours of a queen; and whatever might be the origin of her wealth, her gifts were not unworthy of the regal dignity. I have already described the fine and curious manufactures of Peloponnesus, of linen, silk, and woollen; but the most acceptable of her presents consisted in three hundred beautiful youths, of whom one hundred were eunuchs;§ “for she was not ignorant,” says the historian, “that the air of the palace is more congenial to such

* In aureo triclinio quæ præstantior est pars potentissimus (the *usurper Romanus*) degens cæteras partes (*filiis*) distribuerat. (Luitprand, Hist. l. 5, c. 9, p. 469.) For this lax signification of triclinium (ædificium tria vel plura κλίνη scilicet στέγη complectens) see Ducange (Gloss. Græc. et Observations sur Joinville, p. 240) and Reiske (ad Constantinum de Ceremoniis, p. 7).

† In equis vecti (says Benjamin of Tudela) regum filiis videntur persimiles. I prefer the Latin version of Constantine l'Empereur (p. 46), to the French of Baratier (tom. i. p. 49).

‡ See the account of her journey, munificence, and testament, in the life of Basil, by his grand-son Constantine (c. 74—76, p. 195—197).

§ *Carsamatiūm* (καρχημαδες, Ducange, Gloss.) Græci vocant, amputatis virilibus et virgâ, puerum eunuchum quos Verdunenses mercatores ob immensum lucrum facere solent et in Hispaniam ducere. (Luitprand, l. 6, c. 3, p. 470.) The last abomination of the abominable slave trade! Yet I am surprised to find in the tenth century such active speculations of commerce in Lorraine.

insects than a shepherd's dairy to the flies of the summer." During her lifetime, she bestowed the greater part of her estates in Peloponnesus, and her testament instituted Leo, the son of Basil, her universal heir. After the payment of the legacies, fourscore villas or farms were added to the imperial domain; and three thousand slaves of Danielis were enfranchised by their new lord, and transplanted as a colony to the Italian coast. From this example of a private matron, we may estimate the wealth and magnificence of the emperors. Yet our enjoyments are confined by a narrow circle; and whatsoever may be its value, the luxury of life is possessed with more innocence and safety by the master of his own, than by the steward of the public, fortune.

In an absolute government, which levels the distinctions of noble and plebeian birth, the sovereign is the sole fountain of honour; and the rank, both in the palace and the empire, depends on the titles and offices which are bestowed and resumed by his arbitrary will. Above a thousand years, from Vespasian to Alexius Comnenus,* the *Cæsar* was the second person, or at least the second degree, after the supreme title of *Augustus* was more freely communicated to the sons and brothers of the reigning monarch. To elude, without violating his promise to a powerful associate, the husband of his sister, and, without giving himself an equal, to reward the piety of his brother Isaac, the crafty Alexius interposed a new and supereminent dignity. The happy flexibility of the Greek tongue allowed him to compound the names of Augustus and emperor (sebastos and autocrator), and the union produced the sonorous title of *Sebastocrator*. He was exalted above the *Cæsar* on the first step of the throne; the public acclamations repeated his name; and he was only distinguished from the sovereign by some peculiar ornaments of the head and feet. The emperor alone could assume the purple or red buskins, and the close diadem or tiara, which imitated the fashion of the Persian kings.† It was a high pyramidal cap of cloth or silk, almost

* See the *Alexiad* (l. 3, p. 78, 79) of Anna Comnena, who, except in filial piety, may be compared to Mademoiselle de Montpensier. In her awful reverence for titles and forms, she styles her father 'Επιστημονάρχης, the inventor of this royal art, the τέχνη τεχνῶν, and ἐπιστήμη ἐπιστημῶν.

† Στέμμα, στίφανος, διάδημα;

concealed by a profusion of pearls and jewels; the crown was formed by a horizontal circle and two arches of gold; at the summit, the point of their intersection, was placed a globe or cross, and two strings or lappets of pearl depended on either cheek. Instead of red, the buskins of the Sebastocrator and Cæsar were green, and on their *open* coronets or crowns, the precious gems were more sparingly distributed. Beside and below the Cæsar, the fancy of Alexius created the *panhypersebastos* and the *protosebastos*, whose sound and signification will satisfy a Grecian ear. They imply a superiority and a priority above the simple name of Augustus; and this sacred and primitive title of the Roman prince was degraded to the kinsmen and servants of the Byzantine court. The daughter of Alexius applauds with fond complacency, this artful gradation of hopes and honours; but the science of words is accessible to the meanest capacity; and this vain dictionary was easily enriched by the pride of his successors. To their favourite sons or brothers, they imparted the more lofty appellation of lord or *despot*; which was illustrated with new ornaments and prerogatives, and placed immediately after the person of the emperor himself. The five titles of 1. *Despot*; 2. *Sebastocrator*; 3. *Cæsar*; 4. *Panhypersebastos*; and 5. *Protosebastos*; were usually confined to the princes of his blood; they were the emanations of his majesty; but as they exercised no regular functions, their existence was useless, and their authority precarious.

But in every monarchy the substantial powers of government must be divided and exercised by the ministers of the palace and treasury, the fleet and army. The titles alone can differ; and in the revolution of ages, the counts and prefects, the prætor and quæstor, insensibly descended, while

see Reiske, ad Cereemoniale, p. 14, 15. Ducange has given a learned dissertation on the crowns of Constantinople, Rome, France, &c. (sur Joinville, 25. p. 289—303), but of his thirty-four models, none exactly tallies with Anne's description. [Gibbon gave the name of "diadem" to the "broad white fillet set with pearls," which encircled the head of Diocletian. (See vol. i., p. 456.) But it was first properly applied to the imperial crown assumed by Constantine, from which time, Eckhel has traced its history by means of coins. See his Num. Vet., vol. viii., p. 79. 132., but more particularly his ch. v. De Cultu Capituli Augg. 360-364, and ch. xvi. De Num. Inf. Ævi, p. 502.—Ed.]

their servants rose above their heads to the first honours of the state. 1. In a monarchy, which refers every object to the person of the prince, the care and ceremonies of the palace form the most respectable department. The *curopalata*,* so illustrious in the age of Justinian, was supplanted by the *protovestiare*, whose primitive functions were limited to the custody of the wardrobe. From thence his jurisdiction was extended over the numerous menials of pomp and luxury; and he presided with his silver wand at the public and private audience. 2. In the ancient system of Constantine, the name of *logothete*, or accountant, was applied to the receivers of the finances; the principal officers were distinguished as the logothetes of the domain, of the posts, the army, the private and public treasure; and the great *logothete*, the supreme guardian of the laws and revenues, is compared with the chancellor of the Latin monarchies.† His discerning eye pervaded the civil administration; and he was assisted, in due subordination, by the eparch or prefect of the city, the first secretary, and the keepers of the privy seal, the archives, and the red or purple ink which was reserved for the sacred signature of the emperor alone.‡ The introducer and interpreter of foreign ambassadors were the great *chiauss*§ and the *dra-*

* Pars exstans curia, solo diademate dispar,
Ordine pro rerum vocitatus Cura-Palati;

says the African Corippus (de Laudibus Justini, l. 1. 136); and in the same century (the sixth), Cassiodorus represents him, who, virga aurea decoratus, inter numerosa obsequia primus ante pedes regis incederit. (Variar. 7. 5.) But this great officer, unknown, ἀνεπίγνωτος, exercising no function, νῦν δὲ οὐδεμίαν, was cast down by the modern Greeks to the fifteenth rank. (Codin. c. 5, p. 65.) [In the ninth century, this office was still of such eminence, as to be held by the husband of the emperor's sister, as in the case of Michael Rhangabe, who even when he became himself emperor, had the surname of Curopalata. See ch. 48., vol. v., p. 307—Ed.]

† Nicetas (in Manuel. l. 7, c. 1) defines him ὡς ἡ Λατίνων φωνὴ Καραλάριον, ὡς δ' Ἕλληνες εἶποιεν Λογοθέτην. Yet the epithet of μέγας was added by the elder Andronicus. (Ducange, tom. i. p. 822, 823.)

‡ From Leo I. (A.D. 470) the imperial ink, which is still visible on some original acts, was a mixture of vermilion and cinnabar, or purple. The emperor's guardians, who shared in this prerogative, always marked in green ink the indiction and the month. See the Dictionnaire Diplomatique (tom. i. p. 511—513), a valuable abridgment.

§ The sultan sent a Σαοὺς to Alexius (Anna Comnena, l. 6, p. 170. Ducange ad loc.), and Pachymer often speaks of the μέγας ῥζαοὺς

goman,* two names of Turkish origin, and which are still familiar to the Sublime Porte. 3. From the humble style and service of guards, the *domestics* insensibly rose to the station of generals; the military themes of the East and West, the legions of Europe and Asia, were often divided, till the *great domestic* was finally invested with the universal and absolute command of the land forces. The *protostrator*, in his original functions, was the assistant of the emperor when he mounted on horseback; he gradually became the lieutenant of the great domestic in the field; and his jurisdiction extended over the stables, the cavalry, and the royal train of hunting and hawking. The *stratopedarch* was the great judge of the camp; the *protospathaire* commanded the guards; the *constable*,† the *great æteriar*ch, and the *acolyth*, were the separate chiefs of the Franks, the Barbarians, and the Varangi, or English,‡ the mercenary strangers, who, in the decay of the national spirit, formed the nerve of the Byzantine armies. 4. The naval powers were under the command of the *great duke*; in his absence they obeyed the *great drungaire* of the fleet: and in his place the *emir* or

(l. 7, c. 1; l. 12, c. 30; l. 13, c. 22). The Chiaoush basha is now at the head of seven hundred officers. (Rycaut's Ottoman Empire. p. 349, 8vo. edition.)

* *Tagerman* is the Arabic name of an interpreter (D'Herbelot, p. 854, 855), πρῶτος τῶν ἐρμηνεύων οὗς κοινῶς ὀνομάζουσι δραγομάνους, says Codinus (c. 5, No. 70, p. 67). See Villehardouin (No. 96), Busbequius (Epist. 4, p. 338), and Ducange (Observations sur Villehardouin; and Gloss. Græc. et Latin). [This term puzzled the mediæval writers. Ducange (Gloss. 2. 1647) has given the various forms, which in their perplexity they used, and seems disposed to prefer *Turkiman* as the most proper denotement of its origin. This is now better understood. Von Hammer in his Constantinopolis und der Bosphorus (vol. ii. p. 130—175), has investigated, with much learning and labour, the derivation of the word, as well as that of its German representative *Dolmetscher*, and given a history of interpreters from the earliest times. The Arabic root of dragoman is *targeman* or *taragem* (he has interpreted). Germans resident in the East, putting their own construction on the last syllable, have called their interpreters *dragoleute*.—Ed.]

† Κονόσταυλος or κοντόσταυλος, a corruption from the Latin Comes stabuli, or the French Connétable. In a military sense, it was used by the Greeks in the eleventh century, at least as early as in France.

‡ [Attentive readers will here probably call to mind the Varini and Angli, noticed in ch. 38, vol. iv. p. 226, and be disposed to think, that if the Varangi had any *English* connection, it was in that line. But this subject may be reserved for ch. 55 and 56.—Ed.]

admiral, a name of Saracen extraction,* but which has been naturalized in all the modern languages of Europe. Of these officers, and of many more whom it would be useless to enumerate, the civil and military hierarchy was framed. Their honours and emoluments, their dress and titles, their mutual salutations and respective pre-eminence, were balanced with more exquisite labour than would have fixed the constitution of a free people; and the code was almost perfect when this baseless fabric, the monument of pride and servitude, was for ever buried in the ruins of the empire.†

The most lofty titles, and the most humble postures, which devotion has applied to the Supreme Being, have been prostituted by flattery and fear to creatures of the same nature with ourselves. The mode of *adoration*,‡ of

* It was directly borrowed from the Normans. In the twelfth century, Giannone reckons the admiral of Sicily among the great officers. [Spelman (Gloss. p. 11) has well discussed the etymology of *admiral*. He was not equally successful with that of *drungarius*, which he derived from the East "vox ex oriente profecta" (p. 185). It is on the contrary one of the earliest terms borrowed by the Romans from the Goths. Vegetius used the word *drungus* for "globus militum." (De Re Milit. l. 3, c. 16 and 19.) The root of it is the Gothic *thraihan* or *thrangon*, whence the Anglo-Saxon *drungan*, the German *drang* and *gedränge*, and our *throng*. The *drungarius* was the commander of a *drungus*. He was not an admiral until *classis* was added. Ducange, 2. 1657. Adelung, Wörterbuch. 1. 1402.—Ed.]

† This sketch of honours and offices is drawn from George Codinus Curopalata, who survived the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; his elaborate though trifling work (De Officiis Ecclesiæ et Aulæ C. P.), has been illustrated by the notes of Goar; and the three books of Gretser, a learned Jesuit.

‡ The respectful salutation of carrying the hand to the mouth *ad os*, is the root of the Latin word, *adoro, adorare*. See our learned Selden (vol. iii. p. 143—145. 942) in his Titles of Honour. It seems, from the first book of Herodotus, to be of Persian origin. [This is not correct etymology. The simple verb *orare* (to pray), must have been in use before its compound *adorare* (to pray to) could be formed. It was the mere act of the mouth, without any application of the hands. When these were used in prayer, it was by raising them above the head. The suppliant, *χῆρας ἀνασχών*, expressed his submission to the will of a superior, intimated his abandonment of resistance, and offered his hands to be bound. This was in itself a silent yet intelligible gesture, and gave no name to any form of speech. *Orare* had the same relation to *os*, as *vocare* to *vox*, and as *invocare* followed the one, so did *adorare* the other. Beyond this point, they and their derivatives indicate their own course. It must, however, be observed, that, even in later times, the

falling prostrate on the ground, and kissing the feet of the emperor, was borrowed by Diocletian from Persian servitude; but it was continued and aggravated till the last age of the Greek monarchy. Excepting only on Sundays, when it was waived from a motive of religious pride, this humiliating reverence was exacted from all who entered the royal presence, from the princes invested with the diadem and purple, and from the ambassadors who represented their independent sovereigns, the caliphs of Asia, Egypt, or Spain, the kings of France and Italy, and the Latin emperors of ancient Rome. In his transactions of business, Luitprand, bishop of Cremona,* asserted the free spirit of a Frank and the dignity of his master Otho. Yet his sincerity cannot disguise the abasement of his first audience. When he approached the throne, the birds of the golden tree began to warble their notes, which were accompanied by the roarings of the two lions of gold. With his two companions, Luitprand was compelled to bow and to fall prostrate; and thrice he touched the ground with his forehead. He arose, but, in the short interval, the throne had been hoisted by an engine from the floor to the ceiling, the imperial figure appeared in new and more gorgeous apparel, and the interview was concluded in haughty and majestic silence. In this honest and curious narrative the bishop of Cremona represents the ceremonies of the Byzantine court, which are still practised in the Sublime Porte, and which were preserved in the last age by the dukes of Muscovy or Russia. After a long journey by the sea and land, from Venice to Constantinople, the ambassador halted at the golden gate, till he was conducted by the formal officers to the hospitable palace prepared for his reception; but this palace was a prison, and his jealous keepers prohibited all social intercourse either with strangers or natives. At his first audience, he offered the gifts of his master, slaves, and golden vases, and costly armour. The ostentatious payment of the officers and troops displayed before his eyes the riches of the empire; he was entertained at a

conventional usage of kissing the hand never expressed the homage of adoration.—ED.]

* The two embassies of Luitprand to Constantinople, all that he saw or suffered in the Greek capital, are pleasantly described by himself. (Hist. l. 6, c. 1—4, p. 469—471. Legatio ad Nicephorum Phocam, p. 479—489.)

royal banquet,* in which the ambassadors of the nations were marshalled by the esteem or contempt of the Greeks; from his own table, the emperor, as the most signal favour, sent the plates which he had tasted; and his favourites were dismissed with a robe of honour.† In the morning and evening of each day, his civil and military servants attended their duty in the palace; their labour was repaid by the sight, perhaps by the smile, of their lord; his commands were signified by a nod or a sign; but all earthly greatness stood silent and submissive in his presence. In his regular or extraordinary processions through the capital, he unveiled his person to the public view; the rites of policy were connected with those of religion, and his visits to the principal churches were regulated by the festivals of the Greek calendar. On the eve of these processions, the gracious or devout intention of the monarch was proclaimed by the heralds. The streets were cleared and purified: the pavement was strewn with flowers: the most precious furniture, the gold and silver plate, and silken hangings, were displayed from the windows and balconies, and a severe discipline restrained and silenced the tumult of the populace. The march was opened by the military officers at the head of their troops: they were followed in long order by the magistrates and ministers of the civil government: the person of the emperor was guarded by his eunuchs and domestics, and at the church-door he was

* Among the amusements of the feast, a boy balanced, on his forehead, a pike, or pole, twenty-four feet long, with a cross-bar of two cubits a little below the top. Two boys, naked, though cinctured (*cumpestratis*) together, and singly, climbed, stood, played, descended, &c. ita me stupidum reddidit: utrum mirabilius nescio (p. 470). At another repast a homily of Chrysostom on the Acts of the Apostles was read elatâ voce non Latine (p. 483). † *Gala* is not improbably derived from *Cala* or *Caloat*, in Arabic a robe of honour. (Reiske, not. in *Ceremon.* p. 84.) [From this source it was first introduced by the Moors into Spanish, which it has enriched with metaphors and proverbs beyond any other language. Thence it crossed the Pyrenees and was adopted in French, to which it has given its derivatives, *galant*, *galanterie*, &c. It was then brought into English and Italian, and has become vernacular in both; but has not been regularly naturalized in the more strictly Gothic tongues. In the middle ages it gave the name of *galabrunus* to a dark-coloured superfine cloth which monks were forbidden to wear, and a dancer was also called *galator*. Ducange, 3. 786. 787.—Ed.]

solemnly received by the patriarch and his clergy. The task of applause was not abandoned to the rude and spontaneous voices of the crowd. The most convenient stations were occupied by the bands of the blue and green factions of the circus; and their furious conflicts, which had shaken the capital, were insensibly sunk to an emulation of servitude. From either side they echoed in responsive melody the praises of the emperor; their poets and musicians directed the choir, and long life* and victory were the burden of every song. The same acclamations were performed at the audience, the banquet, and the church; and, as an evidence of boundless sway, they were repeated in the Latin,† Gothic, Persian, French, and even English language,‡ by the mercenaries, who sustained the real or fictitious character of those nations. By the pen of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, this science of form and flattery has been reduced into a pompous and trifling volume,§ which the vanity of succeeding times might enrich with an ample supplement. Yet the calmer reflections of a prince would surely suggest, that the same acclamations were applied to every character and every reign; and if he had risen from a private rank, he might remember that his own voice had been the loudest and most eager in applause, at

* Πολυχρονίζειν is explained by εὐφημίζειν. (Codin. c. 7. Ducange Gloss. Græc. tom. i. p. 1199.) † Κωνσέρβερ Δέους

ἡμπερίουμ βέστρουμ—βίκτορ σῆς σίμπερ—βήβητε Δόμινι Ἡμπερατορες ἦν μούλτος ἄννος. (Ceremon. 75, p. 215.) The want of the Latin *v*, obliged the Greeks to employ their *β*; nor do they regard quantity. Till he recollected the true language, these strange sentences might puzzle a professor. [In some instances, the quantities are much more distinctly marked than they are by us. Our barbarously corrupt pronunciation of Latin does not qualify us to reproach others by whom its correct tones are disregarded.—ED.]

‡ Βάραγγοι κατὰ τὴν πάτριαν καὶ οὗτοι αὐτῶν γλωσσαν, ἦγον Ἰνκλινισί, πολυχρονίζουσι. (Codin. p. 90.) I wish he had preserved the words, however corrupt, of their English acclamation. [This is very insufficient authority for making the Varangi our countrymen. See ch. 55 and 56.—ED.]

§ For all these ceremonies see the professed work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, with the notes, or rather dissertations, of his German editors, Leich and Reiske. For the rank of the *standing* courtiers, p. 80, not. 23. 62, for the adoration, except on Sundays, p. 95. 240, not. 131; the processions, p. 2, &c. not. p. 3, &c., the acclamations, *passim*, not. 25, &c., the factions and hippodrome, p. 177—214, not. 9. 93, &c., the Gothic games, p. 221,

the very moment when he envied the fortune, or conspired against the life, of his predecessor.*

The princes of the north, of the nations, says Constantine, without faith or fame, were ambitious of mingling their blood with the blood of the Cæsars, by their marriage with a royal virgin, or by the nuptials of their daughters with a Roman prince.† The aged monarch, in his instructions to his son, reveals the secret maxims of policy and pride, and suggests the most decent reasons for refusing these insolent and unreasonable demands. Every animal says the discreet emperor, is prompted by nature to seek a mate among the animals of his own species; and the human species is divided into various tribes, by the distinction of language, religion, and manners. A just regard to the purity of descent preserves the harmony of public and private life; but the mixture of foreign blood is the fruitful source of disorder and discord. Such had ever been the opinion and practice of the sage Romans; their jurisprudence proscribed the marriage of a citizen and a stranger; in the days of freedom and virtue, a senator would have scorned to match his daughter with a king; the glory of Mark Antony was sullied by an Egyptian wife;‡ and the emperor Titus was compelled, by popular censure, to dismiss with reluctance the reluctant Berenice.§ This perpetual interdict was ratified by the fabulous sanc-

not. 111; vintage, p. 217, not. 109: much more information is scattered over the work.

* Et privato Othoni et nuper eadem dicenti nota adulatio. (Tacit. Hist. 1. 85.)

† The thirteenth chapter, de Administratione Imperii, may be explained and rectified by the *Familie Byzantine* of Ducange.

‡ Sequiturque nefas Ægyptia conjunx. (Virgil, *Æneid*. 8. 688.) Yet this Egyptian wife was the daughter of a long line of kings. Quid te mutavit (says Antony in a private letter to Augustus) an quod reginam in eo? Uxor mea est (Sueton. in August. c. 69.) Yet I much question (for I cannot stay to inquire), whether the triumvir ever dared to celebrate his marriage either with Roman or Egyptian rites. [Horace preceded Virgil in giving expression to this sentiment. The "mulier peregrina," who was the cause of Troy's overthrow (*Carm.* 3. 3), and the "fatale monstrum," applied to Cleopatra herself (1. 37) evince the national repugnance to foreign nuptials.—ED.]

§ Berenicem invitum invitam dimisit. (Suetonius in Tito, c. 7.) Have I observed elsewhere, that this Jewish beauty was at this time above fifty years of age? The judicious Racine has most discreetly suppressed both her age and her country.

tion of the great Constantine. The ambassadors of the nations, more especially of the unbelieving nations, were solemnly admonished, that such strange alliances had been condemned by the founder of the church and city. The irrevocable law was inscribed on the altar of St. Sophia; and the impious prince, who should stain the majesty of the purple, was excluded from the civil and ecclesiastical communion of the Romans. If the ambassadors were instructed by any false brethren in the Byzantine history, they might produce three memorable examples of the violation of this imaginary law: the marriage of Leo, or rather of his father Constantine the Fourth, with the daughter of the king of the Chozars, the nuptials of the grand-daughter of Romanus with a Bulgarian prince, and the union of Bertha of France or Italy with young Romanus, the son of Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself. To these objections three answers were prepared, which solved the difficulty and established the law. I. The deed and the guilt of Constantine Copronymus were acknowledged. The Isaurian heretic, who sullied the baptismal font and declared war against the holy images, had indeed embraced a Barbarian wife. By this impious alliance he accomplished the measure of his crimes, and was devoted to the just censure of the church and of posterity. II. Romanus could not be alleged as a legitimate emperor; he was a plebeian usurper, ignorant of the laws, and regardless of the honour, of the monarchy. His son Christopher, the father of the bride, was the third in rank in the college of princes, at once the subject and the accomplice of a rebellious parent. The Bulgarians were sincere and devout Christians; and the safety of the empire, with the redemption of many thousand captives, depended on this preposterous alliance. Yet no consideration could dispense from the law of Constantine; the clergy, the senate, and the people disapproved the conduct of Romanus, and he was reproached, both in his life and death, as the author of the public disgrace. III. For the marriage of his own son with the daughter of Hugo, king of Italy, a more honourable defence is contrived by the wise Porphyrogenitus. Constantine, the great and holy, esteemed the fidelity and valour of the Franks;* and his prophetic spirit beheld the vision of

* Constantine was made to praise the *εὐσεβεία* and *περιπαιεία* of

their future greatness. They alone were excepted from the general prohibition: Hugo, king of France, was the lineal descendant of Charlemagne;* and his daughter Bertha inherited the prerogatives of her family and nation. The voice of truth and malice insensibly betrayed the fraud or error of the imperial court. The patrimonial estate of Hugo was reduced from the monarchy of France to the simple county of Arles; though it was not denied, that in the confusion of the times, he had usurped the sovereignty of Provence, and invaded the kingdom of Italy. His father was a private noble; and if Bertha derived her female descent from the Carlovingian line, every step was polluted with illegitimacy or vice. The grandmother of Hugo was the famous Valdrada, the concubine, rather than the wife, of the second Lothair; whose adultery, divorce, and second nuptials, had provoked against him the thunders of the Vatican. His mother, as she was styled, the great Bertha, was successively the wife of the count of Arles and of the marquis of Tuscany; France and Italy were scandalized by her gallantries; and, till the age of threescore, her lovers, of every degree, were the zealous servants of her ambition. The example of maternal incontinence was copied by the king of Italy; and the three favourite concubines of Hugo were decorated with the classic names of Venus, Juno, and Semele.† The daughter of Venus was granted to the solicitations of the Byzantine court; her name of Bertha was

the Franks, with whom he claimed a private and public alliance. The French writers (Isaac Casaubon in *Dedicat. Polybii*) are highly delighted with these compliments. [Other royal marriages of this kind might have been adduced, among which the most prominent are that of Arcadius to Eudocia, of the race of Baltha (ch. 29, vol. iii. p. 315), and that of Placidia to Adolphus (ch. 31, Ib. p. 454). Germanus, the husband of Mathasuinthia, was also a member of the imperial family. See ch. 43, vol. iv. p. 520.—ED.] * Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administrat. Imp.* c. 26) exhibits a pedigree and life of the illustrious king Hugo (*περιβλέπτου ῥήγος Οὐγγώνος*). A more correct idea may be formed from the Criticism of Pagi, the *Annals* of Muratori, and the *Abridgment* of St. Marc. A.D. 925—946.

† After the mention of the three goddesses, Luitprand very naturally adds, *et quoniam non rex solus iis abutebatur, earum nati ex incertis patribus originem ducunt* (*Hist.* l. 4, c. 6): for the marriage of the younger Bertha, see *Hist.* l. 5, c. 5; for the incontinence of the elder, *dulcis exercitio Hymenæi*, l. 2, c. 15; for the virtues and vices of Hugo, l. 3, c. 5. Yet it must not be forgotten that the bishop of

changed to that of Eudoxia; and she was wedded, or rather betrothed, to young Romanus, the future heir of the empire of the East. The consummation of this foreign alliance was suspended by the tender age of the two parties; and, at the end of five years, the union was dissolved by the death of the virgin spouse. The second wife of the emperor Romanus was a maiden of plebeian, but of Roman, birth; and their two daughters, Theophano and Anne, were given in marriage to the princes of the earth. The eldest was bestowed, as the pledge of peace, on the eldest son of the great Otho, who had solicited this alliance with arms and embassies. It might legally be questioned how far a Saxon was entitled to the privilege of the French nation; but every scruple was silenced by the fame and piety of a hero who had restored the empire of the West. After the death of her father-in-law and husband, Theophano governed Rome, Italy, and Germany, during the minority of her son, the third Otho; and the Latins have praised the virtues of an empress, who sacrificed to a superior duty the remembrance of her country.* In the nuptials of her sister Anne, every prejudice was lost, and every consideration of dignity was superseded, by the stronger argument of necessity and fear. A Pagan of the north, Wolodomir, great prince of Russia, aspired to a daughter of the Roman purple; and his claim was enforced by the threats of war, the promise of conversion, and the offer of a powerful succour against a domestic rebel. A victim of her religion and country, the Grecian princess was torn from the palace of her fathers, and condemned to a savage reign and a hopeless exile on the banks of the Borysthenes, or in the neighbourhood of the polar circle.† Yet the marriage of Anne was fortunate and fruitful: the daughter of her grandson Jeroslaus was recommended by her imperial de-

Cremona was a lover of scandal.

* *Licet illa Imperatrix Græca sibi et aliis fuisset satis utilis et optima, &c.* is the preamble of an inimical writer, apud Pagi, tom. iv. A.D. 989, No. 3. Her marriage and principal actions may be found in Muratori, Pagi, and St. Marc, under the proper years.

† Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 699. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 221. Elmacin, *Hist. Saracenicæ*, l. 3, c. 6. Nestor apud Levesque, tom. ii. p. 112. Pagi, *Critica*, A.D. 987, No. 6, a singular concourse! Wolodomir and Anne are ranked among the saints of the Russian church. Yet we know his vices, and are ignorant

scient: and the king of France, Henry I. sought a wife on the last borders of Europe and Christendom.*

In the Byzantine palace the emperor was the first slave of the ceremonies which he imposed, of the rigid forms which regulated each word and gesture, besieged him in the palace, and violated the leisure of his rural solitude. But the lives and fortunes of millions hung on his arbitrary will, and the firmest minds, superior to the allurements of pomp and luxury, may be seduced by the more active pleasure of commanding their equals. The legislative and executive power were centred in the person of the monarch, and the last remains of the authority of the senate were finally eradicated by Leo the philosopher.† A lethargy of servitude had benumbed the minds of the Greeks: in the wildest tumults of rebellion they never aspired to the idea of a free constitution; and the private character of the prince was the only source and measure of their public happiness. Superstition rivetted their chains; in the church of St. Sophia he was solemnly crowned by the patriarch; at the foot of the altar, they pledged their passive and unconditional obedience to his government and family. On his side he engaged to abstain as much as possible from the capital punishments of death and mutilation; his orthodox creed was subscribed with his own hand, and he promised to obey the decrees of the seven synods, and the canons of the holy church.‡ But the assurance of mercy

of her virtues. * *Henricus primus duxit uxorem Scythicam, Russam, filiam regis Jeroslai.* An embassy of bishops was sent into Russia, and the father gratanter filiam cum multis donis misit. This event happened in the year 1051. See the passages of the original chronicles in Bouquet's *Historians of France* (tom. xi. p. 29. 159. 161. 319. 384. 481). Voltaire might wonder at this alliance, but he should not have owned his ignorance of the country, religion, &c. of Jeroslai—a name so conspicuous in the Russian annals.

† A constitution of Leo the philosopher (lxxviii.) *ne senatus-consulta amplius fiant*, speaks the language of naked despotism, *ἐξ οὗ τὸ μόνωρχον κράτος τὴν τουτῶν ἀνῆπται διοίκησιν, καὶ ἀκαιρον καὶ μάταιον τὸ ἀχρηστον μετὰ τῶν χρεῖαν παρεχομένων συνάπτεισθαι.*

‡ Codinus (*de Officiis*, c. 17, p. 120, 121) gives an idea of this oath so strong to the church, *πιστὸς καὶ γνήσιος δοῦλος καὶ υἱὸς τῆς ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας*, so weak to the people, *καὶ ἀπέχεσθαι φόρων καὶ ἀκρωτηριασμῶν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τούτοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.* [From this oath it is evident that the power of the emperor over the church was only nominal. The ruling ecclesiastics of the day exercised their supremacy through him; and if he made, unmade, or punished

was loose and indefinite; he swore, not to his people, but to an invisible judge; and except in the inexpressible guilt of heresy, the ministers of heaven were always prepared to preach the indefeasible right, and to absolve the venial transgressions, of their sovereign. The Greek ecclesiastics were themselves the subjects of the civil magistrate; at the nod of a tyrant the bishops were created, or transferred, or deposed, or punished with an ignominious death; whatever might be their wealth or influence, they could never succeed, like the Latin clergy, in the establishment of an independent republic; and the patriarch of Constantinople condemned what he secretly envied, the temporal greatness of his Roman brother. Yet the exercise of boundless despotism is happily checked by the laws of nature and necessity. In proportion to his wisdom and virtue, the master of an empire is confined to the path of his sacred and laborious duty. In proportion to his vice and folly, he drops the sceptre too weighty for his hands; and the motions of the royal image are ruled by the imperceptible thread of some minister or favourite, who undertakes for his private interest to exercise the task of the public oppression. In some fatal moment, the most absolute monarch may dread the reason or the caprice of a nation of slaves; and experience has proved, that whatever is gained in the extent, is lost in the safety and solidity of regal power.

Whatever titles a despot may assume, whatever claims he may assert, it is on the sword that he must ultimately depend, to guard him against his foreign and domestic enemies. From the age of Charlemagne to that of the crusades, the world (for I overlook the remote monarchy of China) was occupied and disputed by the three great empires or nations of the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks. Their military strength may be ascertained by a comparison of their courage, their arts and riches, and their obedience to a supreme head, who might call into action all the energies of the State. The Greeks, far inferior to their rivals in the first, were superior to the Franks, and at least equal

bishops, it was in compliance with the secret insinuations or open directions of more influential rivals. The fallen state of the people under this regimen, is equally apparent in the hollow promise of a forbearance never observed towards them.—ED.]

to the Saracens, in the second and third of these warlike qualifications.

The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchase the service of the poorer nations, and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coasts and the annoyance of their enemies.* A commerce of mutual benefit exchanged the gold of Constantinople for the blood of the Sclavonians and Turks, the Bulgarians and Russians; their valour contributed to the victories of Nicephorus and Zimisces: and if a hostile people pressed too closely on the frontier, they were recalled to the defence of their country, and the desire of peace, by the well-managed attack of a more distant tribe.† The command of the Mediterranean from the mouth of the Tanais to the columns of Hercules, was always claimed, and often possessed, by the successors of Constantine. Their capital was filled with naval stores and dexterous artificers; the situation of Greece and Asia, the long coasts, deep gulfs, and numerous islands, accustomed their subjects to the exercise of navigation; and the trade of Venice and Amalfi supplied a nursery of seamen to the imperial fleet.‡ Since the time of the Peloponnesian and Punic wars, the sphere of action had not been enlarged; and the science of naval architecture appears to have declined. The art of constructing those stupendous machines which displayed three, or six, or ten, ranges of oars, rising above, or falling behind, each other, was unknown to the ship-builders of Constantinople, as well as to the mechanicians of modern days.§

* If we listen to the threats of Nicephorus to the ambassador of Otho, *Nec est in mari domino tuo classium numerus. Navigantium fortitudo mihi soli inest, qui cum classibus aggrediar, bello maritimas ejus civitates demoliar; et quæ fluminibus sunt vicina redigam in favillam.* (Luitprand in Legat. ad Nicephorum Phocam, in Muratori Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars. 1, p. 481.) He observes in another place, *qui cæteris præstant Venetici sunt et Amalphitani.*

† *Nec ipsa capiet eum* (the emperor Otho) *in quâ ortus est pauper et pellicea Saxonia: pecuniâ quâ pollemus omnes nationes super eum invitabimus: et quasi Keramicum confringemus.* (Luitprand in Legat. p. 487.) The two books, *de Administrando Imperio*, perpetually inculcate the same policy.

‡ The nineteenth chapter of the *Tactics* of Leo (Meurs. Opera, tom. vi. p. 825—848), which is given more correct from a manuscript of Gudius, by the laborious Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 372—379), relates to the *Naumachia* or naval war.

§ Even of fifteen or sixteen rows of oars in the navy of Demetrius Poliorcetes. These were for real use: the

The *Dromones*,* or light galleys of the Byzantine empire, were content with two tier of oars; each tier was composed of five-and-twenty benches; and two rowers were seated on each bench, who plied their oars on either side of the vessel. To these we must add the captain or centurion, who, in time of action, stood erect with his armour-bearer on the poop, two steersmen at the helm, and two officers at the prow, the one to manage the anchor, the other to point and play against the enemy the tube of liquid fire. The whole crew, as in the infancy of the art, performed the double service of mariners and soldiers; they were provided with defensive and offensive arms, with bows and arrows, which they used from the upper deck, with long pikes, which they pushed through the port-holes of the lower tier. Sometimes indeed the ships of war were of a larger and more solid con-

forty rows of Ptolemy Philadelphus were applied to a floating palace, whose tonnage, according to Dr. Arbuthnot (Tables of Ancient Coins, &c. p. 231—236), is compared as four and a half to one, with an English one hundred-gun ship.

* The *Dromones* of Leo, &c. are so clearly described with two tiers of oars, that I must censure the version of Meursius and Fabricius, who pervert the sense by a blind attachment to the classic appellation of *Triremes*. The Byzantine historians are sometimes guilty of the same inaccuracy. [This term (*Dromones*) was vaguely applied at different periods to vessels, dissimilar in construction and purpose. The first were long, narrow, and lightly rigged, adapted only to move with celerity. (Procopius de Bell. Vand. l. 1.) These were used for the rapid conveyance of messengers, travellers, and merchandize on inland waters (Ducange, 2. 1652), and their navigators were called *Dromonarii* (Cassiodorus, Var. 2. 31, and 4. 15). The name of *Dromones* was formed from the Greek *δρόμος*, *cursus*, and the Latin term for it was *cursoria*, as in the Code of Justinian (De Off. Præf. Præt. l. 4) and *Naves cursorie*, as by Sidonius Apollinaris (l. 1, epist. 5). They were afterwards enlarged and used as ships of war, in which service they superseded the former favourite Liburnians. The fleet of a thousand ships, which Theodoric fitted out for the defence of Italy (see ch. 39, vol. iv. p. 262), was composed of *dromones* (Cassiod. Var. 5. 16, 17). Built with such dispatch, that they were completed and manned, while yet scarcely supposed to be on the stocks, they can only have been slight in structure. Still, in the last of these epistles, the writer styles them *trireme vehiculum*. He had himself seen them (obtulisti oculis nostris), and may, therefore, be considered to have known what he described, unless the word *trieme* was used to designate a row-ship of any kind. Ducange, however, says that the *dromones* were afterwards large ships of war, and quotes from Radulfus de Coggeshall in 1191, “navis permaxima quam dromundam vocant.” The *dromont* of the French romancers seems to denote any description of ship.—ED.]

struction; and the labours of combat and navigation were more regularly divided between seventy soldiers and two hundred and thirty mariners. But for the most part they were of the light and manageable size; and as the cape of Malea in Peloponnesus was still clothed with its ancient terrors, an imperial fleet was transported five miles over-land across the isthmus of Corinth.* The principles of maritime tactics had not undergone any change since the time of Thucydides; a squadron of galleys still advanced in a crescent, charged to the front, and strove to impel their sharp beaks against the feeble sides of their antagonists. A machine for casting stones and darts was built of strong timbers in the midst of the deck; and the operation of boarding was effected by a crane that hoisted baskets of armed men. The language of signals, so clear and copious in the naval grammar of the moderns, was imperfectly expressed by the various positions and colours of a commanding flag. In the darkness of the night the same orders to chase, to attack, to halt, to retreat, to break, to form, were conveyed by the lights of the leading galley. By land, the fire-signals were repeated from one mountain to another; a chain of eight stations commanded a space of five hundred miles; and Constantinople in a few hours was apprised of the hostile motions of the Saracens of Tarsus.† Some estimate may be formed of the power of the Greek emperors, by the curious and minute detail of the armament which was prepared for the reduction of Crete. A fleet of one hundred and twelve galleys and seventy-five vessels of the Pamphylian style, was equipped in the capital, the islands of the Ægean sea, and the sea-ports of Asia, Macedonia, and Greece. It carried thirty-four thousand mariners, seven thousand three hundred

* Constantin. Porphyrogen. in Vit. Basil. c. 61, p. 185. He calmly praises the stratagem as a *βουλὴν συνετήν καὶ σοφὴν*; but the sailing round Peloponnesus is described by his terrified fancy as a circumnavigation of a thousand miles.

† The continuator of Theophanes (l. 4, p. 122, §23) names the successive stations, the castle of Lulum near Tarsus, Mount Argæus, Isamus, Ægilus, the hill of Mamas, Cyrisus, Mocilus, the hill of Auxentius, the sun-dial of the Pharos of the great palace. He affirms, that the news were transmitted *ἐν ἀκέραι*, in an indivisible moment of time. Miserable amplification, which, by saying too much, says nothing. How much more forcible and instructive would have been the definition of three, or six, or twelve hours? [The rapid conveyance of intelligence was an

and forty soldiers, seven hundred Russians, and five thousand and eighty-seven Mardaites, whose fathers had been transplanted from the mountains of Libanus. Their pay, most probably of a month, was computed at thirty-four centenaries of gold, about one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds sterling. Our fancy is bewildered by the endless recapitulation of arms and engines, of clothes and linen, of bread for the men and forage for the horses, and of stores and utensils of every description, inadequate to the conquest of a petty island, but amply sufficient for the establishment of a flourishing colony.*

The invention of the Greek fire did not, like that of gunpowder, produce a total revolution in the art of war. To these liquid combustibles the city and empire of Constantine owed their deliverance; and they were employed in sieges and sea-fights with terrible effect. But they were either less improved, or less susceptible of improvement; the engines of antiquity, the catapultæ, balistæ, and battering-rams, were still of most frequent and powerful use in the attack and defence of fortifications; nor was the decision of battles reduced to the quick and heavy *fire* of a line of infantry, whom it were fruitless to protect with armour against a similar fire of their enemies. Steel and iron were still the common instruments of destruction and safety; and the helmets, cuirasses, and shields of the tenth century, did not, either in form or substance, essentially differ from those which had covered the companions of Alexander or Achilles.† But, instead of accustoming the modern Greeks, like the legionaries of old, to the constant and easy use of this salutary weight, their armour was laid aside in light chariots, which followed the march, till on the approach of an enemy they resumed with haste and reluctance the unusual encumbrance. Their offensive weapons consisted of swords,

art which the Greeks learned from the Persians. See ch. 22, note, vol. ii. p. 468.—ED.]

* See the *Ceremoniale* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, l. 2, c. 44, p. 176—192.* A critical reader will discern some inconsistencies in different parts of this account; but they are not more obscure or more stubborn than the establishment and effectives, the present and fit for duty, the rank and file and the private, of a modern return, which retain in proper hands the knowledge of these profitable mysteries.

† See the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, *περί ὕπλων*, *περί ὀπλίσεως*, and *περί γυμνασίας*, in the *Tactics* of Leo, with the corresponding passages in those

battle-axes, and spears; but the Macedonian pike was shortened a fourth of its length, and reduced to the more convenient measure of twelve cubits or feet. The sharpness of the Scythian and Arabian arrows had been severely felt; and the emperors lament the decay of archery as a cause of the public misfortunes, and recommend, as an advice and a command, that the military youth, till the age of forty, should assiduously practise the exercise of the bow.* The *bands*, or regiments, were usually three hundred strong; and, as a medium between the extremes of four and sixteen, the foot soldiers of Leo and Constantine were formed eight deep; but the cavalry charged in four ranks, from the reasonable consideration, that the weight of the front could not be increased by any pressure of the hindmost horses. If the ranks of the infantry or cavalry were sometimes doubled, this cautious array betrayed a secret distrust of the courage of the troops, whose numbers might swell the appearance of the line, but of whom only a chosen band would dare to encounter the spears and swords of the Barbarians. The order of battle must have varied according to the ground, the object, and the adversary; but their ordinary disposition, in two lines and a reserve, presented a succession of hopes and resources most agreeable to the temper as well as the judgment of the Greeks.† In case of a repulse, the first line fell back into the intervals of the second; and the reserve, breaking into two divisions, wheeled round the flanks to improve the victory or cover the retreat. Whatever authority could enact was accomplished, at least in theory, by the camps and marches, the exercises and evolutions, the edicts and books, of the Byzantine monarch.‡ Whatever art could produce from the forge, the loom, or the laboratory, was abundantly supplied by the riches of the prince, and the industry of his numerous workmen.

of Constantine.

* They observe τῆς γὰρ τοξίας παντελῶς ἀμεληθείσης . . . ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πολλὰ οὐκ εἰσθε σφάλματα γίνεσθαι. Leo, *Tactic.* p. 581. Constantin. p. 1216. Yet such were not the maxims of the Greeks and Romans, who despised the loose and distant practice of archery.

† Compare the passages of the *Tactics*, p. 669 and 721, and the twelfth with the eighteenth chapter.

‡ In the preface to his *Tactics*, Leo very freely deploras the loss of discipline and the calamities of the times, and repeats without scruple (*Proem.* p. 537), the reproaches of ἀμικία, ἀταξία, ἀγυμνασία, δουλία, &c.; nor does it appear that the

But neither authority nor art could frame the most important machine, the soldier himself; and if the *ceremonies* of Constantine always suppose the safe and triumphal return of the emperor,* his *tactics* seldom soar above the means of escaping a defeat, and procrastinating the war.† Notwithstanding some transient success, the Greeks were sunk in their own esteem and that of their neighbours. A cold hand and a loquacious tongue was the vulgar description of the nation; the author of the *Tactics* was besieged in his capital; and the last of the Barbarians, who trembled at the name of the Saracens or Franks, could proudly exhibit the medals of gold and silver which they had extorted from the feeble sovereign of Constantinople. What spirit their government and character denied, might have been inspired in some degree by the influence of religion; but the religion of the Greeks could only teach them to suffer and to yield.‡ The emperor Nicephorus, who restored for a moment the discipline and glory of the Roman name, was desirous of bestowing the honours of martyrdom on the Christians, who lost their lives in a holy war against the infidels. But this political law was defeated by the opposition of the patriarch, the bishops, and the principal senators; and they strenuously urged the canons of St. Basil, that all who were polluted by the bloody trade of a soldier, should be separated, during three years, from the communion of the faithful.§

These scruples of the Greeks have been compared with the tears of the primitive Moslems when they were held back from battle; and this contrast of base superstition and

same censures were less deserved in the next generation by the disciples of Constantine.

* See in the *Ceremonial* (l. 2, c. 19, p. 353), the form of the emperor's trampling on the necks of the captive Saracens, while the singers chanted: "Thou hast made my enemies my footstool!" and the people shouted forty times the *Kyrie Eleison*.

† Leo observes (*Tactic.* p. 668) that a fair open battle against any nation whatsoever, is *ἡττοφαις* and *ἡττοφαις*; the words are strong, and the remark is true; yet if such had been the opinion of the old Romans, Leo had never reigned on the shores of the Thracian Bosphorus.

‡ [The history of ages is compressed here into a single sentence. But this prostration of spirit had not been taught by religion; it was the lesson of those by whose domination religion had been superseded.—ED.]

§ Zonaras (tom. ii. l. 16, p. 202, 203), and Cedrenus (*Compend.* p. 668), who relate the design of Nicephorus, most unfortunately apply the epithet of *γενναίως* to the opposition of the patriarch.

high-spirited enthusiasm, unfolds to a philosophic eye the history of the rival nations. The subjects of the last caliphs * had undoubtedly degenerated from the zeal and faith of the companions of the prophet. Yet their martial creed still represented the Deity as the author of war;† the vital though latent spark of fanaticism still glowed in the heart of their religion, and among the Saracens who dwelt on the Christian borders it was frequently rekindled to a lively and active flame. Their regular force was formed of the valiant slaves who had been educated to guard the person, and accompany the standard, of their lord; but the Mussulman people of Syria and Cilicia, of Africa and Spain, was awakened by the trumpet which proclaimed a holy war against the infidels. The rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cause of God; the poor were allured by the hopes of plunder; and the old, the infirm, and the women, assumed their share of meritorious service, by sending their substitutes, with arms and horses, into the field. These offensive and defensive arms were similar in strength and temper to those of the Romans, whom they far excelled in the management of the horse and the bow; the massy silver of their belts, their bridles, and their swords, displayed the magnificence of a prosperous nation, and, except some black archers of the south, the Arabs disdained the naked bravery of their ancestors. Instead of wagons, they were attended by a long train of camels, mules, and asses; the multitude of these animals, whom they bedecked with flags and streamers, appeared to swell the pomp and magnitude of their host; and the horses of the enemy were often disordered by the uncouth figure and odious smell of the camels of the East. Invincible by their patience of thirst and heat, their spirits were frozen by a winter's cold; and the consciousness of their propensity to sleep exacted the most rigorous precautions against the surprises of the

* The eighteenth chapter of the *Tactics* of the different nations, is the most historical and useful of the whole collection of Leo. The manners and arms of the Saracens (*Tactic.* p. 809—817, and a fragment from the Medicean MS. in the preface of the sixth volume of Meursius), the Roman emperor was too frequently called upon to study.

† Παντός δὲ καὶ κακοῦ ἔργου τὸν Θεὸν εἶναι αἰτίον ὑποτιθέμεναι, καὶ πολέμοις χαίρειν λέγουσι τὸν Θεὸν τὸν διασκέπζοντα τὰ ἔθνη τοῦς πολέμους θεύοντα. Leon. *Tactic.* v. 809.

night. Their order of battle was a long square of two deep and solid lines; the first of archers, the second of cavalry. In their engagements by sea and land, they sustained with patient firmness the fury of the attack, and seldom advanced to the charge till they could discern and oppress the lassitude of their foes. But if they were repulsed and broken, they knew not how to rally or renew the combat; and their dismay was heightened by the superstitious prejudice, that God had declared himself on the side of their enemies. The decline and fall of the caliphs countenanced this fearful opinion; nor were there wanting, among the Mahometans and Christians, some obscure prophecies * which prognosticated their alternate defeats. The unity of the Arabian empire was dissolved, but the independent fragments were equal to populous and powerful kingdoms; and in their naval and military armaments, an emir of Aleppo or Tunis might command no despicable fund of skill, and industry, and treasure. In their transactions of peace and war with the Saracens, the princes of Constantinople too often felt that these Barbarians had nothing barbarous in their discipline; and that, if they were destitute of original genius, they had been endowed with a quick spirit of curiosity and imitation. The model was indeed more perfect than the copy; their ships, and engines, and fortifications, were of a less skilful construction; and they confess, without shame, that the same God who has given a tongue to the Arabians, had more nicely fashioned the hands of the Chinese, and the heads of the Greeks.†

A name of some German tribes between the Rhine and the Weser had spread its victorious influence over the greatest part of Gaul, Germany, and Italy; and the common appellation of *Franks* ‡ was applied by the Greeks and Ara-

* Luitprand (p. 484, 485) relates and interprets the oracles of the Greeks and Saracens; in which, after the fashion of prophecy, the past is clear and historical; the future is dark, enigmatical, and erroneous. From this boundary of light and shade, an impartial critic may commonly determine the date of the composition.

† The sense of this distinction is expressed by Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 2. 62. 101), but I cannot recollect the passage in which it is conveyed by this lively apophthegm.

‡ Ex Francis, quo nomine tam Latinos quam Teutones comprehendit, ludum habuit. (Luitprand in Legat. ad Imp. Nicephorum, p. 483, 484.) This extension of the name may be confirmed from Constantine (de Adminis-

biens to the Christians of the Latin church, the nations of the West, who stretched beyond *their* knowledge to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. The vast body had been inspired and united by the soul of Charlemagne; but the division and degeneracy of his race soon annihilated the imperial power, which would have rivalled the Cæsars of Byzantium, and revenged the indignities of the Christian name. The enemies no longer feared, nor could the subjects any longer trust, the application of a public revenue, the labours of trade and manufactures in the military service, the mutual aid of provinces and armies, and the naval squadrons which were regularly stationed from the mouth of the Elbe to that of the Tiber. In the beginning of the tenth century, the family of Charlemagne had almost disappeared; his monarchy was broken into many hostile and independent States; the regal title was assumed by the most ambitious chiefs; their revolt was imitated in a long subordination of anarchy and discord, and the nobles of every province disobeyed their sovereign, oppressed their vassals, and exercised perpetual hostilities against their equals and neighbours. Their private wars, which overturned the fabric of government, fomented the martial spirit of the nation. In the system of modern Europe, the power of the sword is possessed, at least in fact, by five or six mighty potentates; their operations are conducted on a distant frontier, by an order of men who devote their lives to the study and practice of the military art; the rest of the country and community enjoys in the midst of war, the tranquillity of peace, and is only made sensible of the change by the aggravation or decrease of the public taxes. In the disorders of the tenth and eleventh centuries, every peasant was a soldier, and every village a fortification; each wood or valley was a scene of murder and rapine; and the lords of each castle were compelled to assume the character of princes and warriors. To their own courage and policy they boldly trusted for the safety of their family, the protection of their lands, and the revenge of their injuries; and, like the conquerors of a larger size, they were too apt to transgress the privilege

trando Imperio, l. 2, c. 27, 28), and Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 55, 56), who both lived before the crusades. The testimonies of Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 69), and Abulfeda (Prefat. ad Geograph.) are more recent.

of defensive war. The powers of the mind and body were hardened by the presence of danger and necessity of resolution; the same spirit refused to desert a friend and to forgive an enemy; and, instead of sleeping under the guardian care of the magistrate, they proudly disdained the authority of the laws. In the days of feudal anarchy, the instruments of agriculture and art were converted into the weapons of bloodshed; the peaceful occupations of civil and ecclesiastical society were abolished or corrupted; and the bishop who exchanged his mitre for a helmet, was more forcibly urged by the manners of the times than by the obligation of his tenure.*

The love of freedom and of arms was felt with conscious pride by the Franks themselves, and is observed by the Greeks with some degree of amazement and terror. "The Franks," says the emperor Constantine, "are bold and valiant to the verge of temerity; and their dauntless spirit is supported by the contempt of danger and death. In the field and in close onset, they press to the front, and rush headlong against the enemy, without deigning to compute either his numbers or their own. Their ranks are formed by the firm connections of consanguinity and friendship; and their martial deeds are prompted by the desire of saving or revenging their dearest companions. In their eyes, a retreat is a shameful flight; and flight is indelible infamy.†" A nation endowed with such high and intrepid spirit, must

* On this subject of ecclesiastical and beneficiary discipline, father Thomassin (tom. iii. l. 1, c. 40. 45—47), may be usefully consulted. A general law of Charlemagne exempted the bishops from personal service; but the opposite practice, which prevailed from the ninth to the fifteenth century, is countenanced by the example or silence of saints and doctors. . . . You justify your cowardice by the holy canons, says Ratherius of Verona; the canons likewise forbid you to whore, and yet——. [Who formed "the manners of the times?" None but those who professed to instruct yet neglected to educate. Studiously they withheld from the people all employment for the mind, and so concentrated activity in the animal resources. Ages of ignorance and turbulence were the consequence; amid which, bishops rose to be princes, maintained and led armies, and their chief aspired to be the master of the world.—ED.] † In the eighteenth chapter of his *Tactics*, the emperor Leo has fairly stated the military vices and virtues of the Franks (whom Meursius ridiculously translates by *Galli*) and the Lombards, or Langobards. See likewise the twenty-sixth Dissertation of Muratori, *de Antiquitatibus Italiæ mediæ ævi*.

have been secure of victory, if these advantages had not been counterbalanced by many weighty defects. The decay of their naval power left the Greeks and Saracens in possession of the sea, for every purpose of annoyance and supply. In the age which preceded the institution of knighthood, the Franks were rude and unskilful in the service of cavalry;* and in all perilous emergencies, their warriors were so conscious of their ignorance, that they chose to dismount from their horses and fight on foot. Unpractised in the use of pikes or of missile weapons, they were encumbered by the length of their swords, the weight of their armour, the magnitude of their shields, and, if I may repeat the satire of the meagre Greeks, by their unwieldy intemperance. Their independent spirit disdained the yoke of subordination, and abandoned the standard of their chief, if he attempted to keep the field beyond the term of their stipulation or service. On all sides they were open to the snares of an enemy, less brave, but more artful, than themselves. They might be bribed, for the Barbarians were venal; or surprised in the night, for they neglected the precautions of a close encampment or vigilant sentinels. The fatigues of a summer's campaign exhausted their strength and patience, and they sank in despair if their voracious appetite was disappointed of a plentiful supply of wine and of food. This general character of the Franks was marked with some national and local shades, which I should ascribe to accident, rather than to climate, but which were visible both to natives and to foreigners. An ambassador of the Great Otho declared, in the palace of Constantinople, that the Saxons could dispute with swords better than with pens; and that they preferred inevitable death to the dishonour of turning their backs to an enemy.† It was the glory of the nobles of France, that, in their humble dwellings, war and rapine were the only pleasure, the sole occupation, of their lives. They affected to deride the palaces, the banquets, the polished manners, of the Ita-

* *Domini tui milites* (says the proud Nicephorus), *equitandi ignari pedestris pugnae sunt inscii: scutorum magnitudo, loricarum gravitudo, ensium longitudo, galearumque pondus neutra parte pugnare eos sinit; ac subridens, impedit, inquit, et eos gastrimargia, . . . hoc est ventris ingluvies, &c.* Luitprand in Legat. p. 480, 481.

† In Saxonia certe scio *decentius ensibus pugnare quam cela-*

lians, who, in the estimate of the Greeks themselves, had degenerated from the liberty and valour of the ancient Lombards.*

By the well-known edict of Caracalla, his subjects, from Britain to Egypt, were entitled to the name and privileges of Romans, and their national sovereign might fix his occasional or permanent residence in any province of their common country. In the division of the East and West, an ideal unity was scrupulously preserved, and in their titles, laws, and statutes, the successors of Arcadius and Honorius announced themselves as the inseparable colleagues of the same office, as the joint sovereigns of the Roman world and city, which were bounded by the same limits. After the fall of the western monarchy, the majesty of the purple resided solely in the princes of Constantinople; and of these, Justinian was the first who, after a divorce of sixty years, regained the dominion of ancient Rome, and asserted, by the right of conquest, the august title of emperor of the Romans.† A motive of vanity or

mis, et prius mortem obire quam hostibus terga dare (Luitprand, p. 482).

* *Φραγγοὶ τοίνυν καὶ Λαγοβαρδοὶ λόγον ἐλευθερίας περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦνται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Λαγοβαρδοὶ τὸ πλεον τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρετῆς νῦν ἀπώλεσαν.* Leonis *Tactica*, c. 18, p. 805. The emperor Leo died A.D. 911: an historical poem, which ends in 916, and appears to have been composed in 940, by a native of Venetia, discriminates in these verses the manners of Italy and France:

— Quid inertia bello

*Pectora (Ubertus ait) duris prætenditis armis,
O Itali? Potius vobis sacra pocula cordi;
Sæpius et stomachum nitidis laxare saginis
Elatasque domos rutilo fulcire metallo.
Non eadem Gallos similis vel cura remordet;
Vicinas quibus est studium devincere terras,
Depressumque larem spoliis hinc inde coactis
Sustentare—*

(Anonym. *Carmen Panegyricum de Laudibus Berengarii Augusti*, l. 2, in *Muratorii Script. Rerum Italic. tom. ii. pars 1* p. 393.)

† Justinian, says the historian Agathias (l. 5, p. 157), *πρωτος Ῥωμαίων αυτοκράτωρ ὀνόματι τε καὶ πράγματι*. Yet the specific title of emperor of the Romans was not used at Constantinople, till it had been claimed by the French and German emperors of old Rome. [After the time of Caracalla, the title of *Imperator* was generally disused, at least on coins (Eckhel, *Num. Vet. viii.* 346). Yet subsequently to the division of the empire, and before the time of Justinian, it was sometimes revived by the sovereigns of the East, as by Theodosius II.,

discontent solicited one of his successors, Constans the Second, to abandon the Thracian Bosphorus, and to restore the pristine honours of the Tiber: "an extravagant project," exclaims the malicious Byzantine, as if he had despoiled a beautiful and blooming virgin, to enrich, or rather to expose, the deformity of a wrinkled and decrepit matron.* But the sword of the Lombards opposed his settlement in Italy; he entered Rome, not as a conqueror, but as a fugitive, and, after a visit of twelve days, he pillaged, and for ever deserted, the ancient capital of the world.† The final revolt and separation of Italy was accomplished about two centuries after the conquests of Justinian, and from his reign we may date the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue. That legislator had composed his Institutes, his Code, and his Pandects, in a language which he celebrates as the proper and public style of the Roman government, the consecrated idiom of the palace and senate of Constantinople, of the camps and tribunals of the East.‡ But this

Leo I., and Zeno (Ib. 182. 194. 200). From Arcadius to Justin I., even when the Goths were masters of Italy, the dominion and glory of Rome were asserted at Constantinople (Ib. 168. 169. 181. 205. 207). Gruter has also preserved an inscription, in which the Senate ascribes the defeat of Gildo, *Imperatoribus* Arcadio et Honorio (p. 287. 3.).—ED.]

* Constantine Manasses reprobates this design in his barbarous verse:

Τὴν πόλιν τὴν βασιλεὺς ἀποκοσμήσαι θέλων,
Καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν χαρίσασθαι τῇ τριπεμπίλῳ Ῥώμῃ,
Ὅς εἴ τις ἀβροστόλιστον ἀποκοσμήσει νόμφην,
Καὶ γραῦν τινὰ τρικέρωνον ὡς κόρην ὠραίσει·

and it is confirmed by Theophanes, Zonaras, Cedrenus, and the *Historia Miscella*: *voluit in urbem Roman Imperium transferre* (l. 19, p. 157, in tom. i. pars 1, of the *Scriptores Rer. Ital.* of Muratori).

† Paul. Diacon. l. 5, c. 11, p. 480. Anastasius in *Vitis Pontificum*, in Muratori's collection, tom. iii. pars 1, p. 141.

‡ Consult the preface of Ducange (ad *Gloss. Græc. medii Ævi*), and the *Novels* of Justinian (7. 66). The Greek language was *κοινὸς*, the Latin was *πάτριος* to himself, *κυριώτατος* to the *πολιτείας σχῆμα*, the system of government. [Joh. Lydus, who, through the disuse of Latin in the public offices of Constantinople, lost his clerkship (see vol. iv. p. 321), often deplores the change. (*De Magistrat.* lib. 2, c. 12, p. 177, 178; lib. 3, c. 42, p. 285, c. 68, p. 262.) It was begun, he says, in the reign of Theodosius II. by the prætorian prefect, the Egyptian Cyrus. (Cyrus Panopolites, consul *solus*, A.D. 441. Clinton, *F. R. i.* p. 626.) This prime minister, whose knowledge of Latin was very limited, introduced the Greek language into all official proceedings, and the change was completed by Justinian's favourite, the ignorant John of Cappadocia. This was in the time of Lydus, who after forty

foreign dialect was unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces; it was imperfectly understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws, and the ministers of the State. After a short conflict, nature and habit prevailed over the obsolete institutions of human power; for the general benefit of his subjects, Justinian promulgated his Novels in the two languages; the several parts of his voluminous jurisprudence were successively translated;* the original was forgotten, the version was studied, and the Greek, whose intrinsic merit deserved indeed the preference, obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding princes estranged them from the Roman idiom; Tiberius by the Arabs,† and Maurice by

years and four months of service was dismissed in 553. Twice in his book *de Magistratibus*, he maliciously tells of an oracle or prophecy, said by Fonteius to have been delivered to Romulus, that his descendants would lose their power if they ever ceased to speak the Latin tongue.—ED.]

* Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Λατινικῇ λέξει καὶ φράσει εἰσὶν τοὺς νόμους κρύπτουσα τοὺς συνείναι ταύτην μὴ δυναμένους ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεριχίε. (Matth. Blastares, Hist. Juris. apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xii. p. 369.) The Code and Pandects (the latter by Thaleläus), were translated in the time of Justinian (p. 358. 366). Theophilus, one of the original triumvirs, has left an elegant, though diffuse, paraphrase of the Institutes. On the other hand, Julian, antecessor of Constantinople (A.D. 570), 120 Novellas Græcas eleganti Latinitate donavit (Heineccius, Hist. J. R. p. 396), for the use of Italy and Africa. [For Theophilus and his Paraphrasis Institutionum, see our note, vol. v. p. 20. See also Dr. Irving, Introduction to the Civil Law, p. 57—60, who further says: "One Greek version of the Pandects has been ascribed to Thaleläus, who was an antecessor (or public professor of law) in the time of Justinian; but Pohl and Heimbach have shown that there are no sufficient grounds for believing that he undertook such a task. Another translation is mentioned by Matthæus Blastares, as having been executed by Stephanus, an advocate of Constantinople, who had been conjoined with Tribonian, in the commission for compiling the Pandects." But the fragments of Thaleläus and Stephanus, published by Ruhnken, Lugd. Bat. 1765, folio, are commentaries, not translations. Ib. p. 62, 68.—ED.]

† Abulpharagius assigns the seventh dynasty to the Franks or Romans, the eighth to the Greeks, the ninth to the Arabs. A tempore Augusti Cæsaris donec imperaret Tiberius Cæsar spatio circiter annorum 600, fuerunt Imperatores C. P., Patricii, et præcipua pars exercitûs, Romani: extra quod, consiliarii, scribæ et populus, omnes Græci fuerunt: deinde regnum etiam Græcanicum factum est (p. 96, vers. Pocock). The Christian and ecclesiastical studies of Abulpharagius gave him some advantage over the more ignorant *Moslems*.

the Italians,* are distinguished as the first of the Greek Cæsars, as the founders of a new dynasty and empire; the silent revolution was accomplished before the death of Heraclius; and the ruins of the Latin speech were darkly preserved in the terms of jurisprudence and the acclamations of the palace. After the restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne and the Othos, the names of Franks and Latins acquired an equal signification and extent; and these haughty Barbarians asserted, with some justice, their superior claim to the language and dominion of Rome. They insulted the aliens of the East, who had renounced the dress and idiom of Romans; and their reasonable practice will justify the frequent appellation of Greeks.† But this contemptuous appellation was indignantly rejected by the prince and people to whom it is applied. Whatsoever changes had been introduced by the lapse of ages, they alleged a lineal and unbroken succession from Augustus and Constantine; and, in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of ROMANS adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople.‡

While the government of the East was transacted in Latin, the Greek was the language of literature and philosophy; nor could the masters of this rich and perfect idiom be tempted to envy the borrowed learning and imitative taste of their Roman disciples. After the fall of Paganism, the loss of Syria and Egypt, and the extinction of the schools of Alex-

* *Primus ex Græcorum genere in Imperio confirmatus est*; or according to another MS. of Paulus Diaconus (l. 3, c. 15, p. 443), in *Græcorum Imperio*.

† *Quia linguam, mores, vestesque mutastis, putavit Sanctissimus Papa* (an audacious irony), *ita vos (vobis) displicere Romanorum nomen*. His nuncios rogabant Nicephorum Imperatorem Græcorum, ut cum Othone Imperatore Romanorum amicitiam faceret. (Luitprand in *Legatione*, p. 486.) [The introduction of the two English words "his nuncios" (i. e. ambassadors) into this quotation has misled many previous readers and editors. Dean Milman, not being able to find them in Luitprand, adduced this so-called "imperfect quotation," in his list of "errors detected in the *Decline and Fall*."—ED.] ‡ By Laonicus Chalcocondyles, who survived the last siege of Constantinople, the account is thus stated (l. 1, p. 3): Constantine transplanted his Latins of Italy to a Greek city of Thrace: they adopted the language and manners of the natives, who were confounded with them under the name of Romans. The kings of Constantinople, says the historian, ἐπὶ τὸ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς σεμνύνεσθαι, Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς τε καὶ αὐτοκράτορες ἀποκαλεῖν, Ἑλλήνων δὲ βασιλεῖς οὐκ ἔτι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιοῦν.

andria and Athens, the studies of the Greeks insensibly retired to some regular monasteries, and, above all, to the royal college of Constantinople, which was burnt in the reign of Leo the Isaurian.* In the pompous style of the age, the president of that foundation was named the sun of science; his twelve associates, the professors in the different arts and faculties, were the twelve signs of the Zodiac; a library of thirty-six thousand five hundred volumes was open to their inquiries; and they could show an ancient manuscript of Homer, on a roll of parchment one hundred and twenty feet in length, the intestines, as it was fabled, of a prodigious serpent.† But the seventh and eighth centuries were a period of discord and darkness; the library was burnt, the college was abolished, the Iconoclasts are represented as the foes of antiquity; and a savage ignorance and contempt of letters has disgraced the princes of the Heraclian and Isaurian dynasties.‡

In the ninth century, we trace the first dawnings of the restoration of science.§ After the fanaticism of the Arabs had subsided, the caliphs aspired to conquer the arts, rather than the provinces, of the empire; their liberal curiosity rekindled the emulation of the Greeks, brushed away the dust from their ancient libraries, and taught them to know and reward the philosophers, whose labours had been hitherto repaid by the pleasure of study and the pursuit

* See Ducange (C. P. Christians, l. 2, p. 150, 151), who collects the testimonies, not of Theophanes, but at least of Zonaras (tom. ii. l. 15, p. 104), Cedrenus (p. 454), Michael Glycas (p. 281), Constantine Manasses (p. 87). After refuting the absurd charge against the emperor, Spanheim (Hist. Imaginum, p. 99—111), like a true advocate, proceeds to doubt or deny the reality of the fire, and almost of the library.

† According to Malchus (apud Zonar. l. 14, p. 53), this Homer was burnt in the time of Basiliscus. The MS. might be renewed—but on a serpent skin? Most strange and incredible! [In the confusion of languages and ignorance of the age, may not some mistake between the Greek *ophis* and the Latin *ovis* have given rise to the fable?—Ed.]

‡ The *ἀλόγια* of Zonaras, the *ἀγρία καὶ ἀμαθία* of Cedrenus are strong words, perhaps not ill suited to these reigns.

§ See Zonaras (l. 16, p. 160, 161) and Cedrenus (p. 549, 550). Like friar Bacon, the philosopher Leo has been transformed by ignorance into a conjurer; yet not so undeservedly, if he be the author of the oracles more commonly ascribed to the emperor of the same name. The Physics of Leo in MS. are in the library of Vienna. (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 386; tom. xii. p. 781.) Quiescant!

of truth. The Cæsar Bardas, the uncle of Michael the Third, was the generous protector of letters, a title which alone has preserved his memory and excused his ambition. A part of the treasures of his nephew was sometimes diverted from the indulgence of vice and folly; a school was opened in the palace of Magnaura; and the presence of Bardas excited the emulation of the masters and students. At their head was the philosopher Leo, archbishop of Thessalonica; his profound skill in astronomy and the mathematics was admired by the strangers of the East; and this occult science was magnified by vulgar credulity, which modestly supposes that all knowledge superior to its own must be the effect of inspiration or magic. At the pressing entreaty of the Cæsar, his friend, the celebrated Photius,* renounced the freedom of a secular and studious life, ascended the patriarchal throne, and was alternately excommunicated and absolved by the synods of the East and West. By the confession even of priestly hatred, no art or science, except poetry, was foreign to this universal scholar, who was deep in thought, indefatigable in reading, and eloquent in diction. Whilst he exercised the office of Protospathaire, or captain of the guards, Photius was sent ambassador to the caliph of Bagdad.† The tedious hours of exile, perhaps of confinement, were beguiled by the hasty composition of his *library*, a living monument of erudition and criticism. Two hundred and fourscore writers, historians, orators, philosophers, theologians, are reviewed without any regular method; he abridges their narrative or doctrine, appreciates their style and character, and judges even the fathers of the church with a discreet freedom which often breaks through the superstition of the times. The emperor Basil, who lamented the defects of his own education, intrusted to the care of Photius his son and successor Leo the philosopher; and the reign of that prince and of

* The ecclesiastical and literary character of Photius is copiously discussed by Hanckius (de Scriptoribus Byzant. p. 269—396) and Fabricius.

† Εἰς Ἀσσυρίους can only mean Bagdad, the seat of the caliph; and the relation of his embassy might have been curious and instructive. But how did he procure his books? A library so numerous could neither be found at Bagdad, nor transported with his baggage, nor preserved in his memory. Yet the last, however incredible, seems to be affirmed by Photius himself, ὅσα αὐτῷ ἢ μνήμη δίδωκε. Camusat (Hist. Critique des Journeaux, p. 87—94); gives a good account of the Myriobiblon.

his son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, forms one of the most prosperous eras of the Byzantine literature. By their munificence the treasures of antiquity were deposited in the imperial library; by their pens, or those of their associates, they were imparted in such extracts and abridgments as might amuse the curiosity, without oppressing the indolence, of the public. Besides the *Basilics*, or code of laws, the arts of husbandry and war, of feeding or destroying the human species, were propagated with equal diligence; and the history of Greece and Rome was digested into fifty-three heads or titles, of which two only (of Embassies, and of Virtues and Vices) have escaped the injuries of time. In every station, the reader might contemplate the image of the past world, apply the lesson or warning of each page, and learn to admire, perhaps to imitate, the examples of a brighter period. I shall not expatiate on the works of the Byzantine Greeks, who, by the assiduous study of the ancients, have deserved in some measure the remembrance and gratitude of the moderns. The scholars of the present age may still enjoy the benefit of the philosophical commonplace book of Stobæus, the grammatical and historical Lexicon of Suidas, the Chiliads of Tzetzes, which comprise six hundred narratives in twelve thousand verses, and the Commentaries on Homer of Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, who, from his horn of plenty, has poured the names and authorities of four hundred writers. From these originals, and from the numerous tribe of scholiasts and critics,* some estimate may be formed of the literary wealth of the twelfth century: Constantinople was enlightened by the genius of Homer and Demosthenes, of Aristotle and Plato; and in the enjoyment or neglect of our present riches, we must envy the generation that could still peruse the history of Theopompus, the orations of Hyperides,† the

* Of these modern Greeks, see the respective articles in the *Bibliotheca Græca* of Fabricius; a laborious work, yet susceptible of a better method and many improvements: of Eustathius (tom. i. p. 289—292, 306—329), of the Pselli (a diatribe of Leo Allatius, ad calcem, tom. v.), of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (tom. vi. p. 486—509), of John Stobæus (tom. viii. 665—728), of Suidas (tom. ix. p. 620—827), John Tzetzes (tom. xii. p. 245—273). Mr. Harris, in his *Philological Arrangements*, opus senile, has given a sketch of this Byzantine learning (p. 287—300). † [Reiske thought that we still possess an

oration of Hyperides, in that against Aristogiton, which has been generally ascribed to Demosthenes. For the discussion on this subject see

comedies of Menander,* and the odes of Alcæus and Sappho. The frequent labour of illustration attests not only the existence, but the popularity of the Grecian classics; the general knowledge of the age may be deduced from the example of two learned females, the empress Eudocia and the princess Anna Comnena, who cultivated in the purple, the arts of rhetoric and philosophy.† The vulgar dialect of the city was gross and barbarous; a more correct and elaborate style distinguished the discourse, or at least the compositions, of the church and palace, which sometimes affected to copy the purity of the Attic models.

In our modern education, the painful though necessary attainment of two languages, which are no longer living, may consume the time and damp the ardour of the youthful student. The poets and orators were long imprisoned in the barbarous dialects of our western ancestors, devoid of harmony or grace; and their genius, without precept or example, was abandoned to the rude and native powers of their judgment and fancy. But the Greeks of Constantinople, after purging away the impurities of their vulgar speech, acquired the free use of their ancient language, the most happy composition of human art, and a familiar knowledge of the sublime masters who had pleased or instructed the first of nations. But these advantages only tend to aggravate the reproach and shame of a degenerate people. They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers,

Clinton (F. H. ii. 355, 356. 391), whose conclusion is, that the oration which has been preserved is the spurious production of some later and inferior rhetorician.—ED.]

* From obscure and hearsay evidence, Gerard Vossius (de Poetis Græcis, c. 6) and Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. xix. p. 285), mention a commentary of Michael Psellus on twenty-four plays of Menander, still extant in MS. at Constantinople. Yet such classic studies seem incompatible with the gravity or dulness of a schoolman who pored over the Categories (De Psellis, p. 42); and Michael has probably been confounded with Homerus Sellius, who wrote arguments to the comedies of Menander. In the tenth century Suidas quotes fifty plays, but he often transcribes the old scholiast of Aristophanes.

† Anna Comnena may boast of her Greek style (τὸ Ἑλληνίζειν ἐς ἄκρον ἰσπουδακνία), and Zonaras, her contemporary, but not her flatterer, may add with truth, γλῶτταν εἶχεν ἀκριβῶς Ἀττικίζουσαν. The princess was conversant with the artful dialogues of Plato; and had studied the τετρακτὺς, or *quadrivium* of astrology, geometry, arithmetic, and music. (See her preface to the Alexiad, with Ducange's notes.)

without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony; they read, they praised, they compiled; but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature, has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation. In prose the least offensive of the Byzantine writers are absolved from censure by their naked and un-presuming simplicity; but the orators, most eloquent* in their own conceit, are the farthest removed from the models whom they affect to emulate. In every page our taste and reason are wounded by the choice of gigantic and obsolete words, a stiff and intricate phraseology, the discord of images, the childish play of false or unseasonable ornament, and the painful attempt to elevate themselves, to astonish the reader, and to involve a trivial meaning in the smoke of obscurity and exaggeration. Their prose is soaring to the vicious affectation of poetry; their poetry is sinking below the flatness and insipidity of prose. The tragic, epic, and lyric muses, were silent and inglorious; the bards of Constantinople seldom rose above a riddle or epigram, a panegyric or tale; they forgot even the rules of prosody; and with the melody of Homer yet sounding in their ears, they confound all measure of feet and syllables in the impotent strains which have received the name of *political* or city verses.† The minds of the Greeks were bound in the fetters of a base and imperious superstition, which extends her dominion round the circle of profane science. Their understandings were bewildered in metaphysical controversy; in the belief of visions and miracles, they had lost

* To censure the Byzantine taste, Ducange (Prefat. Glosæ Græc. p. 17) strings the authorities of Aulus Gellius, Jerome, Petronius, George Hamartolus, Longinus; who give at once the precept and the example.

† The *versus politici*, those common prostitutes, as, from their easiness, they are styled by Leo Allatius, usually consist of fifteen syllables. They are used by Constantine

all principles of moral evidence, and their taste was vitiated by the homilies of the monks, an absurd medley of declamation and Scripture. Even these contemptible studies were no longer dignified by the abuse of superior talents; the leaders of the Greek church were humbly content to admire and copy the oracles of antiquity, nor did the schools or pulpit produce any rivals of the fame of Athanasius and Chrysostom.*

In all the pursuits of active and speculative life, the emulation of states and individuals is the most powerful spring of the efforts and improvements of mankind. The cities of ancient Greece were cast in the happy mixture of union and independence, which is repeated on a larger scale, but in a looser form, by the nations of modern Europe: the union of language, religion, and manners, which renders them the spectators and judges of each other's merit;† the independence of government and interest, which asserts their separate freedom, and excites them to strive for pre-eminence in the career of glory. The situation of the Romans was less favourable; yet in the early ages of the republic, which fixed the national character, a similar emulation was kindled among the states of Latium and Italy; and, in the arts and sciences, they aspired to equal or surpass their Grecian masters. The empire of the Cæsars undoubtedly checked the activity and progress of the human mind; its magnitude might indeed allow some scope for domestic competition; but when it was gradually reduced, at first to the East, and at last to Greece and Constantinople, the Byzantine subjects were degraded to an abject and languid temper, the natural effect of their solitary and insulated state. From the North they were oppressed by nameless tribes of barbarians, to whom they scarcely imparted the appellation of men. The language and religion of the more polished Arabs were an insurmountable bar to all social intercourse.‡ The con-

Manasses, John Tzetzes, &c. (Ducange, *Gloss. Latin.* tom. iii. p. 1, p. 345, 346, edit. Basil. 1762.

* As St. Bernard of the Latin, so St. John Damascenus in the eighth century is revered as the last father of the Greek church.

† Hume's *Essays*, vol. i. p. 125.

‡ [This "bar to social intercourse" cannot have been so insurmountable. Without an extensive communion between the two races, the Arabians could not have been led to study the sages of Greece, and work out their own improvement, as we have seen in ch. 52, p. 146

querors of Europe were their brethren in the Christian faith; but the speech of the Franks or Latins was unknown, their manners were rude, and they were rarely connected, in peace or war, with the successors of Heraclius. Alone in the universe, the self-satisfied pride of the Greeks was not disturbed by the comparison of foreign merit; and it is no wonder if they fainted in the race, since they had neither competitors to urge their speed, nor judges to crown their victory. The nations of Europe and Asia were mingled by the expeditions to the Holy Land; and it is under the Comnenian dynasty that a faint emulation of knowledge and military virtue was rekindled in the Byzantine empire.

CHAPTER LIV.—ORIGIN AND DOCTRINE OF THE PAULICIANS.—THEIR PERSECUTION BY THE GREEK EMPERORS.—REVOLT IN ARMENIA, ETC.—TRANSPLANTATION INTO THRACE.—PROPAGATION IN THE WEST.—THE SEEDS, CHARACTER, AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE REFORMATION.

IN the profession of Christianity, the variety of national characters may be clearly distinguished. The natives of Syria and Egypt abandoned their lives to lazy and contemplative devotion; Rome again aspired to the dominion of the world; and the wit of the lively and loquacious Greeks was consumed in the disputes of metaphysical theology. The incomprehensible mysteries of the Trinity and incarnation, instead of commanding their silent submission, were agitated in vehement and subtle controversies, which enlarged their faith at the expense perhaps of their charity and reason. From the council of Nice to the end of the seventh century, the peace and unity of the church was invaded by these spiritual wars; and so deeply did they affect the decline and fall of the empire, that the historian has too often been compelled to attend the synods, to explore the creeds, and to enumerate the sects, of this busy period of ecclesiastical annals. From the beginning

nor could their literary success have “rekindled the emulation of the Greeks,” as just related in a preceding page. The example of Abulpharagius, though at a later period, illustrates the habits of the two races. See note, ch. 47, vol. v. p. 266.—ED.]

of the eighth century, to the last ages of the Byzantine empire, the sound of controversy was seldom heard; curiosity was exhausted, zeal was fatigued, and, in the decrees of six councils, the articles of the Catholic faith had been irrevocably defined. The spirit of dispute, however vain and pernicious, requires some energy and exercise of the mental faculties; and the prostrate Greeks were content to fast, to pray, and to believe, in blind obedience to the patriarch and his clergy. During a long dream of superstition, the Virgin and the saints, their visions and miracles, their relics and images, were preached by the monks and worshipped by the people; and the appellation of people might be extended without injustice to the first ranks of civil society. At an unseasonable moment, the Isaurian emperors attempted somewhat rudely to awaken their subjects; under their influence, reason might obtain some proselytes, a far greater number was swayed by interest or fear; but the Eastern world embraced or deplored their visible deities, and the restoration of images was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy. In this passive and unanimous state the ecclesiastical rulers were relieved from the toil, or deprived of the pleasure, of persecution. The Pagans had disappeared; the Jews were silent and obscure; the disputes with the Latins were rare and remote hostilities against a national enemy; and the sects of Egypt and Syria enjoyed a free toleration, under the shadow of the Arabian caliphs. About the middle of the seventh century, a branch of Manichæans was selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny: their patience was at length exasperated to despair and rebellion; and their exile has scattered over the West the seeds of reformation. These important events will justify some inquiry into the doctrine and story of the PAULICIANS;* and, as they cannot plead for themselves, our

* The errors and virtues of the Paulicians are weighed, with his usual judgment and candour, by the learned Mosheim. (*Hist. Ecclesiast. seculum 9*, p. 311, &c.) He draws his original intelligence from Photius (*contra Manichæos*, l. 1) and Peter Siculus (*Hist. Manichæorum*). The first of these accounts has not fallen into my hands; the second, which Mosheim prefers, I have read in a Latin version inserted in the *Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum* (tom. xvi. p. 754—764), from the edition of the Jesuit Raderus (Ingolstadii, 1604, in 4to.).

candid criticism will magnify the *good*, and abate or suspect the *evil*, that is reported by their adversaries.

The Gnostics, who had distracted the infancy, were oppressed by the greatness and authority, of the church. Instead of emulating or surpassing the wealth, learning, and numbers of the Catholics, their obscure remnant was driven from the capitals of the East and West, and confined to the villages and mountains along the borders of the Euphrates. Some vestige of the Marcionites may be detected in the fifth century;* but the numerous sects were finally lost in the odious name of the Manichæans; and these heretics, who presumed to reconcile the doctrines of Zoroaster and Christ, were pursued by the two religions with equal and unrelenting hatred. Under the grandson of Heraclius, in the neighbourhood of Samosata, more famous for the birth of Lucian than for the title of a Syrian kingdom, a reformer arose, esteemed by the *Paulicians* as the chosen messenger of truth. In his humble dwelling of Mananalis, Constantine entertained a deacon, who returned from Syrian captivity, and received the inestimable gift of the New Testament, which was already concealed from the vulgar by the prudence of the Greek, and perhaps of the Gnostic, clergy.† These books became the measure of his studies and the rule of his faith; and the Catholics, who dispute his interpretation, acknowledged that his text was genuine and sincere. But he attached himself with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of St. Paul. The name of the Paulicians is derived by their enemies from some unknown and domestic teacher; but I am confident that they gloried in their affinity to the apostle of the Gentiles.

* In the time of Theodoret, the diocese of Cyrrhus, in Syria, contained eight hundred villages. Of these, two were inhabited by Arians and Eunomians, and eight by *Marcionites*, whom the laborious bishop reconciled to the Catholic church. (Dupin. *Bibliot. Ecclésiastique*, tom. iv. p. 81, 82.) [In former notes, more particularly to ch. 15 and 21, it was shown, that the innumerable forms of Gnosticism were the desultory efforts of individuals, each to adapt Christianity to his peculiar philosophical notions, before they had an authorized standard of faith. When this was given to them, such theories fell into disrepute, and sank into a deeper obscurity, in proportion as the growing stateliness of the hierarchy discountenanced and discarded philosophy.—ED.]

† Nobis profanis ista (*sacra Evangelia*) legere non licet sed sacerdotibus duntaxat, was the first scruple of a Catholic when he was advised to read the Bible. (Petr. Sicul. p. 761.)

His disciples, Titus, Timothy, Sylvanus, Tychicus, were represented by Constantine and his fellow-labourers; the names of the apostolic churches were applied to the congregations which they assembled in Armenia and Cappadocia; and this innocent allegory revived the example and memory of the first ages. In the Gospel, and the Epistles of St. Paul, his faithful follower investigated the creed of primitive Christianity; and, whatever might be the success, a Protestant reader will applaud the spirit, of the inquiry. But if the Scriptures of the Paulicians were pure, they were not perfect. Their founders rejected the two Epistles of St. Peter,* the apostle of the circumcision, whose dispute with their favourite for the observance of the law could not easily be forgiven.† They agreed with their Gnostic brethren in the universal contempt for the Old Testament, the books of Moses and the prophets, which have been consecrated by the decrees of the Catholic church. With equal boldness, and doubtless with more reason, Constantine, the new Sylvanus, disclaimed the visions, which, in so many bulky and splendid volumes, had been published by the Oriental sects;‡ the fabulous productions of the Hebrew patriarchs and the sages of the East; the spurious gospels, epistles, and acts, which, in the first age, had overwhelmed the orthodox code; the theology of Manes, and the authors of the kindred heresies; and the thirty generations or æons, which had been created by the fruitful fancy of

* In rejecting the *Second* Epistle of St. Peter, the Paulicians are justified by some of the most respectable of the ancients and moderns. (See Wetstein ad loc., Simon, *Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament*, c. 17.) They likewise overlooked the Apocalypse (Petr. Sicul. p. 756); but as such neglect is not imputed as a crime, the Greeks of the ninth century must have been careless of the credit and honour of the Revelations.

† This contention, which has not escaped the malice of Porphyry, supposes some error and passion in one or both of the apostles. By Chrysostom, Jerome, and Erasmus, it is represented as a sham quarrel, a pious fraud, for the benefit of the Gentiles and the correction of the Jews. (Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 1—20.)

‡ Those who are curious of this heterodox library, may consult the researches of Beausobre. (*Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, tom. i. p. 305—437.) Even in Africa, St. Austin could describe the Manichæan books, tam multi, tam grandes, tam pretiosi codices (contra Faust. 13, 14); but he adds, without pity, Incendite omnes illas membranas; and his advice has been rigorously followed.

Valentine. The Paulicians sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichæan sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple votaries of St. Paul and of Christ.

Of the ecclesiastical chain, many links had been broken by the Paulician reformers; and their liberty was enlarged, as they reduced the number of masters, at whose voice profane reason must bow to mystery and miracle. The early separation of the Gnostics had preceded the establishment of the Catholic worship; and against the gradual innovations of discipline and doctrine, they were as strongly guarded by habit and aversion, as by the silence of St. Paul and the Evangelists. The objects which had been transformed by the magic of superstition, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in their genuine and naked colours. An image made without hands was the common workmanship of a mortal artist, to whose skill alone the wood and canvas must be indebted for their merit or value. The miraculous relics were a heap of bones and ashes, destitute of life or virtue, or of any relation, perhaps, with the person to whom they were ascribed. The true and vivifying cross was a piece of sound or rotten timber; the body and blood of Christ, a loaf of bread and a cup of wine, the gifts of nature and the symbols of grace. The mother of God was degraded from her celestial honours and immaculate virginity; and the saints and angels were no longer solicited to exercise the laborious office of mediation in heaven, and ministry upon earth. In the practice, or at least in the theory, of the sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the gospel were, in their judgment, the baptism and communion of the faithful. They indulged a convenient latitude for the interpretation of Scripture; and as often as they were pressed by the literal sense, they could escape to the intricate mazes of figure and allegory. Their utmost diligence must have been employed to dissolve the connection between the Old and the New Testament; since they adored the latter as the oracles of God, and abhorred the former, as the fabulous and absurd invention of men or dæmons. We cannot be surprised, that they should have found in the gospel, the orthodox mystery of the Trinity; but instead of confessing the human nature and substantial

sufferings of Christ, they amused their fancy with a celestial body that passed through the Virgin like water through a pipe; with a phantastic crucifixion, that eluded the vain and impotent malice of the Jews. A creed thus simple and spiritual was not adapted to the genius of the times;* and the rational Christian, who might have been contented with the light yoke and easy burden of Jesus and his apostles, was justly offended, that the Paulicians should dare to violate the unity of God, the first article of natural and revealed religion. Their belief and their trust was in the Father of Christ, of the human soul, and of the invisible world. But they likewise held the eternity of matter; a stubborn and rebellious substance, the origin of a second principle, of an active being, who has created this visible world, and exercises his temporal reign till the final consummation of death and sin.† The appearances of moral and physical evil had established the two principles in the ancient philosophy and religion of the East; from whence this doctrine was transfused to the various swarms of the Gnostics. A thousand shades may be devised in the nature and character of *Ahriman*, from a rival god to a subordinate dæmon, from passion and frailty to pure and perfect malevolence; but, in spite of our efforts, the goodness and the power of Ormusd are placed at the opposite extremities of the line; and every step that approaches the one must recede in equal proportion from the other.‡

The apostolic labours of Constantine Sylvanus soon multiplied the number of his disciples, the secret recompense of spiritual ambition. The remnant of the Gnostic sects, and especially the Manichæans, of Armenia, were united under his standard; many Catholics were converted or seduced by his arguments; and he preached with success in the regions of Pontus§ and Cappadocia, which had long since imbibed

* The six capital errors of the Paulicians are defined by Peter Siculus (p. 756), with much prejudice and passion.

† *Primum illorum axioma est, duo rerum esse principia; Deum malum et Deum bonum, aliumque hujus mundi conditorem et principem, et alium futuri sævi.* (Petr. Sicul. p. 756.)

‡ Two learned critics, Beausobre (*Hist. Critique du Manichéisme*, l. i. 4—6), and Mosheim (*Institut. Hist. Eccles. and de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*, sec. 1—3), have laboured to explore and discriminate the various systems of the Gnostics on the subject of the two principles.

§ The countries between the Euphrates

the religion of Zoroaster. The Paulician teachers were distinguished only by their scriptural names, by the modest title of Fellow-pilgrims, by the austerity of their lives, their zeal or knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary gifts of the holy spirit. But they were incapable of desiring, or at least of obtaining, the wealth and honours of the Catholic prelacy. Such antichristian pride they bitterly censured; and even the rank of elders or presbyters was condemned as an institution of the Jewish synagogue. The new sect was loosely spread over the provinces of Asia Minor to the westward of the Euphrates; six of their principal congregations represented the churches to which St. Paul had addressed his epistles; and their founder chose his residence in the neighbourhood of Colonia,* in the same district of Pontus which had been celebrated by the altars of Bellona† and the miracles of Gregory.‡ After a mission

and the Halys were possessed above three hundred and fifty years by the Medes (Herodot. l. 1, c. 103) and Persians; and the kings of Pontus were of the royal race of the Achæmenides. (Sallust. Fragment. l. 3, with the French supplement and notes of the President De Brosses.) [For the kings of Pontus, see Clinton (F. H. iii. p. 421—428); Sallust is contradicted by Polybius (v. 43); and after him by Diodorus Siculus (xix. 40); Appian (Mithr. c. 9); Florus (iii. 5); and Jerome (De Vir. Illust. p. 300), who all trace the descent of this dynasty from one of the seven Persian chiefs, who assassinated the false Smerdis (521 B.C.), and placed Darius Hystaspes on the throne. The Achæmenides had their origin during the dark fifteen centuries that preceded the time of Cyrus (L'Art de vérifier les Dates, p. 214); they were the royal family of Persia. (Herodot. vii. c. 11.) Had there been one of them among the seven conspirators, it is to be presumed that he would have been chosen king. Polybius adds, that the progenitor of the kings of Pontus received from Darius the government of the district bordering on the Euxine, where they afterwards founded an independent kingdom.—ED.]

* Most probably founded by Pompey after the conquest of Pontus. This Colonia, on the Lycus above Neo-Cæsarea, is named by the Turks Couleihisar, or Chonac, a populous town in a strong country. (D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 34. Tournesfort, Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre 21, p. 293.)

† The temple of Bellona at Comana, in Pontus, was a powerful and wealthy foundation, and the high-priest was respected as the second person in the kingdom. As the sacerdotal office had been occupied by his mother's family. Strabo (l. 12, p. 809. 835—837) dwells with peculiar complacency on the temple, the worship, and festival which was twice celebrated every year. But the Bellona of Pontus had the features and character of the goddess, not of war, but of love. [For Comana, see note to ch. 17, vol. ii. p. 228.—ED.]

‡ Gregory, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea

of twenty-seven years, Sylvanus, who had retired from the tolerating government of the Arabs, fell a sacrifice to Roman persecution. The laws of the pious emperors, which seldom touched the lives of less odious heretics, proscribed without mercy or disguise the tenets, the books, and the persons of the Montanists and Manichæans; the books were delivered to the flames; and all who should presume to secrete such writings, or to profess such opinions, were devoted to an ignominious death.* A Greek minister, armed with legal and military powers, appeared at Colonia to strike the shepherd, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty, Simeon placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon, and the proof of their repentance, to massacre their spiritual father. They turned aside from the impious office; the stones dropped from their filial hands, and of the whole number, only one executioner could be found, a new David, as he is styled by the Catholics, who boldly overthrew the giant of heresy. This apostate, Justus was his name, again deceived and betrayed his unsuspecting brethren, and a new conformity to the acts of St. Paul may be found in the conversion of Simeon; like the apostle, he embraced the doctrine which he had been sent to persecute, renounced his honours and fortunes, and acquired among the Paulicians the fame of a missionary and a martyr. They were not ambitious of martyrdom;† but in a calamitous period of one hundred and fifty years, their patience sustained whatever zeal could inflict; and power was insufficient to eradicate the obstinate vegetation of fanaticism and reason.

(A.D. 240—265), surnamed Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker. A hundred years afterwards, the history or romance of his life was composed by Gregory of Nyssa, his namesake and countryman, the brother of the great St. Basil. [Gregory was the name taken by the young Greek, Theodorus, whom Origen converted to Christianity and prepared to become a bishop. See note to ch. 15, vol. ii. p. 81 and 212.—Ed.]

* Hoc cæterum ad sua egregia facinora divini atque orthodoxi Imperatores addiderunt, ut Manichæos Montanosque capitali puniri sententiâ juberent, eorumque libros, quocunque in loco inventi essent, flammis tradi; quod si quis uspiam eosdem occultasse deprehenderetur, hunc eundem mortis pœnæ addici, ejusque bona in fiscum inferri. (Petr. Sicul. p. 759.) What more could bigotry and persecution desire?

† It should seem that the Paulicians allowed themselves some latitude of equivocation and mental reservation, till the Catholics discovered the pressing questions,

From the blood and ashes of the first victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose; amidst their foreign hostilities, they found leisure for domestic quarrels; they preached, they disputed, they suffered; and the virtues, the apparent virtues, of Sergius, in a pilgrimage of thirty-three years, are reluctantly confessed by the orthodox historians.* The native cruelty of Justinian the second was stimulated by a pious cause; and he vainly hoped to extinguish, in a single conflagration, the name and memory of the Paulicians. By their primitive simplicity, their abhorrence of popular superstition, the Iconoclast princes might have been reconciled to some erroneous doctrines; but they themselves were exposed to the calumnies of the monks, and they chose to be the tyrants, lest they should be accused as the accomplices, of the Manichæans. Such a reproach has sullied the clemency of Nicephorus, who relaxed in their favour the severity of the penal statutes; nor will his character sustain the honour of a more liberal motive. The feeble Michael the first, the rigid Leo the Armenian, were foremost in the race of persecution; but the prize must doubtless be adjudged to the sanguinary devotion of Theodora, who restored the images to the Oriental church. Her inquisitors explored the cities and mountains of the Lesser Asia, and the flatterers of the empress have affirmed, that, in a short reign, one hundred thousand Paulicians were extirpated by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames. Her guilt or merit has perhaps been stretched beyond the measure of truth; but if the account be allowed, it must be presumed that many simple Iconoclasts were punished under a more odious name, and that some who were driven from the church unwillingly took refuge in the bosom of heresy.

The most furious and desperate of rebels are the sectaries of a religion long persecuted, and at length provoked. In a holy cause they are no longer susceptible of fear or remorse: the justice of their arms hardens them against the

which reduced them to the alternative of apostacy or martyrdom. (Petr. Sicul. p. 760.)

* The persecution is told by Petrus Siculus (p. 579—763) with satisfaction and pleasantry. Justus *justa* persolvit. Simeon was not *τερος*, but *κηρος* (the pronunciation of the two vowels must have been nearly the same), a great whale that drowned the mariners who mistook him for an island. See likewise Cedrenus (p. 432—435).

feelings of humanity; and they revenge their fathers' wrongs, on the children of their tyrants. Such have been the Hussites of Bohemia and the Calvinists of France, and such, in the ninth century, were the Paulicians of Armenia and the adjacent provinces.* They were first awakened to the massacre of a governor and bishop, who exercised the imperial mandate of converting or destroying the heretics; and the deepest recesses of mount Argæus protected their independence and revenge.† A more dangerous and consuming flame was kindled by the persecution of Theodora, and the revolt of Carbeas, a valiant Paulician, who commanded the guards of the general of the East. His father had been impaled by the Catholic inquisitors; and religion, or at least nature, might justify his desertion and revenge. Five thousand of his brethren were united by the same motives; they renounced the allegiance of antichristian Rome; a Saracen emir introduced Carbeas to the caliph; and the commander of the faithful extended his sceptre to the implacable enemy of the Greeks. In the mountains beyond Siwas and Trebizond, he founded or fortified the city of Tephrike,‡ which is still occupied by a fierce and licentious people, and the neighbouring hills were covered with the Paulician fugitives, who now reconciled the use of the Bible and the sword. During more than thirty years, Asia was afflicted by the calamities of foreign and domestic

* Petrus Siculus (p. 763, 764), the continuator of Theophanes (l. 4, c. 4, p. 103, 104), Cedrenus (p. 541, 542, 545), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. 16, p. 156), describe the revolt and exploits of Carbeas and his Paulicians.

† [Mount Argæus, now called by the Turks Arstschisch, was between the ancient provinces of Cappadocia and Cilicia. According to Strabo (Lib. xii. 538) it was so lofty, that it was crowned with perpetual snow, and from its summit the Euxine could be seen to the north, and the bay of Issus in the south. In its neighbourhood, Tyana gave birth to the noted Apollonius, of whose adventures Wieland has made so amusing a romance. At its foot, Eunomius first saw the light in the village of Cadora, and ended his days there in exile. To the list of heretics produced in this district, may also be added Paul of Samosata. Some light will probably be thrown on its early history, when the rock-inscriptions, found by Mr. Layard at Wan, are fully interpreted. They record the victories of a king Arghistis, whose name indicates a connection with Mount Argæus. Nin. and Bab. 397.—ED.]

‡ Otter (Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, tom. ii.) is probably the only Frank who has visited the independent barbarians of Tephrike,

war ; in their hostile inroads the disciples of St. Paul were joined with those of Mahomet ; and the peaceful Christians, the aged parent and tender virgin, who were delivered into barbarous servitude, might justly accuse the intolerant spirit of their sovereign. So urgent was the mischief, so intolerable the shame, that even the dissolute Michael, the son of Theodora, was compelled to march in person against the Paulicians ; he was defeated under the walls of Samosata ; and the Roman emperor fled before the heretics whom his mother had condemned to the flames. The Saracens fought under the same banners, but the victory was ascribed to Carbeas ; and the captive generals, with more than a hundred tribunes, were either released by his avarice, or tortured by his fanaticism. The valour and ambition of Chrysocheir,* his successor, embraced a wider circle of rapine and revenge. In alliance with his faithful Moslems, he boldly penetrated into the heart of Asia ; the troops of the frontier and the palace were repeatedly overthrown, the edicts of persecution were answered by the pillage of Nice and Nicomedia, of Ancyra and Ephesus ; nor could the apostle St. John protect from violation his city and sepulchre. The cathedral of Ephesus was turned into a stable for mules and horses ; and the Paulicians vied with the Saracens in their contempt and abhorrence of images and relics. It is not displeasing to observe the triumph of rebellion over the same despotism which has disdained the prayers of an injured people. The emperor Basil, the Macedonian, was reduced to sue for peace, to offer a ransom for the captives, and to request, in the language of moderation and charity, that Chrysocheir would spare his fellow-Christians, and content himself with a royal donative of gold and silver and silk garments. "If the emperor," replied the insolent fanatic, "be desirous of peace, let him abdicate the East, and reign without molestation in the West. If he refuse, the servants of the Lord will precipitate him from the throne." The reluctant Basil suspended the treaty, accepted the defiance, and led his army into the land

now Divrigi, from whom he fortunately escaped in the train of a Turkish officer.

* In the history of Chrysocheir, Genesius (*Chron.* p. 67—70, edit. Venet.) has exposed the nakedness of the empire. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in *Vit. Basil.* c. 37—43, p. 166—171) has displayed the glory of his grandfather. Cedrenus p. 570—573) is without their passions or their knowledge.

of heresy, which he wasted with fire and sword. The open country of the Paulicians was exposed to the same calamities which they had inflicted; but when he had explored the strength of Tephrike, the multitude of the Barbarians, and the ample magazines of arms and provisions, he desisted with a sigh from the hopeless siege. On his return to Constantinople he laboured, by the foundation of convents and churches, to secure the aid of his celestial patrons, of Michael the archangel and the prophet Elijah; and it was his daily prayer that he might live to transpierce, with three arrows, the head of his impious adversary. Beyond his expectations, the wish was accomplished: after a successful inroad, Chrysocheir was surprised and slain in his retreat; and the rebel's head was triumphantly presented at the foot of the throne. On the reception of this welcome trophy, Basil instantly called for his bow, discharged three arrows with unerring aim, and accepted the applause of the court, who hailed the victory of the royal archer. With Chrysocheir, the glory of the Paulicians faded and withered;* on the second expedition of the emperor, the impregnable Tephrike was deserted by the heretics, who sued for mercy or escaped to the borders. The city was ruined, but the spirit of independence survived in the mountains; the Paulicians defended, above a century, their religion and liberty, infested the Roman limits, and maintained their perpetual alliance with the enemies of the empire and the gospel.

About the middle of the eighth century, Constantine, surnamed Copronymus by the worshippers of images, had made an expedition into Armenia, and found in the cities of Melitene and Theodosiopolis, a great number of Paulicians, his kindred heretics. As a favour or punishment he transplanted them from the banks of the Euphrates to Constantinople and Thrace; and by this emigration their doctrine was introduced and diffused in Europe.† If the sectaries of the metropolis were soon mingled with the promiscuous mass, those of the country struck a deep root in a foreign soil. The Paulicians of Thrace resisted the storms of persecution, maintained a secret correspondence with their

* *Συναπεμαράνθη πᾶσα ἡ ἀνθοῦσα τῆς Τεφρικῆς εὐανδρία*. How elegant is the Greek tongue, even in the mouth of Cedrenus!

† Copronymus transported his *συγγενεῖς*, heretics; and thus *ἐπλάτυνθη ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Παυλικιανῶν*, says Cedrenus (p. 463.) who

Armenian brethren, and gave aid and comfort to their preachers, who solicited, not without success, the infant faith of the Bulgarians.* In the tenth century, they were restored and multiplied by a more powerful colony, which John Zimisces† transported from the Chalybian hills, to the valleys of mount Hæmus. The Oriental clergy, who would have preferred the destruction, impatiently sighed for the absence, of the Manichæans; the warlike emperor had felt and esteemed their valour; their attachment to the Saracens was pregnant with mischief; but, on the side of the Danube, against the Barbarians of Scythia, their service might be useful, and their loss would be desirable. Their exile in a distant land was softened by a free toleration; the Paulicians held the city of Philippopolis and the keys of Thrace; the Catholics were their subjects; the Jacobite emigrants their associates; they occupied a line of villages and castles in Macedonia and Epirus; and many native Bulgarians were associated to the communion of arms and heresy. As long as they were awed by power and treated with moderation, their voluntary bands were distinguished in the armies of the empire; and the courage of these *dogs*, ever greedy of war, ever thirsty of human blood, is noticed with astonishment, and almost with reproach, by the pusillanimous Greeks. The same spirit rendered them arrogant and contumacious; they were easily provoked by caprice or injury; and their privileges were often violated by the faithless bigotry of the government and clergy. In the midst of the Norman war, two thousand five hundred Manichæans deserted the standard of Alexius Comnenus,‡ and retired to their native homes. He dissembled till the moment of revenge; invited the chiefs to a friendly conference; and punished the innocent and guilty by imprisonment, confiscation, and baptism. In an interval of peace, the emperor

has copied the annals of Theophanes.

* Petrus Siculus, who resided nine months at Tephricæ (A.D. 870,) for the ransom of captives (p. 764,) was informed of their intended mission, and addressed his preservative, the *Historia Manichæorum*, to the new archbishop of the Bulgarians (p. 754.).

† The colony of Paulicians and Jacobites transplanted by John Zimisces (A.D. 970,) from Armenia to Thrace, is mentioned by Zonaras (tom. ii. l. 17, p. 209), and Anna Comnena (Alexiad. l. 14, p. 450, &c.).

‡ The Alexiad of Anna Comnena (l. 5, p. 131; l. 6, p. 154, 155; l. 14, p. 450—457, with the annotations of Ducange,) records the transactions of her

undertook the pious office of reconciling them to the church and state; his winter-quarters were fixed at Philippopolis; and the thirteenth apostle, as he is styled by his pious daughter, consumed whole days and nights in theological controversy. His arguments were fortified, their obstinacy was melted, by the honours and rewards which he bestowed on the most eminent proselytes; and a new city, surrounded with gardens, enriched with immunities, and dignified with his own name, was founded by Alexius, for the residence of his vulgar converts. The important station of Philippopolis was wrested from their hands; the contumacious leaders were secured in a dungeon, or banished from their country; and their lives were spared by the prudence, rather than the mercy, of an emperor, at whose command a poor and solitary heretic was burnt alive before the church of St. Sophia.* But the proud hope of eradicating the prejudices of a nation was speedily overturned by the invincible zeal of the Paulicians, who ceased to dissemble or refused to obey. After the departure and death of Alexius, they soon resumed their civil and religious laws. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, their pope or primate (a manifest corruption) resided on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and governed, by his vicars, the filial congregations of Italy and France.† From that era, a minute scrutiny might prolong and perpetuate the chain of tradition. At the end of the last age, the sect or colony still inhabited the valleys of mount Hæmus, where their ignorance and poverty were more frequently tormented by the Greek clergy than by the Turkish government. The modern Paulicians have lost all memory of their origin; and their religion is disgraced by the worship of the cross, and the practice of bloody sacrifice, which some captives have imported from the wilds of Tartary.‡

apostolic father with the Manichæans, whose abominable heresy she was desirous of refuting.

* Basil, a monk, and the author of the *Bogomiles*, a sect of Gnostics, who soon vanished. (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, l. 15, p. 486-494. Mosheim, *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, p. 420.)

† Matt. Paris, *Hist. Major*, p. 267. This passage of our English historian is alleged by Ducange in an excellent note on Villehardouin, (No. 208,) who found the Paulicians at Philippopolis the friends of the Bulgarians. [See translation of this passage, in Bohn's edit. of *Matthew Paris*, vol. ii. p. 445.—ED.]

‡ See Marsigli, *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomano*, p. 24.

In the West, the first teachers of the Manichæan theology had been repulsed by the people, or suppressed by the prince. The favour and success of the Paulicians in the eleventh and twelfth centuries must be imputed to the strong, though secret, discontent which armed the most pious Christians against the church of Rome.* Her avarice was oppressive, her despotism odious; less degenerate perhaps than the Greeks in the worship of saints and images, her innovations were more rapid and scandalous; she had rigorously defined and imposed the doctrine of transubstantiation; the lives of the Latin clergy were more corrupt, and the Eastern bishops might pass for the successors of the apostles, if they were compared with the lordly prelates, who wielded by turns the crosier, the sceptre, and the sword. Three different roads might introduce the Paulicians into the heart of Europe. After the conversion of Hungary, the pilgrims who visited Jerusalem might safely follow the course of the Danube; in their journey and return they passed through Philippopolis; and the sectaries, disguising their name and heresy, might accompany the French or German caravans to their respective countries. The trade and dominion of Venice pervaded the coast of the Adriatic, and the hospitable republic opened her bosom to foreigners of every climate and religion. Under the Byzantine standard, the Paulicians were often transported to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily; in peace and war they freely conversed with strangers and natives, and their opinions were silently propagated in

* [Gothic resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny grew in vigour as the new thrones became firmer and society more organised. Germany was the principal scene of the struggle. Indignantly enduring what it was yet too weak to shake off, captive mind welcomed the Paulicians as its fellow-sufferers and allies; it did not learn from them to know its wrongs or to desire enfranchisement. Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, iii. 463. note,) not more highly than justly, commends this chapter; and concurs with its "accurate and luminous" view of the influence, exercised by these persecuted and dispersed Eastern sectaries on the subsequent changes in the West. The Gothic mind must be studied in its infancy and growth; its native strength and internal resources must be attentively scanned, in order to understand how it prepared its own eventual extrication. That the Paulicians or Manichæans had but a small share in bringing on the Reformation, is evident from the absence of their doctrines in the creeds of Protestant Churches.—En.]

Rome, Milan, and the kingdoms beyond the Alps.* It was soon discovered, that many thousand Catholics of every rank, and of either sex, had embraced the Manichæan heresy; and the flames which consumed twelve canons of Orleans, was the first act and signal of persecution. The Bulgarians,† a name so innocent in its origin, so odious in its application, spread their branches over the face of Europe. United in common hatred of idolatry and Rome, they were connected by a form of episcopal and presbyterian government; their various sects were discriminated by some fainter or darker shades of theology; but they generally agreed in the two principles, the contempt of the Old Testament, and the denial of the body of Christ, either on the cross or in the eucharist. A confession of simple worship and blameless manners is extorted from their enemies; and so high was their standard of perfection, that the increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples, of those who practised, and of those who aspired. It was in the country of the Albigeois,‡ in the southern provinces of France, that the Paulicians were most deeply implanted; and the same vicissitudes of martyrdom and revenge which had been displayed in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, were repeated in the thirteenth century on the banks of the Rhone. The laws of the Eastern emperors were revived by

* The introduction of the Paulicians into Italy and France, is amply discussed by Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italiæ medii ævi*, tom. v. dissert. 60, p. 81—152) and Mosheim (p. 379—382. 419—422). Yet both have overlooked a curious passage of William the Apulian, who clearly describes them in a battle between the Greeks and Normans, A.D. 1040 (in Muratori, *Script. Rerum. Ital.* tom. v. p. 256).

Cum Græcis aderant quidam quos pessimus error
Fecerat amentes, et ab ipso nomen habebant.

But he is so ignorant of their doctrine, as to make them a kind of Sabellians or Patripassians.

† *Bulgari, Boulgres, Bougres*, a national appellation, has been applied by the French as a term of reproach to usurers and unnatural sinners. The *Paterini*, or *Patelini*, has been made to signify a smooth and flattering hypocrite, such as *l'Avocat Patelin* of that original and pleasant farce. (Ducange, *Gloss. Latinitat. medii et infimi ævi*.) The Manichæans were likewise named *Cathari*, or the pure; by corruption, *Gazari*, &c.

‡ Of the laws, crusade, and persecution, against the Albigeois, a just though general idea, is expressed by Mosheim (p. 477—481). The detail may be found in the ecclesiastical historians, ancient and modern, Catholics and Protestants; and amongst these Fleury is the

Frederic the Second. The insurgents of Tephrike were represented by the barons and cities of Languedoc. Pope Innocent III. surpassed the sanguinary fame of Theodora. It was in cruelty alone that her soldiers could equal the heroes of the crusades, and the cruelty of her priests was far excelled by the founders of the Inquisition;* an office more adapted to confirm, than to refute, the belief of an evil principle. The visible assemblies of the Paulicians, or Albigensis, were extirpated by fire and sword; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or Catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the Western world. In the State, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of St. Paul; who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the Bible as the rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of the Gnostic theology. The struggles of Wickliffe in England, of Huss in Bohemia, were premature and ineffectual; but the names of Zuinglius, Luther, and Calvin, are pronounced with gratitude as the deliverers of nations.

A philosopher, who calculates the degree of their merit and the value of their reformation, will prudently ask from what articles of faith, *above* or *against* our reason, they have enfranchised the Christians; for such enfranchisement is doubtless a benefit so far as it may be compatible with truth and piety. After a fair discussion we shall rather be surprised by the timidity, than scandalized by the freedom, of our first reformers.† With the Jews, they adopted the

most impartial and moderate. [See Neander's Church History, vol. viii. p. 400—407.—Ed.]

* The Acts (*Liber Sententiarum* of the Inquisition of Toulouse, A.D. 1307—1323) have been published by Limborch (Amstelodami, 1692), with a previous history of the Inquisition in general. They deserved a more learned and critical editor. As we must not calumniate even Satan, or the Holy Office, I will observe, that of a list of criminals which fills nineteen folio pages, only fifteen men and four women were delivered to the secular arm.

† The opinions and proceedings of the reformers are exposed in the second part of the general history of Mosheim; but the balance, which he has held with so clear an eye, and so steady a hand, begins to incline in favour of his Lutheran brethren. [No salutary change has ever been sudden. Permanent reform has always had such unsuccessful precursors as Wickliffe and Huss. The merit of their triumphant followers was in the favourable conjuncture which called them into action. To estimate rightly the

belief and defence of all the Hebrew Scriptures, with all their prodigies, from the garden of Eden to the visions of the prophet Daniel; and they were bound like the Catholics, to justify against the Jews the abolition of a divine law. In the great mysteries of the Trinity and incarnation the reformers were severely orthodox: they freely adopted the theology of the four, or the six, first councils; and with the Athanasian creed, they pronounced the eternal damnation of all who did not believe the Catholic faith. Transubstantiation, the invisible change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is a tenet that may defy the power of argument and pleasantry; but instead of consulting the evidence of their senses, of their sight, their feeling, and their taste, the first Protestants were entangled in their own scruples, and awed by the words of Jesus in the institution of the sacrament. Luther maintained a *corporeal*, and Calvin a *real*, presence of Christ in the eucharist; and the opinion of Zuinglius, that it is no more than a spiritual communion, a simple memorial, has slowly prevailed in the reformed churches.* But the loss of one mystery was amply compensated by the stupendous doctrines of original sin, redemption, faith, grace, and predestination, which had been strained from the epistles of St. Paul. These subtle questions had most assuredly been prepared by the fathers and schoolmen; but the final improvement and popular use may be attributed to the first reformers, who enforced them as the absolute and essential terms of salvation. Hitherto the weight of supernatural belief inclines against the Protestants, and many a sober Christian would rather admit that a wafer is God, than that God is a cruel and capricious tyrant.

Yet the services of Luther and his rivals are solid and important; and the philosopher must own his obligations to

value of the Reformation, we must watch in all its stages, the long previous struggle by which it was prepared, and unveil the antagonist ascendancy in its earliest form. There is not a brighter hour in the history of man. It was the birth of public opinion, that offspring of Gothic mind, that dread of tyrants, that power which is now so rapidly advancing to govern the world.—ED.]

* Under Edward VI. our Reformation was more bold and perfect: but in the fundamental articles of the Church of England, a strong and explicit declaration against the real presence was obliterated in the original copy, to please the people, or the Lutherans, or queen

these fearless enthusiasts.* I. By their hands the lofty fabric of superstition, from the abuse of indulgences to the intercession of the Virgin, has been levelled with the ground. Myriads of both sexes of the monastic profession were restored to the liberty and labours of social life. A hierarchy of saints and angels, of imperfect and subordinate deities, were stripped of their temporal power, and reduced to the enjoyment of celestial happiness; their images and relics were banished from the church; and the credulity of the people was no longer nourished with the daily repetition of miracles and visions. The imitation of Paganism was supplied by a pure and spiritual worship of prayer and thanksgiving, the most worthy of man, the least unworthy of the Deity. It only remains to observe whether such sublime simplicity be consistent with popular devotion; whether the vulgar, in the absence of all visible objects, will not be inflamed by enthusiasm, or insensibly subside in languor and indifference. II. The chain of authority was broken, which restrains the bigot from thinking as he pleases, and the slave from speaking as he thinks: the popes, fathers, and councils, were no longer the supreme and infallible judges of the world; and each Christian was taught to acknowledge no law but the Scriptures, no interpreter but his own conscience. This freedom, however, was the consequence, rather than the design, of the Reformation. The patriot reformers were ambitious of succeeding the tyrants whom they had dethroned. They imposed with equal rigour their creeds and confessions; they asserted the right of the magistrate to punish heretics with death. The pious or personal animosity of Calvin proscribed in Servetus† the guilt of his own rebellion;‡

Elizabeth. (Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 82. 128. 302.)

* "Had it not been for such men as Luther and myself," said the fanatic Whiston, to Halley the philosopher, "you would now be kneeling before an image of St. Winifred."

† The article of *Servet* in the Dictionnaire Critique of Chauffepié, is the best account which I have seen of this shameful transaction. See likewise the Abbé d'Artigny, Nouveaux Mémoires d'Histoire, &c. tom. ii. p. 55—154.

‡ I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the auto-da-fés of Spain and Portugal. 1. The zeal of Calvin seems to have been envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy. He accused his adversary before their common enemies, the

and the flames of Smithfield, in which he was afterwards consumed, had been kindled for the Anabaptists by the zeal of Cranmer.* The nature of the tiger was the same, but he was gradually deprived of his teeth and fangs. A spiritual and temporal kingdom was possessed by the Roman pontiff: the Protestant doctors were subjects of an humble rank, without revenue or jurisdiction. *His* decrees were consecrated by the antiquity of the Catholic church: *their* arguments and disputes were submitted to the people; and their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm. Since the days of Luther and Calvin, a secret reformation has been silently

judges of Vienne, and betrayed, for his destruction, the sacred trust of a private correspondence. 2. The deed of cruelty was not varnished by the pretence of danger to the church or state. In his passage through Geneva, Servetus was a harmless stranger, who neither preached, nor printed, nor made proselytes. 3. A Catholic inquisitor yields the same obedience which he requires, but Calvin violated the golden rule of doing as he would be done by; a rule which I read in a moral treatise of Isocrates (in Nicocles, tom. i. p. 93, edit. Battie), four hundred years before the publication of the gospel. "Α πάσχοντες ὑπὲρ ἐνρίπων ὀργίζεσθε, ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖτε. [M. Guizot complains that Gibbon's version of this passage is not accurate. The words of Isocrates may not have been rendered with literal exactness; but their spirit has undoubtedly been preserved. The leaders of the Reformation did not understand the impulse by which they were carried forward; they did not perceive that it could not be stopped at their point, that mind was set free from its confinement of twelve hundred years, and would not be again coerced. Calvin erected for himself a church, over which his sway was as absolute as that of another pope. To fortify this, he issued his intolerant decree: "Jure gladii hæreticos coercendos esse," and darkened his fame by a deed, above all others, hideous for its malignity and hateful for its perfidy. The work for which Servetus suffered, *Christianismi Restitutio*, was doomed to share its author's fate. Every copy that could be found, was used by the bigots of Vienne for fuel when they burned his effigy. In the horrid tragedy at Geneva, "femori auctoris alligatus, cum ipso combustus est." (See Pettigrew's *Bibliotheca Sussexiana*, Lat. MSS. No. 101.) A copy that had escaped destruction came into Dr. Mead's possession, who was preparing to publish it in 1723, when the impression was seized by Dr. Gibson, then bishop of London, and committed to the flames. Four copies were saved, which, with two of the original edition are now the bibliographical treasures of royal and scientific libraries. But they have afforded to the press the means of multiplying the book, so that it is now generally obtainable.—ED.]

* See Burnet, vol. ii. p. 84—86. The sense and humanity of the young king were oppressed by the authority of the primate.

working in the bosom of the reformed churches; many weeds of prejudice were eradicated; and the disciples of Erasmus* diffused a spirit of freedom and moderation. The liberty of conscience has been claimed as a common benefit, an inalienable right:† the free governments of Holland‡ and England§ introduced the practice of toleration; and the narrow allowance of the laws has been enlarged by the prudence and humanity of the times. In the exercise, the mind has understood the limits, of its powers, and the words and shadows that might amuse the child can no longer satisfy his manly reason. The volumes of controversy are

* Erasmus may be considered as the father of rational theology. After a slumber of a hundred years, it was revived by the Arminians of Holland, Grotius, Limborch, and Le Clerc; in England by Chillingworth, the Latitudinarians of Cambridge (Burnet, *Hist. of Own Times*, vol. i. p. 261—268, octavo edition), Tillotson, Clarke, Hoadley, &c.

† I am sorry to observe, that the three writers of the last age, by whom the rights of toleration have been so nobly defended, Bayle, Leibnitz, and Locke, are all laymen and philosophers.

‡ See the excellent chapter of Sir William Temple on the religion of the United Provinces. I am not satisfied with Grotius (*de Rebus Belgicis*, Annal. l. 1, p. 13, 14, edit. in 12mo.), who approves the imperial laws of persecution, and only condemns the bloody tribunal of the Inquisition. [The "Reformed Church" of Holland imbibed too much the spirit, and followed the example, of its Genevan founder. As soon as it was itself secure, it began, under the second Staathouder, Moritz, to persecute the Arminian Remonstrants; and the synod of Dordrecht emulated the council of Constance. Grotius himself was one of its victims. His escape from the castle of Leeuwensteen is a popular tale, read by many who do not know that he was confined there for his religious opinions. The progress of toleration has restrained, and now forbids, such proceedings. But even as late as 1787, when the Prussian arms reinstated the expelled prince of Orange, licentious multitudes were let loose to assault and plunder the "godless heretics;" and even in these days the orthodox teachers do not discourage, as they ought, the prejudices of ignorant fanaticism.—Ed.]

§ Sir William Blackstone (*Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 53, 54) explains the law of England as it was fixed at the Revolution. The exceptions of Papists, and of those who deny the Trinity, would still leave a tolerable scope for persecution, if the national spirit were not more effectual than a hundred statutes. [That spirit has since expunged these statutes from our code. Its characteristics and progress illuminate every page of English history, but more particularly those of the three centuries, since it broke from hierarchical bondage. Its distinguishing qualities cannot be found so conspicuously displayed in the annals of any other country. (See Hallam, 2. 374.) But laws are formed by, not the formers of, a people.—Ed.]

overspread with cobwebs; the doctrine of a Protestant church is far removed from the knowledge or belief of its private members; and the forms of orthodoxy, the articles of faith, are subscribed with a sigh or a smile by the modern clergy. Yet the friends of Christianity are alarmed at the boundless impulse of inquiry and scepticism. The predictions of the Catholics are accomplished; the web of mystery is unravelled by the Arminians, Arians, and Socinians, whose numbers must not be computed from their separate congregations; and the pillars of revelation are shaken by those men who preserve the name without the substance of religion, who indulge the license, without the temper, of philosophy.*

CHAPTER LV.—THE BULGARIANS.—ORIGIN, MIGRATIONS, AND SETTLEMENT OF THE HUNGARIANS.—THEIR INROADS IN THE EAST AND WEST.—THE MONARCHY OF RUSSIA.—GEOGRAPHY AND TRADE.—WARS OF THE RUSSIANS AGAINST THE GREEK EMPIRE.—CONVERSION OF THE BARBARIANS.

UNDER the reign of Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, the ancient barrier of the Danube, so often violated and so often restored, was irretrievably swept away by a new deluge of Barbarians. Their progress was favoured by the caliphs, their unknown and accidental auxiliaries; the Roman legions were occupied in Asia; and after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the Cæsars were twice reduced to the danger and disgrace of defending their capital against the Saracens. If, in the account of this interesting people, I have deviated from the strict and original line of my undertaking, the merit of the subject will hide my transgression or solicit my excuse. In the East, in the West, in war, in religion, in science, in their prosperity, and in

* I shall recommend to public animadversion two passages in Dr. Priestley, which betray the ultimate tendency of his opinions. At the first of these (*Hist. of the Corruptions of Christianity*, vol. i. p. 275, 276), the priest, at the second (vol. ii. p. 484), the magistrate, may tremble! [Gibbon evidently felt nettled at the attack made on him in Dr. Priestley's *Letter to a Philosophical Unbeliever*. See his "Memoir of my Life and Writings," p. 232, and Letters, No. 161—166. —Ed.]

their decay, the Arabians press themselves on our curiosity; the first overthrow of the church and empire of the Greeks may be imputed to their arms, and the disciples of Mahomet still hold the civil and religious sceptre of the Oriental world. But the same labour would be unworthily bestowed on the swarms of savages, who, between the seventh and the twelfth century, descended from the plains of Scythia, in transient inroad or perpetual emigration.* Their names are uncouth, their origins doubtful, their actions obscure, their superstition was blind, their valour brutal, and the uniformity of their public and private lives was neither softened by innocence nor refined by policy. The majesty of the Byzantine throne repelled and survived their disorderly attacks; the greater part of these Barbarians has disappeared without leaving any memorial of their existence, and the despicable remnant continues, and may long continue, to groan under the dominion of a foreign tyrant.† From the antiquities of, I. *Bulgarians*, II. *Hungarians*, and III. *Russians*, I shall content myself with selecting such facts as yet deserve to be remembered. The conquests of the, IV. *NORMANS*, and the monarchy of the, V. *TURKS*, will naturally terminate in the memorable crusades to the Holy Land, and the double fall of the city and empire of Constantine.

In his march to Italy, Theodoric‡ the Ostrogoth had trampled on the arms of the Bulgarians. After this defeat, the name and the nation are lost during a century and a half; and it may be suspected that the same or a similar appellation was revived by strange colonies from the Borys-thenes, the Tanais, or the Volga. A king of the ancient Bulgaria§ bequeathed to his five sons a last lesson of

* All the passages of the Byzantine history which relate to the Barbarians, are compiled, methodized, and transcribed, in a Latin version, by the laborious John Gotthelf Stritter, in his *Memorie Populorum ad Danubium, Pontum Euxinum, Paludem Mæotidem, Caucasum, Mare Caspium, et inde magis ad Septemtriones incolentium*. Petropoli. 1771—1779: in four tomes, or six volumes in 4to. But the fashion has not enhanced the price of these raw materials.

† [The Slavonian nations (Russians, Poles, Hungarians, &c.), which now occupy the eastern parts of Europe, may be tardy in improving, but are by no means a "despicable remnant" of, these early invaders.—Ed.]

‡ Hist. vol. iv. p. 251.

§ Theophanes, p. 296—299. Anastasius, p. 113. Nicephorus, C. P.

moderation and concord. It was received as youth has ever received the counsels of age and experience; the five princes buried their father, divided his subjects and cattle, forgot his advice, separated from each other, and wandered in quest of fortune, till we find the most adventurous in the heart of Italy, under the protection of the exarch of Ravenna.* But the stream of emigration was directed or impelled towards the capital. The modern Bulgaria, along the southern banks of the Danube, was stamped with the name and image which it has retained to the present hour; the new conquerors successively acquired, by war or treaty, the Roman provinces of Dardania, Thessaly, and the two Epirus;† the ecclesiastical supremacy was translated from the native city of Justinian; and, in their prosperous age, the obscure town of Lychnidus, or Achrida, was honoured with the throne of a king and a patriarch.‡ The unquestionable evidence of language attests the descent of the Bulgarians from the original stock of the Sclavonian, or more properly Slavonian race;§ and the kindred bands of

p. 22, 23. Theophanes places the old Bulgaria on the banks of the Atell or Volga; but he deprives himself of all geographical credit by discharging that river into the Euxine Sea. [The origin of the Bulgarians has already been the subject of inquiry. See ch. 42, vol. iv. p. 445.—Ed.]

* Paul. Diacon. de Gestis Langobard. l. 5, c. 29, p. 881, 882. The apparent difference between the Lombard historian and the above-mentioned Greeks is easily reconciled by Camillo Pellegrino (de Ducatû Beneventano, dissert. 7, in the *Scriptores Rerum Ital.* tom. v. p. 186, 187) and Beretti (*Chorograph. Italiae medii Ævi*, p. 273, &c.). This Bulgarian colony was planted in a vacant district of Samnium, and learned the Latin, without forgetting their native language.

† These provinces of the Greek idiom and empire are assigned to the Bulgarian kingdom in the dispute of ecclesiastical jurisdiction between the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople. (Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 869, No. 75.)

‡ The situation and royalty of Lychnidus, or Achrida, are clearly expressed in Cedrenus (p. 713). The removal of an archbishop or patriarch from Justinianea Prima to Lychnidus, and at length to Ternovo, has produced some perplexity in the ideas or language of the Greeks, (Nicephorus Gregoras, l. 2, c. 2, p. 14, 15; Thomassin, *Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. i. l. 1, c. 19, 23); and a Frenchman (D'Anville), is more accurately skilled in the geography of their own country. (*Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxi.)

§ Chalcocondyles, a competent judge, affirms the identity of the language of the Dalmatians, Bosnians, Servians, *Bulgarians*, Poles (de Rebus Turcicis, l. 10, p. 283), and elsewhere of the Bohemians (l. 2, p. 38). The same author has marked the separate idiom of the Hun-

Servians, Bosnians, Rascians, Croatians, Wallachians,* &c., followed either the standard or the example of the leading tribe. From the Euxine to the Adriatic, in the state of captives or subjects, or allies or enemies, of the Greek empire, they overspread the land; and the national appellation of the *slaves*† has been degraded by chance or malice from the signification of glory to that of servitude.‡ Among these colonies, the Chrobatians,§ or Croats, who now attend the motions of an Austrian army, are the descendants of a mighty people, the conquerors and sovereigns of Dalmatia. The maritime cities, and of these the infant republic of Ragusa, implored the aid and instructions of the Byzantine court; they were advised by the magnanimous Basil to reserve a small acknowledgment of their fidelity to the Roman empire, and to appease, by an annual tribute, the

garians. [The origin of the Slavonians and their early progress in Europe, have been noticed in ch. 42, vol. iv. p. 445. It has been supposed that some of them preceded the Gothic tribes. (Blackwell's Remarks on Bishop Percy's Preface to Mallet, p. 39, edit. Bohn.) But of this there is no satisfactory evidence; and the positions which their descendants now occupy prove, we think, that they followed. They are as clearly identified by their languages as are the people of Celtic and Gothic origin. Yet Adelung remarks (Mithridates, 2. 612) that the Goths and Slavonians must have been early related to each other, since both have many words that can be traced to common roots.—Ed.]

* See the work of John Christopher de Jordan, *De Originibus Sclavicis*, Vindobonæ, 1745, in four parts, or two volumes in folio. His collections and researches are useful to elucidate the antiquities of Bohemia and the adjacent countries; but his plan is narrow, his style barbarous, his criticism shallow, and the Aulic counsellor is not free from the prejudices of a Bohemian.

† Jordan subscribes to the well-known and probable derivation from *slava*, *laus*, *gloria*, a word of familiar use in the different dialects and parts of speech, and which forms the termination of the most illustrious names (*de Originibus Sclavicis*, pars 1, p. 40; pars 4, p. 101, 102).

‡ This conversion of a national into an appellative name, appears to have arisen in the eighth century, in the Oriental France, where the princes and bishops were rich in Sclavonian captives, not of the Bohemian (exclaims Jordan), but of Sorabian race. From thence the word was extended to general use, to the modern languages, and even to the style of the last Byzantines (see the Greek and Latin Glossaries of Ducange). The confusion of the Σεβαιοι, or Servians, with the Latin *Servi*, was still more fortunate and familiar. (Constant. Porphy. de Administrando Imperio, c. 32, p. 99.)

§ The emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, most accurate for his own times, most fabulous for preceding ages, describes the Slavonians

wrath of these irresistible Barbarians. The kingdom of Croatia was shared by eleven *Zoupan*s, or feudatory lords; and their united forces were numbered at sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot. A long sea-coast, indented with capacious harbours, covered with a string of islands, and almost in sight of the Italian shores, disposed both the natives and strangers to the practice of navigation. The boats or brigantines of the Croats were constructed after the fashion of the old Liburnians; one hundred and eighty vessels may excite the idea of a respectable navy; but our seamen will smile at the allowance of ten, or twenty, or forty, men for each of these ships of war. They were gradually converted to the more honourable service of commerce; yet the Slavonian pirates were still frequent and dangerous; and it was not before the close of the tenth century that the freedom and sovereignty of the gulf were effectually vindicated by the Venetian republic.* The ancestors of these Dalmatian kings were equally removed from the use and abuse of navigation; they dwelt in the White Croatia, in the inland regions of Silesia and Little Poland, thirty days' journey, according to the Greek computation, from the sea of darkness.

The glory of the Bulgarians† was confined to a narrow scope both of time and place. In the ninth and tenth centuries, they reigned to the south of the Danube; but the more powerful nations that had followed their emigration, repelled all return to the north and all progress to the west. Yet, in the obscure catalogue of their exploits, they might boast an honour which had hitherto been appropriated to the Goths; that of slaying in battle one of

of Dalmatia (c. 29—36).

* See the anonymous Chronicle of the eleventh century, ascribed to John Sagorninus, p. 94—102, and that composed in the fourteenth, by the doge Andrew Dandolo (*Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. xii. p. 227—230); the two oldest monuments of the history of Venice.

† The first kingdom of the Bulgarians may be found under the proper dates, in the annals of Cedrenus and Zonaras. The Byzantine memorials are collected by Stritter (*Memoriæ Populorum*, tom. ii. pars 2, p. 441—647): and the series of their kings is disposed and settled by Ducange (*Fam. Byzant.* p. 305—318). [Kruse affords the most compendious and lucid view of the history of the Bulgarians, from their first appearance on the Don in 463, till the final extinction of their kingdom by the emperor Basil II. in 1013. *Uebersicht der Geschichte.* Tab. ix—xvi.—ED.]

the successors of Augustus and Constantine. The emperor Nicephorus had lost his fame in the Arabian, he lost his life in the Sclavonian, war. In his first operations he advanced with boldness and success into the centre of Bulgaria, and burnt the *royal court*, which was probably no more than an edifice and village of timber. But, while he searched the spoil, and refused all offers of treaty, his enemies collected their spirits and their forces; the passes of retreat were insuperably barred; and the trembling Nicephorus was heard to exclaim, "Alas, alas! unless we could assume the wings of birds, we cannot hope to escape." Two days he waited his fate in the inactivity of despair; but, on the morning of the third, the Bulgarians surprised the camp; and the Roman prince, with the great officers of the empire, were slaughtered in their tents. The body of Valens had been saved from insult; but the head of Nicephorus was exposed on a spear, and his skull, encased with gold, was often replenished in the feasts of victory. The Greeks bewailed the dishonour of the throne; but they acknowledged the just punishment of avarice and cruelty. This savage cup was deeply tinged with the manners of the Scythian wilderness; but they were softened before the end of the same century by a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks, the possession of a cultivated region, and the introduction of the Christian worship. The nobles of Bulgaria were educated in the schools and palace of Constantinople; and Simeon,* a youth of the royal line, was instructed in the rhetoric of Demosthenes and the logic of Aristotle. He relinquished the profession of a monk for that of a king and warrior; and in his reign of more than forty years, Bulgaria assumed a rank among the civilized powers of the earth. The Greeks whom he repeatedly attacked, derived a faint consolation from indulging themselves in the reproaches of perfidy and sacrilege. They purchased the aid of the pagan Turks; but Simeon, in a second battle, redeemed the loss of the first, at a time when it was esteemed a victory to elude the arms of that

* Simeonem semi-Græcum esse aiebant, eo quod à pueritiâ Byzantiî Demosthenis rhetoricam et Aristotelis syllogismos didicerat. Luitprand, l. 3, c. 8. He says in another place, Simeon, fortis bellator, Bulgariæ præerat; Christianus, sed vicinis Græcis valde inimicus. (l. 1, c. 2).

formidable nation. The Servians were overthrown, made captive, and dispersed; and those who visited the country before their restoration could discover no more than fifty vagrants, without women or children, who extorted a precarious subsistence from the chase. On classic ground, on the banks of the Achelöus, the Greeks were defeated; their horn was broken by the strength of the barbaric Hercules.* He formed the siege of Constantinople; and, in a personal conference with the emperor, Simeon imposed the conditions of peace. They met with the most jealous precautions; the royal galley was drawn close to an artificial and well-fortified platform; and the majesty of the purple was emulated by the pomp of the Bulgarian. "Are you a Christian?" said the humble Romanus. "It is your duty to abstain from the blood of your fellow Christians. Has the thirst of riches seduced you from the blessings of peace? Sheath your sword, open your hand, and I will satiate the utmost measure of your desires." The reconciliation was sealed by a domestic alliance; the freedom of trade was granted or restored; the first honours of the court were secured to the friends of Bulgaria, above the ambassadors of enemies or strangers;† and her princes were dignified with the high and invidious title of *basileus*, or emperor. But this friendship was soon disturbed: after the death of Simeon, the nations were again in arms; his feeble successors were divided and extinguished; and, in the beginning of the eleventh century, the second Basil, who was born in the purple, deserved the appellation of conqueror of the Bulgarians. His avarice was in some measure gratified by a treasure of four hundred thousand pounds sterling (ten thousand pounds weight of gold),

* — Rigidum fera dextera cornu

Dum tenet, infregit, truncâque à fronte revellit.

Ovid (Metamorph. 9. 1—100) has boldly painted the combat of the river-god and the hero; the native and the stranger.

† The ambassador of Otho was provoked by the Greek excuses, cum Christophori filiam Petrus Bulgarorum *Vasileus* conjugem duceret, *Symphona*, id est consonantia, scripto juramento firmata sunt, ut omnium gentium *Apostolis*, id est nunciis, penes nos Bulgarorum Apostoli præponantur, honorentur, diligentur. (Luitprand in Legatione, p. 482.) See the Ceremoniale of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, tom. i. v. 82; tom. ii. p. 429, 430. 434, 435. 443, 444. 446, 447, with the annotations of Reiske

which he found in the palace of Lychnidus. His cruelty inflicted a cool and exquisite vengeance on fifteen thousand captives who had been guilty of the defence of their country; they were deprived of sight; but to one of each hundred a single eye was left, that he might conduct his blind century to the presence of their king. Their king is said to have expired of grief and horror; the nation was awed by this terrible example; the Bulgarians were swept away from their settlements, and circumscribed within a narrow province; the surviving chiefs bequeathed to their children the advice of patience and the duty of revenge.

II. When the black swarm of Hungarians first hung over Europe, about nine hundred years after the Christian era, they were mistaken by fear and superstition for the Gog and Magog of the Scriptures, the signs and fore-runners of the end of the world.* Since the introduction of letters, they have explored their own antiquities with a strong and laudable impulse of patriotic curiosity.† Their rational criticism can no longer be amused with a vain pedigree of Attila and the Huns; but they complain that their primitive records have perished in the Tartar war; that the truth or fiction of their rustic songs is long since forgotten; and that the fragments of a rude chronicle ‡

* A bishop of Wurtzburgh submitted this opinion to a reverend abbot: but *he* more gravely decided, that Gog and Magog were the spiritual persecutors of the church; since Gog signifies the root, the pride, of the Heresiarchs, and Magog what comes from the root, the propagation of their sects. Yet these men once commanded the respect of mankind. (Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xi. p. 594, &c.) [When the Danes or Northmen first landed in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, A.H. 229, (A.D. 843) they were called by the Arabians Magioges, "the people of Gog and Magog." Condé, i. p. 289.—Ed.]

† The two national authors, from whom I have derived the most assistance, are George Pray (*Dissertationes ad annales veterum Hungarorum*, &c. Vindobonæ, 1775, in folio), and Stephen Katona (*Hist. Critica ducum et regum Hungaria stirpis Arpadianæ*. Pæstini, 1778—1781, five vols. in octavo). The first embraces a large and often conjectural space; the latter by his learning, judgment, and perspicuity, deserves the name of a critical historian.

‡ The author of this Chronicle is styled the Notary of King Bela. Katona has assigned him to the twelfth century, and defends his character against the hypercriticism of Pray. This rude annalist must have transcribed some historical records, since he could affirm with dignity, *rejectis falsis fabulis rusticorum, et garrulo cantû joculatorum*. In the fifteenth century, these fables were collected by Thurotzius, and

must be painfully reconciled with the contemporary though foreign intelligence of the imperial geographer.* *Magiar* is the national and Oriental denomination of the Hungarians; but, among the tribes of Scythia, they are distinguished by the Greeks under the proper and peculiar name of *Turks*, as the descendants of that mighty people who had conquered and reigned from China to the Volga. The Pannonian colony preserved a correspondence of trade and amity with the eastern Turks on the confines of Persia; and after a separation of three hundred and fifty years, the missionaries of the king of Hungary discovered and visited their ancient country near the banks of the Volga. They were hospitably entertained by a people of pagans and savages, who still bore the name of Hungarians; conversed in their native tongue, recollected a tradition of their long-lost brethren, and listened with amazement to the marvellous tale of their new kingdom and religion. The zeal of conversion was animated by the interest of consanguinity; and one of the greatest of their princes had formed the generous, though fruitless, design of replenishing the solitude of Pannonia by this domestic colony from the heart of Tartary.† From this primitive country they were driven to the west by the tide of war and emigration, by the weight of the more distant tribes, who at the same time were fugitives and conquerors. Reason or fortune directed

embellished by the Italian Bonfinius. See the Preliminary Discourse in the *Hist. Critica Ducum*, p. 7—33.

* See Constantine de Administrando Imperio, c. 3, 4. 13. 38—42. Katona has nicely fixed the composition of this work to the years 949—951 (p. 4—7). The critical historian (p. 34—107) endeavours to prove the existence, and to relate the actions, of the first duke *Almus* the father of Arpad, who is tacitly rejected by Constantine. [Kruse (Tab. xiii.) makes *Almus* the leader of a joint Finnic and Hungarian tribe, that left Kiow in 838, crossed the Carpathian mountains and settled round Mongatz, whence they expelled the Rumani (Roman colonists) and Wallachians (most probably descendants of the early Celtic occupants). These were the progenitors of the Hungarians properly so called. Arpad was the chieftain of another division of the same race, of which the Megere, or Magyars, formed a part. These were employed in 889 by the emperor Leo VI. against the Bulgarians, and in 891, by Arnulf against the Moravians. This is taken from the fifth edition of Kruse. Halle, 1834.—Ed.]

† Pray (dissert. p. 37—39, &c.) produces and illustrates the original passages of the Hungarian missionaries, Bonfinius and *Æneas Sylvius*.

their course towards the frontiers of the Roman empire; they halted in the usual stations along the banks of the great rivers; and in the territories of Moscow, Kiow, and Moldavia, some vestiges have been discovered of their temporary residence.* In this long and various peregrination, they could not always escape the dominion of the stronger; and the purity of their blood was improved or sullied by the mixture of a foreign race; from a motive of compulsion or choice, several tribes of the Chazars were associated to the standard of their ancient vassals: introduced the use of a second language; and obtained by their superior renown the most honourable place in the front of battle. The military force of the Turks and their allies marched in seven equal and artificial divisions; each division was formed of thirty thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven warriors, and the proportion of women, children, and servants, supposes and requires at least a million of emigrants. Their public counsels were directed by seven *vayvods*, or hereditary chiefs; but the experience of discord

* [In the desert, to the south-west of Astracan, are the ruins of a town called Madchar, a name which proves it to have been the former residence of the Magyar or Hungarians. Malte Brun (*Précis de la Géog. Univ.* tom. i. p. 353.—Guzot.) [In another part of his work, M. Malte Brun questions this, and considers it difficult to determine whether this town was not built by the Cumans, who now occupy and give name to a district of Hungary. The ground over which this kingdom now extends was, for nearly ten centuries, held, invaded, and conquered, settled, unsettled, and re-settled, by such a succession of various nations, that they have been intermingled in inextricable confusion, through which even the sure guide of language sometimes fails. Adelung (*Mithridates*, ii. 769) derives the Magyar from the country between the Tobol, Wolga, and Jaik, now the government of Orenburg, where M. Von Orlay, himself a Hungarian, found a tribe denominated by the Russians Ugritchi, and using a language like his own. This, Adelung states to be Finnic or Tshudic, and that the Mongols, among whom the Magyar came, gave them the name of Ungarn; which, in their tongue, denotes "strangers." Mr. Blackwell, on the other hand, who had been among them, in his *Notes on Bishop Percy and Mallet* (p. 41 and 279, edit. Bohn), doubts the Finnic descent of the Magyars; their language, he adds, is an Asiatic idiom, blended with various Tshudic and Tatar dialects; and judging by "their noble and expressive physiognomy, they have probably as much German and Italic, as Magyar, blood in their veins." To trace with certainty the origin of so mixed a race, is a hopeless undertaking;—Ed.]

and weakness recommended the more simple and vigorous administration of a single person. The sceptre, which had been declined by the modest Lebedias, was granted to the birth or merit of Almus and his son Arpad, and the authority of the supreme khan of the Chazars confirmed the engagement of the prince and people; of the people to obey his commands, of the prince to consult their happiness and glory.

With this narrative we might be reasonably content, if the penetration of modern learning had not opened a new and larger prospect of the antiquities of nations. The Hungarian language stands alone and as it were insulated, among the Sclavonian dialects; but it bears a close and clear affinity to the idioms of the Fennic race,* of an obsolete and savage race, which formerly occupied the northern regions of Asia and Europe. The genuine appellation of *Ugri* or *Igours* is found on the western confines of China;† their migration to the banks of the Irtysh is attested by Tartar evidence;‡ a similar name and language are detected in the southern parts of Siberia;§ and the remains of the Fennic tribes are widely, though thinly, scattered from the sources of the Oby to the shores of Lapland.¶ The consanguinity of the Hungarians and Laplanders would display the powerful energy of climate on the children of a common

* Fischer, in the *Questiones Petropolitane de Origine Ungarorum*, and Pray, *dissertat.* 1—3, &c. have drawn up several comparative tables of the Hungarian with the Fennic dialects. The affinity is indeed striking, but the lists are short; the words are purposely chosen; and I read in the learned Bayer (*Comment. Academ. Petropol.* tom. x. p. 374), that although the Hungarian has adopted many Fennic words (*innumeras voces*), it essentially differs *toto genio et natura*.

† In the region of Turfan, which is clearly and minutely described by the Chinese geographers. (Gaubil, *Hist. du Grand Gengiscan*, p. 13. De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 31, &c.)

‡ *Hist. Généalogique des Tartars*, par Abulghazi Bahadur Khan, partie 2, p. 90—98.

§ In their journey to Pekin, both Isbrand Ives (*Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. ii. p. 920, 921), and Bell (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 174), found the Vogulitz in the neighbourhood of Tobolsky. By the tortures of the etymological art, *Ugur* and *Vogul* are reduced to the same name; the circumjacent mountains really bear the appellation of *Ugrian*; and of all the Fennic dialects, the Vogulian is the nearest to the Hungarian. (Fischer, *dissert.* 1, p. 20—30. Pray, *dissert.* 2, p. 31—34.)

¶ The eight tribes of the Fennic race are described in the curious

parent; the lively contrast between the bold adventurers, who are intoxicated with the wines of the Danube, and the wretched fugitives who are immersed beneath the snows of the polar circle. Arms and freedom have ever been the ruling, though too often the unsuccessful, passion of the Hungarians, who are endowed by nature with a vigorous constitution of soul and body.* Extreme cold has diminished the stature and congealed the faculties of the Laplanders; and the arctic tribes, alone among the sons of men, are ignorant of war and unconscious of human blood: a happy ignorance, if reason and virtue were the guardians of their peace.†

It is the observation of the imperial author of the *Tactics*,‡ that all the Scythian hordes resembled each other in their pastoral and military life, that they all practised the same means of subsistence, and employed the same instruments of destruction. But he adds, that the two nations of Bulgarians and Hungarians were superior to their brethren, and similar to each other, in the improvements, however rude, of their discipline and government; their visible likeness determines Leo to confound his friends and enemies in one common description; and the picture may be heightened by some strokes from their contemporaries of the tenth century. Except the merit and fame of military prowess,

work of M. Levesque. (*Hist. des Peuples soumis à la Domination de la Russie*, tom. i. p. 361—561.)

* This picture of the Hungarians and Bulgarians is chiefly drawn from the *Tactics* of Leo, p. 796—801, and the *Latin Annals*, which are alleged by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori, A.D. 889, &c.

† Buffon, *Hist. Naturelle*, tom. v. p. 6, in 12mo. Gustavus Adolphus attempted, without success, to form a regiment of Laplanders. Grotius says of these arctic tribes, *arma, arcus, et pharetra, sed adversus feras* (*Annal.* l. 4, p. 236); and attempts, after the manner of Tacitus, to varnish with philosophy their brutal ignorance.

‡ Leo has observed, that the government of the Turks was monarchical, and that their punishments were rigorous. (*Tactic.* p. 896, ἀπεισις καὶ βασιείας.) Rhegino (in *Chron.* A.D. 889) mentions theft as a capital crime, and his jurisprudence is confirmed by the original code of St. Stephen (A.D. 1016). If a slave were guilty, he was chastised, for the first time, with the loss of his nose, or a fine of five heifers; for the second, with the loss of his ears, or a similar fine; for the third, with death; which the freeman did not incur till the fourth offence, as his first penalty was the loss of liberty. (*Katona. Hist. Regum Hungar.* tom. i. p. 231, 232.)

all that is valued by mankind appeared vile and contemptible to these Barbarians, whose native fierceness was stimulated by the consciousness of numbers and freedom. The tents of the Hungarians were of leather, their garments of fur; they shaved their hair and scarified their faces: in speech they were slow, in action prompt, in treaty perfidious; and they shared the common reproach of Barbarians, too ignorant to conceive the importance of truth, too proud to deny or palliate the breach of their most solemn engagements. Their simplicity has been praised; yet they abstained only from the luxury they had never known; whatever they saw, they coveted; their desires were insatiate, and their sole industry was the hand of violence and rapine. By the definition of a pastoral nation, I have recalled a long description of the economy, the warfare, and the government, that prevailed in that stage of society; I may add, that to fishing, as well as to the chase, the Hungarians were indebted for a part of their subsistence; and since they *seldom* cultivated the ground, they must, at least in their new settlements, have sometimes practised a slight and unskilful husbandry. In their emigrations, perhaps in their expeditions, the host was accompanied by thousands of sheep and oxen, who increased the cloud of formidable dust, and afforded a constant and wholesome supply of milk and animal food. A plentiful command of forage was the first care of the general; and if the flocks and herds were secure of their pastures, the hardy warrior was alike insensible of danger and fatigue. The confusion of men and cattle that overspread the country exposed their camp to a nocturnal surprise, had not a still wider circuit been occupied by their light cavalry, perpetually in motion to discover and delay the approach of the enemy. After some experience of the Roman tactics, they adopted the use of the sword and spear, the helmet of the soldier, and the iron breast-plate of his steed; but their native and deadly weapon was the Tartar bow; from the earliest infancy, their children and servants were exercised in the double science of archery and horsemanship; their arm was strong; their aim was sure; and in the most rapid career, they were taught to throw themselves backwards, and to shoot a volley of arrows into the air. In open combat, in secret ambush, in flight, or pursuit, they were equally formidable; an appearance of order was maintained in the foremost ranks, but

their charge was driven forwards by the impatient pressure of succeeding crowds. They pursued, headlong and rash, with loosened reins and horrific outcries; but if they fled, with real or dissembled fear, the ardour of a pursuing foe was checked and chastised by the same habits of irregular speed and sudden evolution. In the abuse of victory, they astonished Europe, yet smarting from the wounds of the Saracen and the Dane; mercy they rarely asked, and more rarely bestowed; both sexes were accused as equally inaccessible to pity, and their appetite for raw flesh might countenance the popular tale, that they drank the blood and feasted on the hearts of the slain. Yet the Hungarians were not devoid of those principles of justice and humanity, which nature has implanted in every bosom. The licence of public and private injuries was restrained by laws and punishments; and in the security of an open camp, theft is the most tempting and most dangerous offence. Among the Barbarians, there were many whose spontaneous virtue supplied their laws and corrected their manners, who performed the duties, and sympathized with the affections, of social life.

After a long pilgrimage of flight or victory, the Turkish hordes approached the common limits of the French and Byzantine empires. Their first conquests and final settlements extended on either side of the Danube above Vienna, below Belgrade, and beyond the measure of the Roman province of Pannonia, or the modern kingdom of Hungary.* That ample and fertile land was loosely occupied by the Moravians, a Slavonian name and tribe, which were driven by the invaders into the compass of the narrow province. Charlemagne had stretched a vague and nominal empire as far as the edge of Transylvania; but, after the failure of his legitimate line, the dukes of Moravia forgot their obedience and tribute to the monarchs of Oriental France. The bastard Arnulph was provoked to invite the arms of the Turks; they rushed through the real or figurative wall, which his indiscretion had thrown open; and the king of Germany has been justly reproached as a traitor to the civil and ecclesiastical society of the Christians. During the life of Arnulph, the Hungarians were checked by gratitude or fear;

* See Katona, *Hist. Ducum. Hungar.* p. 321—352.

but in the infancy of his son Lewis they discovered and invaded Bavaria; and such was their Scythian speed, that in a single day a circuit of fifty miles was stripped and consumed. In the battle of Augsburg the Christains maintained their advantage till the seventh hour of the day; they were deceived and vanquished by the flying stratagems of the Turkish cavalry. The conflagration spread over the provinces of Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia; and the Hungarians* promoted the reign of anarchy, by forcing the stoutest barons to discipline their vassals and fortify their castles. The origin of walled towns is ascribed to this calamitous period; nor could any distance be secure against an enemy, who, almost at the same instant, laid in ashes the Helvetian monastery of St. Gall, and the city of Bremen, on the shores of the Northern ocean. Above thirty years the Germanic empire, or kingdom, was subject to the ignominy of tribute; and resistance was disarmed by the menace, the serious and effectual menace, of dragging the women and children into captivity, and of slaughtering the males above the age of ten years. I have neither power nor inclination to follow the Hungarians beyond the Rhine; but I must observe with surprise, that the southern provinces of France were blasted by the tempest, and that Spain, behind her Pyrenees, was astonished at the approach of these formidable strangers.† The vicinity of Italy had tempted their early inroads; but from their camp on the Brenta, they beheld with some terror the apparent strength and populousness of the new-discovered country. They requested leave to retire; their request was proudly rejected by the Italian king; and the lives of twenty thousand Christians paid the forfeit of his obstinacy and rashness. Among the cities of the West, the royal Pavia was conspicuous in fame and splendour; and the pre-eminence of Rome itself was only derived from the

* *Hungarorum gens, cujus omnes fere nationes expertæ sævitiam*, &c. is the preface of Luitprand (l. 1, c. 2), who frequently expatiates on the calamities of his own times. See l. 1, c. 5; l. 2, c. 1, 2. 4—7; l. 3, c. 1, &c.; l. 5, c. 8. 15, in *Legat.* p. 485. His colours are glaring, but his chronology must be rectified by Pagi and Muratori.

† The three bloody reigns of Arpad, Zoltan, and Toxus, are critically illustrated by Katona (*Hist. Ducum*, &c. p. 107—499). His diligence has searched both natives and foreigners; yet to the deeds of mischief, or glory, I have been able to add the destruction of Bremen. (*Adam Bremensis*, l. 43.)

relics of the apostles. The Hungarians appeared; Pavia was in flames; forty-three churches were consumed; and, after the massacre of the people, they spared about two hundred wretches, who had gathered some bushels of gold and silver (a vague exaggeration) from the smoking ruins of their country. In these annual excursions from the Alps to the neighbourhood of Rome and Capua, the churches that yet escaped, resounded with a fearful litany: "Oh! save and deliver us from the arrows of the Hungarians!" But the saints were deaf or inexorable; and the torrent rolled forwards, till it was stopped by the extreme land of Calabria.* A composition was offered and accepted for the head of each Italian subject; and ten bushels of silver were poured forth in the Turkish camp. But falsehood is the natural antagonist of violence; and the robbers were defrauded both in the numbers of the assessment and the standard of the metal. On the side of the East the Hungarians were opposed in doubtful conflict by the equal arms of the Bulgarians, whose faith forbade an alliance with the Pagans, and whose situation formed the barrier of the Byzantine empire. The barrier was overturned; the emperor of Constantinople beheld the waving banners of the Turks; and one of their boldest warriors presumed to strike a battle-axe into the golden gate. The arts and treasures of the Greeks diverted the assault; but the Hungarians might boast, in their retreat, that they had imposed a tribute on the spirit of Bulgaria and the majesty of the Cæsars.† The

* Muratori has considered with patriotic care the danger and resources of Modena. The citizens besought St. Geminianus, their patron, to avert by his intercession, the *rabies, flagellum, &c.*

Nunc te rogamus, licet servi pessimi,
Ab Ungerorum nos defendas jaculia.

The bishop erected walls for the public defence, not contra dominos serenos (Antiquitat. Ital. med. Ævi, tom. i. dissertat. 1, p. 21, 22), and the song of the nightly watch is not without elegance or use (tom. iii. diss. 40, p. 709). The Italian annalist has accurately traced the series of their inroads. (Annali d'Italia, tom. vii. p. 365. 367. 393. 401. 437. 440, tom. viii. p. 19. 41. 52. &c.)

† Both the Hungarian and Russian annals suppose, that they besieged, or attacked, or insulted, Constantinople (Pray, dissertat. 10, p. 239, Katona, Hist. Ducum, p. 354—360); and the fact is *almost* confessed by the Byzantine historians (Leo Grammaticus, p. 506; Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 629): yet, however glorious to the nation, it is denied

remote and rapid operations of the same campaign appear to magnify the power and numbers of the Turks; but their courage is most deserving of praise, since a light troop of three or four hundred horse would often attempt and execute the most daring inroads to the gates of Thessalonica and Constantinople. At this disastrous era of the ninth and tenth centuries, Europe was afflicted by a triple scourge from the North, the East, and the South: the Norman, the Hungarian, and the Saracen, sometimes trod the same ground of desolation; and these savage foes might have been compared by Homer to the two lions growling over the carcass of a mangled stag.*

The deliverance of Germany and Christendom was achieved by the Saxon princes, Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, who, in two memorable battles, for ever broke the power of the Hungarians.† The valiant Henry was roused from a bed of sickness by the invasion of his country; but his mind was vigorous, and his prudence successful. "My companions," said he on the morning of the combat, "maintain your ranks, receive on your bucklers the first arrows of the Pagans, and prevent their second discharge by the equal and rapid career of your lances." They obeyed, and conquered; and the historical picture of the castle of Merseburg expressed the features, or at least the character, of Henry, who, in an age of ignorance, intrusted to the finer arts the perpetuity of his name.‡ At the end of twenty

or doubted by the critical historian, and even by the notary of Bela. Their scepticism is meritorious; they could not safely transcribe or believe the rusticorum fabulas; but Katona might have given due attention to the evidence of Luitprand; *Bulgarorum gentem atque Græcorum tributariam fecerant.* (Hist. lib. 2, c. 4. p. 435.)

* ———— λείονθ' ὡς, δηρινθήτην,

"Ὅτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι περὶ καταμένης ἐλάφοιο

Ἀμφω πεινῶντε, μέγα φρονέοντε μάχισθον. Iliad xvi. 756.

† They are amply and critically discussed by Katona. (Hist. Ducum, p. 360—368. 427—470.) Luitprand (lib. 2, c. 8, 9) is the best evidence for the former, and Witichind (Annal. Saxon. lib. 3) of the latter; but the critical historian will not even overlook the horn of a warrior which is said to be preserved at Jaz-berin.

‡ Hunc vero triumphum, tam laude quam memoriâ dignum, ad Merseburgum rex in superiori coenaculo domûs per ζωγραφίαν, id est, picturam, notari præcipit, adeo ut rem veram potius quam verisimilem videas: a high encomium. (Luitprand, lib. 2, c. 9.) Another palace in Germany had been painted with holy subjects by the order of

years, the children of the Turks who had fallen by his sword invaded the empire of his son ; and their force is defined, in the lowest estimate, at one hundred thousand horse. They were invited by domestic faction ; the gates of Germany were treacherously unlocked ; and they spread, far beyond the Rhine and the Meuse, into the heart of Flanders. But the vigour and prudence of Otho dispelled the conspiracy ; the princes were made sensible, that unless they were true to each other, their religion and country were irrecoverably lost ; and the national powers were reviewed in the plains of Augsburg. They marched and fought in eight legions, according to the division of provinces and tribes ; the first, second, and third, were composed of Bavarians ; the fourth of Franconians ; the fifth of Saxons, under the immediate command of the monarch ; the sixth and seventh consisted of Swabians ; and the eighth legion, of a thousand Bohemians, closed the rear of the host. The resources of discipline and valour were fortified by the arts of superstition, which, on this occasion, may deserve the epithets of generous and salutary. The soldiers were purified with a fast ; the camp was blessed with the relics of saints and martyrs ; and the Christian hero girded on his side the sword of Constantine, grasped the invincible spear of Charlemagne, and waved the banner of St. Maurice, the prefect of the Thebæan legion. But his firmest confidence was placed in the holy lance,* whose point was fashioned of the nails of the cross, and which his father had extorted from the king of Burgundy, by the threats of war and the gift of a province. The Hungarians were expected in the front ; they secretly passed the Lech, a river of Bavaria that falls into the Danube ; turned the rear of the Christian army ; plundered the baggage, and disordered the legions of Bohemia and Swabia. The battle was restored by the Franconians, whose

Charlemagne ; and Muratori may justly affirm, *nulla sæcula fuere in quibus pictores desiderati fuerint.* (*Antiquitat. Ital. medii Ævi*, tom. ii. dissert. 24, p. 360, 361.) Our domestic claims to antiquity of ignorance and original imperfection (Mr. Walpole's lively words) are of a much more recent date. *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 2, &c.

* See Baronius, *Annal. Eccles. A.D. 929*, No. 2—5. The lance of Christ is taken from the best evidence ; Luitprand (lib. 4, c. 12), Sigebert, and the acts of St. Gerard ; but the other military relics depend on the faith of the *Gesta Anglorum post Bedam*, lib. 2, c. 8.

duke, the valiant Conrad, was pierced with an arrow as he rested from his fatigues; the Saxons fought under the eyes of their king; and his victory surpassed, in merit and importance, the triumphs of the last two hundred years. The loss of the Hungarians was still greater in the flight than in the action; they were encompassed by the rivers of Bavaria; and their past cruelties excluded them from the hope of mercy. Three captive princes were hanged at Ratisbon, the multitude of prisoners was slain or mutilated, and the fugitives, who presumed to appear in the face of their country, were condemned to everlasting poverty and disgrace.* Yet the spirit of the nation was humbled, and the most accessible passes of Hungary were fortified with a ditch and rampart. Adversity suggested the counsels of moderation and peace: the robbers of the West acquiesced in a sedentary life; and the next generation was taught by a discerning prince, that far more might be gained by multiplying and exchanging the produce of a fruitful soil. The native race, the Turkish or Fennic blood, was mingled with new colonies of Scythian or Sclavonian origin,† many thousands of robust and industrious captives had been imported from all the countries of

* Katona, *Hist. Ducum Hungariae*, p. 500 &c.

† Among these colonies we may distinguish, 1. The Chazars, or Cabari, who joined the Hungarians on their march. (Constant. de Admin. Imp. c. 39, 40, p. 108, 109.) 2. The Jazyges, Moravians, and Siculi, whom they found in the land; the last were *perhaps* a remnant of the Huns of Attila, and were intrusted with the guard of the borders. 3. The Russians, who, like the Swiss in France, imparted a general name to the royal porters. 4. The Bulgarians, whose chiefs (A.D. 956) were invited, cum magnâ multitudine *Hismahelitarum*. Had any of these Sclavonians embraced the Mahometan religion? 5. The Bisseni and Cumans a mixed multitude of Patzinacites, Uzi, Chazars, &c. who had spread to the Lower Danube. The last colony of forty thousand Cumans, A.D. 1239, was received and converted by the kings of Hungary, who derived from that tribe a new regal appellation. (Pray, *Dissert.* 6, 7, p. 109—173. Katona, *Hist. Ducum*, p. 95—99. 259—264. 476. 479—483, &c.) [This note displays the mixture of races by which Hungary was peopled; but the list is not complete. We may add to it the descendants of the Goths, whom Trajan subdued, and the Romans whom he planted in Dacia. The Celtic Scordiscans had no doubt also contributed their offspring. According to Malte Brun (6. 322) the Cumans first appeared in that country about 1086 and continued to arrive till 1237. Their name is still preserved in two large provinces, where especial privileges are enjoyed by their posterity.—ED.]

Europe;* and after the marriage of Geisa with a Bavarian princess, he bestowed honours and estates on the nobles of Germany.† The son of Geisa was invested with the regal title, and the house of Arpad reigned three hundred years in the kingdom of Hungary. But the freeborn barbarians were not dazzled by the lustre of the diadem, and the people asserted their indefeasible right of choosing, deposing, and punishing, the hereditary servant of the state.

III. The name of RUSSIANS‡ was first divulged in the ninth century, by an embassy from Theophilus, emperor of the East, to the emperor of the West, Lewis, the son of Charlemagne. The Greeks were accompanied by the envoys of the great duke, or chagan, or *czar*, of the Russians. In their journey to Constantinople, they had traversed many hostile nations; and they hoped to escape the dangers of their return by requesting the French monarch to transport them by sea to their native country. A closer examination detected their origin: they were the brethren of the Swedes and Normans, whose name was already odious and formidable in France; and it might justly be apprehended, that these Russian strangers were not the messengers of peace, but the emissaries of war. They were detained while the Greeks were dismissed; and Lewis expected a more satisfactory account, that he might obey the laws of hospitality or prudence, according to the interest of both em-

* Christiani autem, quorum pars major populi est, qui ex omni parte mundi illuc tracti sunt captivi, &c. Such was the language of Pilgrinus, the first missionary who entered Hungary, A.D. 973. Pars major is strong. Hist. Ducum, p. 517.

† The fideles Teutonici of Geisa are authenticated in old charters; and Katona, with his usual industry, has made a fair estimate of these colonies, which had been so loosely magnified by the Italian Ranzanus. (Hist. Critic. Ducum, p. 667—681.) [Numerous emigrants from Westphalia, Franconia, and Thuringia, arrived in Hungary during the tenth century. In the year 1002, their chief, Hermann, had founded, and given his name to, the town of Hermanstadt. (Malte Brun, 6. 342.) Their fathers were probably among the multitudes whom Charlemagne expelled from their homes.—ED.]

‡ Among the Greeks, this national appellation has a singular form, Ρωσς, as an undeclinable word, of which many fanciful etymologies have been suggested. I have perused, with pleasure and profit, a dissertation de Origine Russorum (Comment. Academ. Petropolitanae, tom. viii. p. 388—436), by Theophilus Sigefrid Bayer, a learned German, who spent his life and labours in the service of Russia. A geographical tract of D'Anville,

pires.* This Scandinavian origin of the people, or at least the princes, of Russia, may be confirmed and illustrated by the national annals,† and the general history of the North.

De l'Empire de Russie, son Origine et ses Accroissemens (Paris, 1772, in duodecimo), has likewise been of use.

* See the entire passage (dignum, says Bayer, ut aureis in tabulis figatur) in the *Annales Bertiniani Francorum* (in *Script. Ital. Muratori*, tom. ii. pars 1, p. 525), A.D. 839, twenty-two years before the era of Ruric. In the tenth century, Luitprand (*Hist.* l. 5, c. 6) speaks of the Russians and Normans as the same *Aquilonares homines*, of a red complexion. [The early history of Ruric may be gathered from different writers and will clear away much confusion in this statement. Harold, a prince of South Jutland, was expelled from his country in 814 and found an asylum in Germany. Louis I., the son and successor of Charlemagne, took him under his protection, and on his baptism at Ingelheim in 826, gave him, as a fief of the empire, the province of Rustringen in Friesland. This became a nursery of pirates. In 850, a nephew, or according to some a brother, of this Harold, named Röric, with a large armament laid waste the maritime districts of France, where Lothaire purchased his retreat by adding Durstadt to the province already held by him. In the following year he entered the Thames with 350 ships and pillaged Canterbury and London, but was finally defeated and his army almost destroyed by Ethelwulf at Ockley, in Surrey. Some of these facts are found in Muratori (*ann. d'Ital.* xi. 118. 277), who cites Ermoldus Nigellus, lib. iv., Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. Dan.* lib. ix., and the three *Annales Francorum*, Bertiniani, Metenses and Fuldenses. For the others see the *Saxon Chron.* (p. 348, edit. Bohn) Kruse (*Uebersicht der Geschichte*, Tab. xiii.) and Lappenberg (*Hist. of Anglo-Sax. Kings*, ii. p. 22), whose authorities are Prudentius Trecensis and Rudolfus Fuldensis. Röric's last disastrous expedition appears to have deterred him from any further attacks on England. But there can be no doubt that, after ten years, employed in recruiting his forces or in minor enterprises, he was the Ruric of Russian history.—ED.]

† My knowledge of these annals is drawn from M. Levesque, *Histoire de Russie*. Nestor, the first and best of these ancient annalists, was a monk of Kiew, who died in the beginning of the twelfth century, but his chronicle was obscure, till it was published at Petersburg, 1767, in quarto. Levesque, *Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 16. Coxe's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 184. [The late M. Schlözer has translated the *Annals of Nestor* and given a commentary on them. His work is the mine in which the stores of Northern history must henceforth be sought. It will occupy twelve volumes, of which four were published in 1809. The first contains an introduction to the Ancient History of Russia, which the second carries through the period before Ruric and the reign of that prince. The third comprizes that of Oleg, and the fourth that of Igor. M. Ewers, a member of the Imperial Russian Antiquarian Society, published at Riga, in 1808, a dissertation, the object of which is to prove that the founders of the Russian empire came from the South, and were the Turcomanic Chozars. These

The Normans, who had so long been concealed by a veil of impenetrable darkness, suddenly burst forth in the spirit of naval and military enterprise. The vast, and, as it is said, the populous regions of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, were crowded with independent chieftains and desperate adventurers, who sighed in the laziness of peace, and smiled in the agonies of death. Piracy was the exercise, the trade, the glory, and the virtue, of the Scandinavian youth. Impatient of a bleak climate and narrow limits, they started from the banquet, grasped their arms, sounded their horn, ascended their vessels, and explored every coast that promised either spoil or settlement. The Baltic was the first scene of their naval achievements; they visited the eastern shores, the silent residence of Fennic and Slavonian tribes, and the primitive Russians of the lake Ladoga paid a tribute, the skins of white squirrels, to these strangers, whom they saluted with the title of *Varangians*,* or Corsairs. Their superiority in arms, discipline, and renown, commanded the fear and reverence of the natives. In their wars against the more inland savages, the Varangians condescended to serve as friends and auxiliaries, and gradually, by choice or conquest, obtained the dominion of a people whom they were qualified to protect. Their tyranny was expelled, their valour was again recalled, till at length Ruric, a Scandinavian chief, became the father of a dynasty which reigned above seven hundred years. His brothers extended his influence: the example of service and usurpation was imitated by his companions in the southern provinces of Russia; and their establishments, by the usual

objections have been answered by M. Christian Schlözer, the translator's son. Ch. Villers, *Coup-d'œil sur l'Allemagne*, p. 95.—GUILLOT. [Of Schlözer's translation of Nestor's work a fifth volume was published in 1809, bringing the history down to the accession of Vladimir in 980, since which no more has appeared. The substance of Nestor is contained in Levesque (*Hist. de Russie*, 8 vols. 8vo.), and an epitome of both works has lately been given by Kelly in his history of Russia, published in Bohn's Standard Library.—ED.]

* Theophil. Sig. Bayer de Varagis (for the name is differently spelt), in *Comment. Academ. Petropolitane*, tom. iv. 275—311. [The *Varagr* of the Baltic (whose name is probably a corruption of *Faragr*, *farera*, or *wanderers*; see note on the Lombard *Faras*, vol. v. p. 120) must not be confounded with the *Varangi* of Constantinople. See a subsequent note.—ED.]

methods of war and assassination, were cemented into the fabric of a powerful monarchy.

As long as the descendants of Ruric were considered as aliens and conquerors, they ruled by the sword of the Varangians, distributed estates and subjects to their faithful captains, and supplied their numbers with fresh streams of adventurers from the Baltic coast.* But when the Scandinavian chiefs had struck a deep and permanent root into the soil, they mingled with the Russians in blood, religion, and language, and the first Waladimir had the merit of delivering his country from these foreign mercenaries. They had seated him on the throne; his riches were insufficient to satisfy their demands; but they listened to his pleasing advice, that they should seek, not a more grateful, but a more wealthy master; that they should embark for Greece, where, instead of the skins of squirrels, silk and gold would be the recompense of their service. At the same time the Russian prince admonished his Byzantine ally to disperse and employ, to recompense and restrain, these impetuous children of the North. Contemporary writers have recorded the introduction, name, and character of the *Varangians*; each day they rose in confidence and esteem; the whole body was assembled at Constantinople to perform the duty of guards; and their strength was recruited by a numerous band of their countrymen from the island of Thule. On this occasion, the vague appellation of Thule is applied to England; and the new Varangians were a colony of English and Danes, who fled from the yoke of the Norman conqueror. The habits of pilgrimage and piracy had approximated the countries of the earth; these exiles were entertained in the Byzantine court; and they preserved, till the last age of the empire, the inheritance of spotless loyalty, and the use of the Danish or English tongue. With their broad and double-edged battle-axes on their shoulders, they attended the Greek emperor to the temple, the senate and the hippodrome; he slept and feasted under their trusty guard; and the keys of the palace, the

* Yet, as late as the year 1018, Kiow and Russia were still guarded ex fugitivorum servorum robore confluentium, et maxime Danorum. Bayer, who quotes (p. 292) the Chronicle of Dithmar of Merseburgh, observes, that it was unusual for the Germans to enlist in a foreign

treasury, and the capital, were held by the firm and faithful hands of the Varangians.*

In the tenth century, the geography of Scythia was extended far beyond the limits of ancient knowledge; and the monarchy of the Russians obtains a vast and conspicuous place in the map of Constantine.† The sons of Ruric were

service.

* Ducange has collected from the original authors the state and history of the Varangi at Constantinople. (Glossar. Med. et Infimæ Græcitat. sub voce Βιραγγοι. Med. et Infimæ Latinitatis, sub voce *Vagri*. Not. ad Alexiad. Annæ Comnenæ, p. 256—258. Notes sur Villehardouin, p. 296—299.) See likewise the annotations of Reiske to the Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzant. of Constantine, tom. ii. p. 149, 150. Saxo-Grammaticus affirms that they spoke Danish; but Codinus maintains them till the fifteenth century in the use of their native English: Πολυχρονίζουσι οἱ Βάραγγοι κατὰ τὴν πάτριον γλῶσσαν αὐτῶν ἡγοῦν Ἑλληνιστί. [These legends are so inconsistent and confused, that any more probable explanation of the Varangi may be admitted. It is well known that Tacitus (Germ. 40) heard of Varini and Angli as contiguous tribes. Four hundred years later, Theodoric (Cassiod. Var. 3. 3) addressed a letter to a “Rex Guarnorum et Thoringorum,” and the code of laws imperfectly quoted by Gibbon (ch. 38, vol. iv. note, p. 225, 226) proves their existence at a later period, as a part of the Thuringian people. It is likely that some of these abandoned their ancient homes during the wars of Charlemagne, and that their descendants, after years of wandering, made their way to Constantinople, and offered their services to the emperor. Their names of Varini and Angli would easily blend together in that of Varangi; and their Angli language, preserved by them, would still more easily be mistaken by the Greeks for the English of a remote and very imperfectly known people. This hypothesis is far more reasonable than that of the Varægr, or sea-rovers of the Baltic (Mallet, North. Ant. p. 193) having crossed the whole continent of Europe, by overland journeys, to ask for a conveyance back by sea; and of a colony of English and Danes seeking so distant a refuge as Constantinople from their Norman conqueror. See ch. 56. Nicetas (ad Alex. 2) says decidedly that the Varangi were *Germans*. Wilken (Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, 1. 106) calls them *Germanische Völker*. Reiske, in his Commentary (p. 474—6, edit. Niebuhr), makes the ἀκολούθοι of Const. Porph. (De Cere. p. 442) to be the “Varangorum securiferorum magister.” This, if correct, would prove these guards to have wielded their battle-axes in Constantinople seventy years before the time of Vladimir, who is said to have first sent them there. It is, moreover, contended by Reiske that Varangi was only another form of Frangi or Franci. This is far more probable than the current tales; but he himself quotes passages in which Varangi et Franci are named as distinct bands of armed men; nor does he account satisfactorily for there being *Angli* among them. —Ed.]

† The original record of the geography and trade of Russia is produced by the emperor

masters of the spacious province of Wolodomir, or Moscow; and, if they were confined on that side by the hordes of the East, their western frontier in those early days was enlarged to the Baltic sea and the country of the Prussians. Their northern reign ascended above the sixtieth degree of latitude, over the Hyperborean regions, which fancy had peopled with monsters, or clouded with eternal darkness. To the south they followed the course of the Borysthenes, and approached with that river the neighbourhood of the Euxine sea. The tribes that dwelt, or wandered, in this ample circuit, were obedient to the same conqueror, and insensibly blended into the same nation. The language of Russia is a dialect of the Slavonian; but, in the tenth century, these two modes of speech were different from each other; and, as the Slavonian prevailed in the south, it may be presumed that the original Russians of the north, the primitive subjects of the Varangian chief were a portion of the Fennic race. With the emigration, union, or dissolution, of the wandering tribes, the loose and indefinite picture of the Scythian desert has continually shifted. But the most ancient map of Russia affords some places which still retain their name and position; and the two capitals, Novogorod * and Kiow † are coeval with the first age of the monarchy. Novogorod had not yet deserved the epithet of great, nor the alliance of the Hanseatic league, which diffused the

Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administ. Imp.*, a. 2, p. 55, 56; c. 9, p. 59—61; a. 13, p. 63—67; c. 37, p. 106; c. 42, p. 112, 113), and illustrated by the diligence of Bayer (*de Geographiâ Russiæ vicinarumque Regionum, circiter A.C. 948, in Comment. Acad. Petropol.* tom. ix. p. 367—422; tom. x. p. 371—421), with the aid of the Chronicles and traditions of Russia, Scandinavia, &c.

* The haughty proverb "Who can resist God and the great Novogorod?" is applied by M. Levesque (*Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 60) even to the times that preceded the reign of Ruric. In the course of his history, he frequently celebrates this republic, which was suppressed A.D. 1475 (tom. ii. p. 252—266). That accurate traveller, Adam Olearius, describes (in 1635) the remains of Novogorod, and the route by sea and land of the Holstein ambassadors (tom. i. p. 123—129).

† In hac magna civitate, quæ est caput regni, plus trecentæ ecclesiæ habentur et nundinæ octo, populi etiam ignota manus. (Egghardus ad A.D. 1018, apud Bayer, tom. ix. p. 412.) He likewise quotes (tom. x. p. 397) the words of the Saxon annalist, Cujus (*Russiæ*) metropolis est Chive, æmula sceptri Constantinopolitani quæ est clarissimum decus Græciæ. The fame of Kiow, especially in the

streams of opulence and the principles of freedom. Kiow could not yet boast of three hundred churches, an innumerable people, and a degree of greatness and splendour, which was compared with Constantinople by those who had never seen the residence of the Cæsars. In their origin, the two cities were no more than camps or fairs, the most convenient stations in which the Barbarians might assemble for the occasional business of war or trade. Yet even these assemblies announce some progress in the arts of society; a new breed of cattle was imported from the southern provinces; and the spirit of commercial enterprise pervaded the sea and land from the Baltic to the Euxine, from the mouth of the Oder to the port of Constantinople. In the days of idolatry and barbarism, the Slavonic city of Julin was frequented and enriched by the Normans, who had prudently secured a free mart of purchase and exchange.* From this harbour, at the entrance of the Oder, the corsair, or merchant, sailed in forty-three days to the eastern shores of the Baltic; the most distant nations were intermingled,

eleventh century, had reached the German and the Arabian geographers.

* In Odoræ ostio quâ Scythicas alluit paludes, nobilissima civitas Julinum, celeberrimam, Barbaris et Græcis qui sunt in circuitu præstans stationem; est sane maxima omnium quas Europa claudit civitatum. (Adam Bremensis, Hist. Eccles. p. 19.) A strange exaggeration even in the eleventh century. The trade of the Baltic, and the Hanseatic league, are carefully treated in Anderson's Historical Deduction of Commerce; at least in *our* languages, I am not acquainted with any book so satisfactory. (Julin fell in the year 1177, and the Hanseatic league was not formed till the next century. (Sartorius, Geschichte des Hanseatischen Bundes, l. 70.) There are two islands in the mouth of the Oder. On one of them, now called Usedom, stood a sea-port of the ancient Venedi, which old chronicles name Wineta. It was destroyed by fire or flood about the year 800. This catastrophe transferred its trade to Julin, on the adjacent island, between the two channels of the Schweine and Diwenow. In the hands of the Slavonians, this place rose into importance by ministering to the wants of increasing society. It resisted successfully many attacks of the Danes, till, after nearly four hundred years of prosperity, it was overthrown and crushed by their king Waldemar, one of those acts of rapine which induced the Hanse Towns to confederate for mutual protection. This is the best ascertained history of two places respecting which there have been such exaggerations as to make the very existence of Wineta appear doubtful. (Mallet's North. Ant. p. 139.) Yet Sartorius believed them both to have been in succession early centres of Baltic commerce (l. 14). Julin indeed, still survives as Wollin, a small town containing from two to three hundred inhabitants,

and the holy groves of Curland *are said* to have been decorated with *Grecian* and Spanish gold.* Between the sea and Novogorod an easy intercourse was discovered; in the summer through a gulf, a lake, and a navigable river; in the winter season, over the hard and level surface of boundless snows. From the neighbourhood of that city, the Russians descended the streams that fall into the Borysthenes; their canoes, of a single tree, were laden with slaves of every age, furs of every species, the spoil of their bee-hives, and the hides of their cattle; and the whole produce of the North was collected and discharged in the magazines of Kiow. The month of June was the ordinary season of the departure of the fleet; the timber of the canoes was framed into the oars and benches of more solid and capacious boats; and they proceeded without obstacle down the Borysthenes, as far as the seven or thirteen ridges of rocks, which traverse the bed, and precipitate the waters of the river. At the more shallow falls it was sufficient to lighten the vessels; but the deeper cataracts were impassable; and the mariners, who dragged their vessels and their slaves six miles over land, were exposed in this toilsome journey to the robbers of the desert.† At the first island below the falls, the Russians celebrated the festival of their escape; at a second, near the mouth of the river, they repaired their shattered vessels for the longer and more perilous voyage of the Black sea. If they steered along the coast, the Danube was accessible; with a fair wind they could reach in thirty-six or forty hours the opposite shores of Anatolia; and Constan-

from which the island takes its present name. (Zedler, 14. 1578, and 58. 1408.)—ED.]

* According to Adam of Bremen, (*de Situ Daniæ*, p. 58), the old Curland extended eight days' journey along the coast; and by Peter Teutoburgicus (p. 68, A.D. 1326). Memel is defined as the common frontier of Russia, Curland, and Prussia. *Aurum ibi plurimum* (says Adam) *divinis auguribus atque necromanticis omnes domus sunt plene . . . a toto orbe ibi responsa petuntur maxime ab Hispanis* (forsan *Zupanis*, id est *regulis Lettovie*) *et Græciæ*. The name of Greeks was applied to the Russians even before their conversion; an imperfect conversion, if they still consulted the wizards of Curland. (Bayer, tom. x, p. 378—402, &c. Grotius, *Prolegomen. ad Hist. Goth.* p. 99.)

† Constantine only reckons seven cataracts, of which he gives the Russian and Sclavonic names; but thirteen are enumerated by the *Sieur de Beauplan*, a French engineer, who had surveyed the course and navigation of the Dnieper or Borysthenes (*Description del'Ukraine*,

tinople admitted the annual visit of the strangers of the North. They returned at the stated seasons with a rich cargo of corn, wine, and oil, the manufactures of Greece, and the spices of India. Some of their countrymen resided in the capital and provinces; and the national treaties protected the persons, effects, and privileges of the Russian merchant.*

But the same communication which had been opened for the benefit, was soon abused for the injury, of mankind. In a period of one hundred and ninety years, the Russians made four attempts to plunder the treasures of Constantinople; the event was various; but the motive, the means, and the object, were the same in these naval expeditions.† The Russian traders had seen the magnificence and tasted the luxury of the city of the Cæsars. A marvellous tale, and a scanty supply, excited the desires of their savage countrymen; they envied the gifts of nature which their climate denied; they coveted the works of art which they were too lazy to imitate, and too indigent to purchase; the Varangian princes unfurled the banners of piratical adventure, and their bravest soldiers were drawn from the nations that dwelt in the Northern isles of the ocean.‡ The image of their naval armaments was revived in the last century, in the fleets of the Cossacks, which issued from the Borysthenes, to navigate the same seas, for a similar purpose.§ The Greek appellation of *monoxyla*, or single canoes, might be justly applied to the bottom of their vessels. It was scooped

Rouen, 1660, a thin quarto); but the map is unluckily wanting in my copy.

* Nestor apud Levesque, *Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 78—80. From the Dnieper or Borysthenes, the Russians went to Black Bulgaria, Chazaraia, and *Syria*. To Syria, how? where? when? May we not, instead of *Συρία*, read *Συαρία*? (de Administrat. Imp. c. 42. p. 113). The alteration is slight; the position of Suania between Chazaria and Lazica is perfectly suitable; and the name was still used in the eleventh century. (Cedren. tom. ii. p. 770.)

† The wars of the Russians and Greeks in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, are related in the Byzantine annals, especially those of Zonaras and Cedrenus; and all their testimonies are collected in the *Russica* of Stritter, tom. ii. pars 2, p. 939—1044.

‡ Προσεταιρισάμενος δὲ καὶ συμμαχικὸν οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν ταῖς προσαρκταῖς τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ νήσοις ἔθνων. Cedrenus, in *Compend.* p. 758.

§ See Beauplan (*Description de l'Ukraine*, 54—61); his descriptions are lively, his plans accurate, and, except the circumstance of fire-arms, we may read old Russians

out of the long stem of a beech or willow; but the slight and narrow foundation was raised and continued on either side with planks, till it attained the length of sixty, and the height of about twelve, feet. These boats were built without a deck, but with two rudders and a mast; to move with sails and oars; and to contain from forty to seventy men, with their arms and provisions of fresh water and salt fish. The first trial of the Russians was made with two hundred boats; but when the national force was exerted, they might arm against Constantinople a thousand or twelve hundred vessels. Their fleet was not much inferior to the royal navy of Agamemnon, but it was magnified in the eyes of fear to ten or fifteen times the real proportion of its strength and numbers. Had the Greek emperors been endowed with foresight to discern, and vigour to prevent, perhaps they might have sealed with a maritime force the mouth of the Borysthenes. Their indolence abandoned the coast of Anatolia to the calamities of a piratical war, which, after an interval of six hundred years, again infested the Euxine; but as long as the capital was respected, the sufferings of a distant province escaped the notice both of the prince and the historian. The storm which had swept along from the Phasis and Trebizond, at length burst on the Bosphorus of Thrace; a strait of fifteen miles, in which the rude vessels of the Russian might have been stopped and destroyed by a more skilful adversary. In their first enterprise* under the princes of Kiow, they passed without opposition, and occupied the port of Constantinople in the absence of the emperor Michael, the son of Theophilus. Through a crowd of perils he landed at the palace stairs, and immediately repaired to a church of the Virgin Mary.† By the advice of the patriarch, her garment, a precious relic, was drawn from the sanctuary and dipped in the sea; and a seasonable tempest, which determined the retreat of the Russians, was

for modern Cossacks.

* It is to be lamented, that Bayer has only given a dissertation de Russorum *prima* expeditione Constantinopolitana. (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. vi. p. 365—391.) After disentangling some chronological intricacies, he fixes it in the years 864 or 865, a date which might have smoothed some doubts and difficulties in the beginning of M. Levesque's history.

† When Photius wrote his encyclic epistle on the conversion of the Russians, the miracle was not yet sufficiently ripe; he reproaches the nation as εἰς ὁμότητα καὶ μαϊφονίαν πάντας δευτέρους ταπτόμενον.

devoutly ascribed to the mother of God.* The silence of the Greeks may inspire some doubt of the truth, or at least of the importance, of the second attempt by Oleg, the guardian of the sons of Ruric.† A strong barrier of arms and fortifications defended the Bosphorus; they were eluded by the usual expedient of drawing the boats over the isthmus; and this simple operation is described in the national chronicles, as if the Russian fleet had sailed over dry land with a brisk and favourable gale. The leader of the third armament, Igor, the son of Ruric, had chosen a moment of weakness and decay, when the naval powers of the empire were employed against the Saracens. But if courage be not wanting, the instruments of defence are seldom deficient. Fifteen broken and decayed galleys were boldly launched against the enemy; but instead of the single tube of Greek fire usually planted on the prow, the sides and stern of each vessel were abundantly supplied with that liquid combustible. The engineers were dexterous; the weather was propitious; many thousand Russians, who chose rather to be drowned than burnt, leaped into the sea; and those who escaped to the Thracian shore were inhumanly slaughtered by the peasants and soldiers. Yet one third of the canoes escaped into shallow water; and the next spring Igor was again prepared to retrieve his disgrace and claim his revenge.‡ After a long peace, Jaroslaus, the great grandson of Igor, resumed the same project of a naval invasion. A fleet, under the command of his son, was repulsed at the entrance of the Bosphorus by the same artificial flames. But in the rashness of pursuit, the vanguard of the Greeks was encompassed by an irresistible multitude of boats and men; their pro-

* Leo Grammaticus, p. 463, 464. Constantini Continuator, in Script. post. Theophanem, p. 121, 122. Simeon Logothet. p. 445, 446. Georg. Monach. p. 535, 536. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 551. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 162.

† See Nestor and Nicon, in Levesque's *Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 74—80. Katona (*Hist. Ducum*, p. 75—79,) uses his advantage to disprove this Russian victory, which would cloud the siege of Kiow by the Hungarians.

‡ Leo Grammaticus, p. 506, 507. Incert. Contin. p. 263, 264. Simeon Logothet. p. 490, 491. Georg. Monach. p. 588, 589. Cedren. tom. ii. p. 629. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 190, 191; and Luitprand, l. 5, c. 6, who writes from the narratives of his father-in-law, then ambassador at Constantinople, and corrects the vain exaggeration of the Greeks.

vision of fire was probably exhausted; and twenty-four galleys were either taken, sunk, or destroyed.*

Yet the threats or calamities of a Russian war were more frequently diverted by treaty than by arms. In these naval hostilities, every disadvantage was on the side of the Greeks; their savage enemy afforded no mercy, his poverty promised no spoil, his impenetrable retreat deprived the conqueror of the hopes of revenge, and the pride or weakness of empire indulged an opinion, that no honour could be gained or lost in the intercourse with Barbarians. At first their demands were high and inadmissible — three pounds of gold for each soldier or mariner of the fleet; the Russian youth adhered to the design of conquest and glory, but the counsels of moderation were recommended by the hoary sages. “Be content (they said) with the liberal offers of Cæsar; is it not far better to obtain, without a combat, the possession of gold, silver, silks, and all the objects of our desires? Are we sure of victory? Can we conclude a treaty with the sea? We do not tread on the land; we float on the abyss of water, and a common death hangs over our heads.”† The memory of these arctic fleets that seemed to descend from the polar circle, left a deep impression of terror on the imperial city. By the vulgar of every rank, it was asserted and believed, that an equestrian statue in the square of Taurus, was secretly inscribed with a prophecy, how the Russians, in the last days, should become masters of Constantinople.‡ In our own time, a Russian armament, instead of sailing from the Borysthenes, has circumnavigated the continent of Europe; and the Turkish capital has been threatened by a squadron of strong and lofty ships of war, each of which, with its naval science and thundering artillery, could have sunk or scattered a hundred canoes, such as those of their ancestors. Perhaps the present generation may yet behold the accom-

* I can only appeal to Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 758, 759,) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 253, 254); but they grow more weighty and credible as they draw near to their own times.

† Nestor, apud Levesque, *Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 87.

‡ This brazen statue, which had been brought from Antioch, and was melted down by the Latins, was supposed to represent either Joshua or Bellerophon; an odd dilemma. See Nicetas Choniates (p. 413, 414), Codinus (*de Originibus*, C. P. p. 24), and the anonymous writer *de Antiquitat. C. P.* (Banduri, *Imp. Orient.* tom. i. p. 17, 18,)

plishment of the prediction, of a rare prediction, of which the style is unambiguous, and the date unquestionable.

By land the Russians were less formidable than by sea; and as they fought for the most part on foot, their irregular legions must often have been broken and overthrown by the cavalry of the Scythian hordes. Yet their growing towns, however slight and imperfect, presented a shelter to the subject and a barrier to the enemy; the monarchy of Kiow, till a fatal partition, assumed the dominion of the North; and the nations from the Volga to the Danube were subdued or repelled by the arms of Swatoslaus,* the son of Igor, the son of Oleg, the son of Ruric. The vigour of his mind and body was fortified by the hardships of a military and savage life. Wrapped in a bear-skin, Swatoslaus usually slept on the ground, his head reclining on a saddle; his diet was coarse and frugal, and, like the heroes of Homer,† his meat (it was often horse-flesh) was broiled or roasted on the coals. The exercise of war gave stability and discipline to his army; and, it may be presumed, that no soldier was permitted to transcend the luxury of his chief. By an embassy from Nicephorus, the Greek emperor, he was moved to undertake the conquest of Bulgaria, and a gift of fifteen hundred pounds of gold was laid at his feet to defray the expense, or reward the toils, of the expedition. An army of sixty thousand men was assembled and embarked, they sailed from the Borysthenes to the Danube, their landing was effected on the Mæsiian shore; and, after a sharp encounter, the swords of the Russians prevailed against the arrows of the Bulgarian horse. The vanquished king sank into the grave, his children were made captive, and his dominions, as far as mount Hæmus, were subdued or ravaged by the northern invaders. But instead of relinquishing his prey, and performing his engagements, the Varangian prince was more disposed to advance than to retire; and, had his ambi-

who lived about the year 1100. They witness the belief of the prophecy; the rest is immaterial.

* The life of Swatoslaus, or Sviatoslaf, or Sphendosthlabus, is extracted from the Russian chronicles by M. Levesque. (*Hist. de Russie*, tom. i. p. 94—107.)

† This resemblance may be clearly seen in the ninth book of the *Iliad* (205—221,) in the minute detail of the cookery of Achilles. By such a picture, a modern epic poet would disgrace his work, and disgust his reader; but the Greek verses are harmonious; a dead language can seldom appear low or familiar; and at the distance of two

tion been crowned with success, the seat of empire in that early period might have been transferred to a more temperate and fruitful climate. Swatoslaus enjoyed and acknowledged the advantages of his new position, in which he could unite, by exchange or rapine, the various productions of the earth. By an easy navigation he might draw from Russia the native commodities of furs, wax, and hydromel; Hungary supplied him with a breed of horses and the spoils of the West; and Greece abounded with gold, silver, and the foreign luxuries which his poverty had affected to disdain. The bands of Patzinacites, Chozars, and Turks, repaired to the standard of victory; and the ambassador of Nicephorus betrayed his trust, assumed the purple, and promised to share, with his new allies, the treasures of the Eastern world. From the banks of the Danube, the Russian prince pursued his march as far as Adrianople; a formal summons to evacuate the Roman province was dismissed with contempt; and Swatoslaus fiercely replied, that Constantinople might soon expect the presence of an enemy and a master.

Nicephorus could no longer expel the mischief which he had introduced; but his throne and wife were inherited by John Zimisces,* who, in a diminutive body, possessed the spirit and abilities of a hero. The first victory of his lieutenants deprived the Russians of their foreign allies, twenty thousand of whom were either destroyed by the sword, or provoked to revolt, or tempted to desert. Thrace was delivered, but seventy thousand Barbarians were still in arms; and the legions that had been recalled from the new conquests of Syria, prepared, with the return of the spring, to march under the banners of a warlike prince, who declared himself the friend and avenger of the injured Bulgaria. The passes of mount Hæmus had been left unguarded; they were instantly occupied; the Roman vanguard was formed of the *immortals* (a proud imitation of the Persian style); the emperor led the main body of ten thousand five hundred foot; and the rest of his forces

thousand seven hundred years, we are amused with the primitive manners of antiquity.

* This singular epithet is derived from the Armenian language, and Τζιμισκης is interpreted in Greek by *μουζακιζης* or *μοιρακιζης*. As I profess myself equally ignorant of *these* words, I may be indulged in the question in the play: "Pray, which of you is the interpreter?" From the context, they seem to

followed in slow and cautious array with the baggage and military engines. The first exploit of Zimisceus was the reduction of Marcianapolis, or Peristhlaba,* in two days: the trumpets sounded; the walls were scaled; eight thousand five hundred Russians were put to the sword; and the sons of the Bulgarian king were rescued from an ignominious prison, and invested with a nominal diadem. After these repeated losses, Swatoslaus retired to the strong post of Dristra, on the banks of the Danube, and was pursued by an enemy who alternately employed the arms of celerity and delay. The Byzantine galleys ascended the river; the legions completed a line of circumvallation; and the Russian prince was encompassed, assaulted, and famished, in the fortifications of the camp and city. Many deeds of valour were performed: several desperate sallies were attempted; nor was it till after a siege of sixty-five days that Swatoslaus yielded to his adverse fortune. The liberal terms which he obtained announce the prudence of the victor, who respected the valour, and apprehended the despair, of an unconquered mind. The great duke of Russia bound himself by solemn imprecations to relinquish all hostile designs; a safe passage was opened for his return; the liberty of trade and navigation was restored; a measure of corn was distributed to each of his soldiers; and the allowance of twenty-two thousand measures attests the loss and the remnant of the Barbarians. After a painful voyage they again reached the mouth of the Borysthenes; but their provisions were exhausted, the season was unfavourable; they passed the winter on the ice; and before they could prosecute their march, Swatoslaus was surprised and oppressed by the neighbouring tribes, with whom the Greeks

signify *Adolescentulus*. (Leo Diacon. l. 4. MS. apud Ducange, Glossar. Græc. p. 1570.)

* In the Slavonic tongue, the name of Peristhlaba implied the great or illustrious city, *μεγάλη καὶ οὐρα καὶ λεγομένη*, says Anna Comnena. (Alexiad. l. 7, p. 194.) From its position between mount Hæmus and the lower Danube, it appears to fill the ground, or at least the station, of Marcianopolis. The situation of Durostolus, or Dristra, is well known and conspicuous. (Comment. Academ. Petropol. tom. ix. p. 415, 416. D'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, tom. i. p. 307. 311.) [Pereiaslavetz is the name given to the chief town of the Bulgarians by later writers. History of Russia by W. A. Kelly, vol. i. p. 23.—ED.]

entertained a perpetual and useful correspondence.* Far different was the return of Zimisce, who was received in his capital like Camillus or Marius, the saviours of ancient Rome. But the merit of the victory was attributed by the pious emperor to the mother of God; and the image of the Virgin Mary, with the divine infant in her arms, was placed on a triumphal car, adorned with the spoils of war and the ensigns of Bulgarian royalty. Zimisce made his public entry on horseback; the diadem on his head, a crown of laurel in his hand; and Constantinople was astonished to applaud the martial virtues of her sovereign.†

Photius of Constantinople, a patriarch whose ambition was equal to his curiosity, congratulates himself and the Greek church on the conversion of the Russians.‡ Those fierce and bloody Barbarians had been persuaded by the voice of reason and religion to acknowledge Jesus for their God, the Christian missionaries for their teachers, and the Romans for their friends and brethren. His triumph was transient and premature. In the various fortune of their piratical adventures, some Russian chiefs might allow themselves to be sprinkled with the waters of baptism; and a Greek bishop, with the name of metropolitan, might administer the sacraments in the church of Kiow, to a congregation of slaves and natives. But the seed of the gospel was sown on a barren soil: many were the apostates, the converts were few; and the baptism of Olga may be fixed as the era of Russian Christianity.§ A female, perhaps of

* The political management of the Greeks, more especially with the Patzinacites, is explained in the seven first chapters de Administr. Imp.

† In the narrative of this war, Leo the Deacon (apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. A.D. 968—973) is more authentic and circumstantial than Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 660—683) and Zonaras, (tom. ii. p. 205—214.) These declaimers have multiplied to three hundred and eight thousand, and three hundred and thirty thousand men, those Russian forces, of which the contemporary had given a moderate and consistent account. [Nestor goes to the opposite extreme and makes Sviatoslaf always victorious, with only ten thousand men. Kelly's Russia, i. p. 25. He was stopped by the cataracts of the Dnieper and killed there. Ib. and Kruse, Tab. xiv.—Ed.]

‡ Phot. Epistol. 2, No. 35, p. 58, edit. Montacut. It was unworthy of the learning of the editor to mistake the Russian nation, το Ρως, for a war cry of the Bulgarians; nor did it become the enlightened patriarch to accuse the Slavonian idolaters τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ἀθείου δόξης. They were neither Greeks nor atheists.

§ M. Levesque has extracted

the basest origin, who could revenge the death, and assume the sceptre, of her husband Igor, must have been endowed with those active virtues which command the fear and obedience of barbarians. In a moment of foreign and domestic peace, she sailed from Kiow to Constantinople; and the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus has described with minute diligence the ceremonial of her reception in his capital and palace. The steps, the titles, the salutations, the banquet, the presents, were exquisitely adjusted, to gratify the vanity of the stranger, with due reverence to the superior majesty of the purple.* In the sacrament of baptism, she received the venerable name of the empress Helena; and her conversion might be preceded or followed by her uncle, two interpreters, sixteen damsels of a higher, and eighteen of a lower rank, twenty-two domestics or ministers, and forty-four Russian merchants, who composed the retinue of the great princess Olga. After her return to Kiow and Novogorod, she firmly persisted in her new religion; but her labours in the propagation of the gospel were not crowned with success; and both her family and nation adhered with obstinacy or indifference to the gods of their fathers. Her son Swatoslaus was apprehensive of the scorn and ridicule of his companions; and her grandson Wolodomir devoted his youthful zeal to multiply and decorate the monuments of ancient worship. The savage deities of the north were still propitiated with human sacrifices: in the choice of the victim, a citizen was preferred to a stranger, a Christian to an idolater; and the father, who defended his son from the sacerdotal knife, was involved in the same doom by the rage of a fanatic tumult. Yet the lessons and example of the pious Olga had made a deep, though secret, impression on the minds of the prince and people; the Greek missionaries continued to preach, to dispute, and to baptize; and the ambassadors or merchants of Russia compared the idolatry of the woods with the

from old chronicles and modern researches, the most satisfactory account of the religion of the *Slavi*, and the conversion of Russia. (Hist. de Russie, tom. i. p. 35—54, 59, 92, 93, 113—121, 124—129, 148, 149, &c.)

* See the *Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzant.* tom. ii. c. 15, p. 343—345; the style of Olga, or Elga, is Ἀρχόντισσα Ῥωσσίας. For the chief of barbarians the Greeks whimsically borrowed the title of an Athenian magistrate, with a female termination, which would have astonished the ears of Demosthenes.

elegant superstition of Constantinople. They had gazed with admiration on the dome of St. Sophia, the lively pictures of saints and martyrs, the riches of the altar, the number and vestments of the priests, the pomp and order of the ceremonies; they were edified by the alternate succession of devout silence and harmonious song; nor was it difficult to persuade them, that a choir of angels descended each day from heaven to join in the devotion of the Christians.* But the conversion of Wolodomir was determined or hastened, by his desire of a Roman bride. At the same time, and in the city of Cherson, the rites of baptism and marriage were celebrated by the Christian pontiff; the city he restored to the emperor Basil, the brother of his spouse; but the brazen gates were transported, as it is said, to Novogorod, and erected before the first church as a trophy of his victory and faith.† At his despotic command, Peroun, the god of thunder, whom he had so long adored, was dragged through the streets of Kiow: and twelve sturdy Barbarians battered with clubs the mis-shapen image, which was indignantly cast into the waters of the Borysthenes. The edict of Wolodomir had proclaimed that all who should refuse the rites of baptism would be treated as the enemies of God and their prince; and the rivers were instantly filled with many thousands of obedient Russians, who acquiesced in the truth and excellence of a doctrine which had been embraced by the great duke and his boyars. In the next generation, the relics of Paganism were finally extirpated; but as the two brothers of Wolodomir had died without baptism, their bones were taken from the grave, and sanctified by an irregular and posthumous sacrament.

In the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, of the Chris-

* See an anonymous fragment published by Banduri (*Imperium Orientale*, tom. ii. p. 112, 113) de Conversione Russorum.

† Cherson, or Corsun, is mentioned by Herberstein (*apud Pagi*, tom. iv. p. 56) as the place of Wolodomir's baptism and marriage; and both the tradition and the gates are still preserved at Novogorod. Yet an observing traveller transports the brazen gates from Magdeburgh in Germany (*Coxe's Travels into Russia*, &c. vol. i. p. 452), and quotes an inscription which seems to justify his opinion. The modern reader must not confound this old Cherson of the Tauric or Crimean peninsula, with a new city of the same name, which has arisen near the mouth of the Borysthenes, and was lately honoured by the

tian era, the reign of the gospel and of the church was extended over Bulgaria, Hungary, Bohemia, Saxony, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Russia.* The triumphs of apostolic zeal were repeated in the iron age of Christianity; and the northern and eastern regions of Europe submitted to a religion, more different in theory than in practice from the worship of their native idols. A laudable ambition excited the monks, both of Germany and Greece, to visit the tents and huts of the Barbarians; poverty, hardships, and dangers, were the lot of the first missionaries; their courage was active and patient; their motive pure and meritorious; their present reward consisted in the testimony of their conscience and the respect of a grateful people; but the fruitful harvest of their toils was inherited and enjoyed by the proud and wealthy prelates of succeeding times. The first conversions were free and spontaneous; a holy life and an eloquent tongue were the only arms of the missionaries; but the domestic fables of the Pagans were silenced by the miracles and visions of the strangers; and the favourable temper of the chiefs was accelerated by the dictates of vanity and interest. The leaders of nations, who were saluted with the titles of kings and saints,† held it lawful and pious to impose the Catholic faith on their subjects and neighbours; the coast of the Baltic, from Holstein to the gulf of Finland, was invaded under the standard of the cross; and the reign of idolatry was closed by the conversion of Lithuania in the fourteenth century. Yet truth and candour must acknowledge, that the conversion of the North imparted many temporal benefits both to the old and the new Christians. The rage of war, inherent to the human species, could not be healed by the evangelic precepts of charity and peace; and the ambition of Catholic princes has renewed in every age the calamities of hostile contention. But the admission of the Barbarians into the pale of civil and eccle-

memorable interview of the empress of Russia with the emperor of the West. [The ancient Cherson stood near the present harbour of Sebastopol. (Dr. Clarke's Travels, v. i. p. 506.) Justinian II. was exiled there. See vol. v. p. 295.—ED.]

* Consult the Latin text, or English version of Mosheim's excellent history of the church, under the first head or section of each of these centuries.

† In the year 1000, the ambassadors of St. Stephen received from pope Sylvester the title of King of Hungary, with a diadem of Greek workmanship. It had been designed for the duke of Poland; but the Poles, by their own con-

siastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Huugarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions.* The establishment of law and order was promoted by the influence of the clergy; and the rudiments of art and science were introduced into the savage countries of the globe. The liberal piety of the Russian princes engaged in their service the most skilful of the Greeks to decorate the cities and instruct the inhabitants; the dome and the paintings of St. Sophia were rudely copied in the churches of Kiow and Novogorod; the writings of the fathers were translated into the Slavonic idiom; and three hundred noble youths were invited or compelled to attend the lessons of the college of Jaroslaus. It should appear that Russia might have derived an early and rapid improvement from her peculiar connection with the church and state of Constantinople, which in that age so justly despised the ignorance of the Latins. But the Byzantine nation was servile, solitary, and verging to a hasty decline; after the fall of Kiow, the navigation of the Borysthenes was forgotten; the great princes of Wolodomir and Moscow were separated from the sea and Christendom; and the divided monarchy was oppressed by the ignominy and blindness of Tartar servitude.† The Slavonic and Scandinavian kingdoms, which had been converted by the Latin missionaries, were exposed, it is true, to the spiritual jurisdiction and

fession, were yet too barbarous to deserve an *angelical* and *apostolical* crown. (Katona, Hist. Critic. Regum Stirpis Arpadianæ, tom. i. p. 1—20.)

* Listen to the exultations of Adam of Bremen (A.D. 1080), of which the substance is agreeable to truth: *Ecce illa ferocissima Danorum, &c. natio jamdudum novit in Dei laudibus Alleluia resonare Ecce populus ille piraticus . . . suis nunc finibus contentus est. Ecce patria horribilis semper inaccessa propter cultum idolorum prædicatores veritatis ubique certatim admittit, &c.* (de Situ Daniæ, &c. p. 40, 41, edit Elzevir): a curious and original prospect of the North of Europe, and the introduction of Christianity. [The conversion of Denmark was commenced by Harold, after his baptism at Ingelheim in 826. (See p. 275.) On a visit to his native country, he took with him the monk Anschar, who established the first churches in Schleswig and Ripen, and was appointed archbishop of Hamburg in 831. Kruse, Tab. xiii.—Ed.]

† The great princes removed in 1156 from Kiow, which was ruined by the Tartars in 1240. Moscow became the seat of empire in the fourteenth century. See the first and second volumes of Levesque's History, and Mr. Coxe's Travels into the North, tom. i. p. 241, &c.

temporal claims of the popes;* but they were united, in language and religious worship, with each other, and with Rome; they imbibed the free and generous spirit of the European republic, and gradually shared the light of knowledge which arose on the western world.

CHAPTER LVI.—THE SARACENS, FRANKS, AND GREEKS, IN ITALY.—FIRST ADVENTURES AND SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS.—CHARACTER AND CONQUESTS OF ROBERT GUISCARD, DUKE OF APULIA.—DELIVERANCE OF SICILY BY HIS BROTHER ROGER.—VICTORIES OF ROBERT OVER THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST AND WEST.—ROGER, KING OF SICILY, INVADES AFRICA AND GREECE.—THE EMPEROR MANUEL COMNENUS.—WARS OF THE GREEKS AND NORMANS.—EXTINCTION OF THE NORMANS.

THE three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy.† The southern provinces, which now compose the kingdom of Naples, were subject for the most part, to the Lombard dukes and princes of Beneventum;‡ so powerful in war, that they checked for a moment the genius of Charlemagne; so liberal in peace, that they main-

* The ambassadors of St. Stephen had used the reverential expressions of *regnum oblatum, debitam obedientiam, &c.* which were most rigorously interpreted by Gregory VII.; and the Hungarian Catholics are distressed between the sanctity of the pope and the independence of the crown. (Katona, *Hist. Critica*, tom. i. p. 20—25; tom. ii. p. 304, 346, 360, &c.)

† For the general history of Italy, in the ninth and tenth centuries, I may properly refer to the fifth, sixth, and seventh books of Sigonius de Regno Italix (in the second volume of his works, Milan, 1732); the Annals of Baronius, with the Criticism of Pagi; the seventh and eighth books of the *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli* of Giannone; the seventh and eighth volumes (the octavo edition) of the *Annali d'Italia* of Muratori, and the second volume of the *Abrégé Chronologique* of M. de St. Marc, a work which, under a superficial title, contains much genuine learning and industry. But my long-accustomed reader will give me credit for saying, that I myself have ascended to the fountain-head, as often as such ascent could be either profitable or possible; and that I have diligently turned over the originals in the first volumes of Muratori's great collection of the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*.

‡ Camillo Pellegrino, a learned Capuan of the last century, has illustrated the history of the duchy of Beneventum, in his two books, *Historia principum Longobardorum*, in the *Scriptores* of Muratori, tom. ii. pars 1, p. 221—345, and tom. v. p. 159—245.

tained in their capital an academy of thirty-two philosophers and grammarians. The division of this flourishing state produced the rival principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua; and the thoughtless ambition or revenge of the competitors invited the Saracens to the ruin of their common inheritance. During a calamitous period of two hundred years, Italy was exposed to a repetition of wounds, which the invaders were not capable of healing by the union and tranquillity of a perfect conquest. Their frequent and almost annual squadrons issued from the port of Palermo, and were entertained with too much indulgence by the Christians of Naples; the more formidable fleets were prepared on the African coast, and even the Arabs of Andalusia were sometimes tempted to assist or oppose the Moslems of an adverse sect. In the revolution of human events, a new ambuscade was concealed in the Caudine Forks, the fields of Cannæ were bedewed a second time with the blood of the Africans, and the sovereign of Rome again attacked or defended the walls of Capua and Tarentum. A colony of Saracens had been planted at Bari, which commands the entrance of the Adriatic Gulf; and their impartial depredations provoked the resentment, and conciliated the union, of the two emperors. An offensive alliance was concluded between Basil the Macedonian, the first of his race, and Lewis, the great-grandson of Charlemagne,* and each party supplied the deficiencies of his associate. It would have been imprudent in the Byzantine monarch to transport his stationary troops of Asia to an Italian campaign; and the Latin arms would have been insufficient, if *his* superior navy had not occupied the mouth of the Gulf. The fortress of Bari was invested by the infantry of the Franks, and by the cavalry and galleys of the Greeks; and, after a defence of four years, the Arabian emir submitted to the clemency of Lewis, who commanded in person the operations of the siege. This important conquest had been achieved by the concord of the East and West; but their recent amity was soon imbittered by the mutual complaints of jealousy and pride. The Greeks assumed as their own the merit of the conquest and the pomp of the triumph, extolled the greatness of their powers, and affected to deride the intemper-

* See Constantine. *Porphyrogen. de Thematibus*, l. 2, c. 11, in Vit. Basil. c. 55, p. 181.

ance and sloth of the handful of Barbarians who appeared under the banners of the Carlovingian prince. His reply is expressed with the eloquence of indignation and truth: "We confess the magnitude of your preparations (says the great-grandson of Charlemagne). Your armies were indeed as numerous as a cloud of summer locusts, who darken the the day, flap their wings, and, after a short flight, tumble weary and breathless to the ground. Like them, ye sank after a feeble effort; ye were vanquished by your own cowardice, and withdrew from the scene of action to injure and dispoil our Christian subjects of the Sclavonian coast. We were few in number, and why were we few? because, after a tedious expectation of your arrival, I had dismissed my host, and retained only a chosen band of warriors to continue the blockade of the city. If they indulged their hospitable feasts in the face of danger and death, did these feasts abate the vigour of their enterprise? Is it by your fasting that the walls of Bari have been overturned? Did not these valiant Franks, diminished as they were by languor and fatigue, intercept and vanquish the three most powerful emirs of the Saracens? and did not their defeat precipitate the fall of the city? Bari is now fallen; Tarentum trembles; Calabria will be delivered; and, if we command the sea, the island of Sicily may be rescued from the hands of the infidels. My brother (a name most offensive to the vanity of the Greek), accelerate your naval succours, respect your allies, and distrust your flatterers."*

These lofty hopes were soon extinguished by the death of Lewis and the decay of the Carlovingian house; and whoever might deserve the honour, the Greek emperors, Basil, and his son Leo, secured the advantage, of the reduction of Bari. The Italians of Apulia and Calabria were persuaded or compelled to acknowledge their supremacy, and an ideal line from mount Garganus to the bay of Salerno, leaves the far greater part of the kingdom of Naples under the dominion of the Eastern empire. Beyond that line the dukes or republics of Amalfi† and Naples, who had never forfeited

* The original epistle of the emperor Lewis II. to the emperor Basil, a curious record of the age, was first published by Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 871, No. 51—71), from the Vatican MS. of Erchempert, or rather of the anonymous historian of Salerno.

† See an excellent dissertation de Republicâ Amalphitanâ, in the

their voluntary allegiance, rejoiced in the neighbourhood of their lawful sovereign; and Amalfi was enriched by supplying Europe with the produce and manufactures of Asia. But the Lombard princes of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua,* were reluctantly torn from the communion of the Latin world, and too often violated their oaths of servitude and tribute. The city of Bari rose to dignity and wealth, as the metropolis of the new theme or province of Lombardy; the title of patrician, and afterwards the singular name of *Catapan*,† was assigned to the supreme governor; and the policy both of the church and state was modelled in exact subordination to the throne of Constantinople. As long as the sceptre was disputed by the princes of Italy, their efforts were feeble and adverse; and the Greeks resisted or eluded the forces of Germany, which descended from the Alps under the imperial standard of the Othos. The first and greatest of those Saxon princes was compelled to relinquish the siege of Bari; the second, after the loss of his stoutest bishops and barons, escaped with honour from the bloody field of Crotona. On that day the scale of

Appendix (p. 1 — 42) of Henry Brenckmann's *Historia Pandectarum*. (Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1722, in 4to.)

* Your master, says Nicephorus, has given aid and protection principibus Capuano et Beneventano, servis meis, quos oppugnare dispono Nova (potius nota) res est quod eorum patres et avi nostro Imperio tributa dederunt. (Luitprand, in Legat. p. 484.) Salerno is not mentioned, yet the prince changed his party about the same time, and Camillo Pellegrino (*Script. Rer. Ital.* tom. ii. pars 1, p. 285) has nicely discerned this change in the style of the anonymous chronicle. On the rational ground of history and language, Luitprand (p. 480) had asserted the Latin claim to Apulia and Calabria.

† See the Greek and Latin Glossaries of Ducange (*Καταπαν*, *catapanus*) and his notes on the Alexias (p. 275). Against the contemporary notion, which derives it from *Karā nāv*, *juxta omne*, he treats it as a corruption of the Latin *capitaneus*. Yet M. de St. Marc has accurately observed (*Abrégé Chronologique*, tom. ii. p. 924), that in this age the capitanei were not *captains*, but only nobles of the first rank, the great valvassors of Italy. [In his Latin Glossary (2, 412) Ducange cites from Gul. Appulus (l. i.) the passage in which occurs the line—

Quod catapan Græci, nos juxta dicimus omne.

This, from a writer living when the term was not obsolete, ought to be a decisive proof of its meaning. Mr. Hallam so accepted it, as denoting "one employed in the general administration of affairs." *Middle Ages*, 1, 334.—ED.]

war was turned against the Franks by the valour of the Saracens.* These corsairs had indeed been driven by the Byzantine fleets from the fortresses and coasts of Italy; but a sense of interest was more prevalent than superstition or resentment, and the caliph of Egypt had transported forty thousand Moslems to the aid of his Christian ally. The successors of Basil amused themselves with the belief, that the conquest of Lombardy had been achieved, and was still preserved, by the justice of their laws, the virtues of their ministers, and the gratitude of a people whom they had rescued from anarchy and oppression. A series of rebellions might dart a ray of truth into the palace of Constantinople, and the illusions of flattery were dispelled by the easy and rapid success of the Norman adventurers.

The revolution of human affairs had produced in Apulia and Calabria, a melancholy contrast between the age of Pythagoras and the tenth century of the Christian era. At the former period, the coast of Great Greece (as it was then styled) was planted with free and opulent cities; these cities were peopled with soldiers, artists, and philosophers; and the military strength of Tarentum, Sybaris, or Crotona, was not inferior to that of a powerful kingdom. At the second era, these once flourishing provinces were clouded with ignorance, impoverished by tyranny, and depopulated by Barbarian war; nor can we severely accuse the exaggeration of a contemporary, that a fair and ample district was reduced to the same desolation which had covered the earth after the general deluge.† Among the

* Οὐ μόνον γὰρ διὰ πολέμων ἀκριβῶς ἐτεταγμένων τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπήγαγε τὸ ἔθνος (the Lombards) ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγγινοῖα χρησάμενος, καὶ δικαιοσύνη δε χρηστότητι ἐπιεικῶς τε τοῖς προσερχομένοις προσφερόμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς πάσης τε δουλείας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φορολογιῶν χαριζόμενος. (Leon. Tactic. c. 15, p. 471.) The little Chronicle of Beneventum (tom. ii. pars 1, 280) gives a far different character of the Greeks during the five years (A.D. 891—896) that Leo was master of the city.

† Calabriam adeunt, eamque inter se divisam reperientes funditus depopulati sunt (or depopularunt) ita ut deserta sit velut in diluvio. Such is the text of Herempert, or Erchempert, according to the two editions of Caraccioli (Rer. Italic. Script. tom. v. p. 23) and of Camillo Pellegrino (tom. ii. pars 1, p. 246). Both were extremely scarce when they were reprinted by Muratori. [The vicissitudes of Southern Italy or Magna Græcia, were connected with the general fate of Europe. We there see, first, the natural tendency of mind to advance, when

hostilities of the Arabs, the Franks, and the Greeks, in the southern Italy, I shall select two or three anecdotes expressive of their national manners. I. It was the amusement of the Saracens to profane, as well as to pillage, the monasteries and churches. At the siege of Salerno, a Mussulman chief spread his couch on the communion-table, and on that altar sacrificed each night the virginity of a Christian nun. As he wrestled with a reluctant maid, a beam in the roof was accidentally or dexterously thrown down on his head; and the death of the lustful emir was imputed to the wrath of Christ, which was at length awakened to the defence of his faithful spouse.* II. The Saracens besieged the cities of Beneventum and Capua; after a vain appeal to the successors of Charlemagne, the Lombards implored the clemency and aid of the Greek emperor.† A fearless citizen dropped from the walls, passed the intrenchments, accomplished his commission, and fell into the hands of the Barbarians, as he was returning with the welcome news. They commanded him to assist their enterprise, and deceive his countrymen, with the assurance that wealth and honours should be the reward of his falsehood, and that his sincerity would be punished with immediate death. He affected to yield, but as soon as he was conducted within hearing of the Christians on the rampart, "Friends and brethren (he cried with a loud voice), be bold and patient, maintain the city; your sovereign is informed of your distress, and your deliverers are at hand. I know my doom, and commit my wife and children to your gratitude." The rage of the Arabs confirmed his evidence; and the self-devoted patriot

allowed to use its powers freely; and then, its decline and debasement, when the exercise of those powers is obstructed. This is the universal lesson of history.—Ed.]

* Baronius (*Annal. Eccles.* A.D. 874, No. 2) has drawn this story from a MS. of Erchempert, who died at Capua only fifteen years after the event. But the cardinal was deceived by a false title, and we can only quote the anonymous *Chronicle of Salerno* (*Paralipomena*, c. 110), composed towards the end of the tenth century, and published in the second volume of Muratori's Collection. (See the dissertations of Camillo Pellegrino, tom. ii. pars 1, p. 231—281, &c.)

† Constantine Porphyrogenitus (in *Vit. Basil.* c. 58, p. 183) is the original author of this story. He places it under the reigns of Basil and Lewis II.; yet the reduction of Beneventum by the Greeks is dated A.D. 891, after the decease of both of those princes.

was transpierced with a hundred spears. He deserves to live in the memory of the virtuous, but the repetition of the same story in ancient and modern times, may sprinkle some doubts on the reality of this generous deed.* III. The recital of the third incident may provoke a smile amidst the horrors of war. Theobald, marquis of Camerino and Spoleto,† supported the rebels of Beneventum; and his wanton cruelty was not incompatible in that age with the character of a hero. His captives of the Greek nation or party were castrated without mercy, and the outrage was aggravated by a cruel jest, that he wished to present the emperor with a supply of eunuchs, the most precious ornaments of the Byzantine court. The garrison of a castle had been defeated in a sally, and the prisoners were sentenced to the customary operation. But the sacrifice was disturbed by the intrusion of a frantic female, who, with bleeding cheeks, dishevelled hair, and importunate clamors, compelled the marquis to listen to her complaint. "Is it thus (she cried), ye magnanimous heroes, that ye wage war against women, against women who have never injured ye, and whose only arms are the distaff and the loom?" Theobald denied the charge, and protested, that since the Amazons, he had never heard of a female war. "And how (she furiously exclaimed) can you attack us more directly, how can you wound us in a more vital part, than by robbing our husbands of what we most dearly cherish, the source of our joys, and the hope of our posterity? The plunder of our flocks and herds I have endured without a murmur, but this fatal injury, this irreparable loss, subdues my patience, and calls aloud on the justice of heaven and earth." A general laugh applauded her eloquence; the savage Franks,

* In the year 663, the same tragedy is described by Paul the deacon (de Gestis Langobard. l. 5, c. 7, 8, p. 870, 871, edit. Grot.) under the walls of the same city of Beneventum. But the actors are different, and the guilt is imputed to the Greeks themselves, which in the Byzantine edition is applied to the Saracens. In the late war in Germany, M. d'Assas, a French officer of the regiment of Auvergne, is said to have devoted himself in a similar manner. His behaviour is the more heroic, as mere silence was required by the enemy who had made him prisoner. (Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. c. 33, tom. ix. p. 172.)

† Theobald, who is styled *Heros* by Luitprand, was properly duke of Spoleto and marquis of Camerino, from the year 926 to 935. The title and office of marquis (commander of the march or frontier) was

inaccessible to pity, were moved by her ridiculous, yet rational despair; and with the deliverance of the captives, she obtained the restitution of her effects. As she returned in triumph to the castle, she was overtaken by a messenger, to inquire, in the name of Theobald, what punishment should be inflicted on her husband, were he again taken in arms? "Should such (she answered without hesitation) be his guilt and misfortune, he has eyes, and a nose, and hands, and feet. These are his own, and these he may deserve to forfeit by his personal offences. But let my lord be pleased to spare what his little handmaid presumes to claim as her peculiar and lawful property."*

The establishment of the Normans in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily,† is an event most romantic in its origin, and in its consequences most important both to Italy and the Eastern empire. The broken provinces of the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, were exposed to every invader, and every sea and land were invaded by the adventurous spirit of the Scandinavian pirates. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, a fair and ample territory was accepted, occupied, and named, by the Normans of France; they renounced their gods for the God of the Christians;‡ and the dukes of Normandy acknowledged themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. The

introduced into Italy by the French emperors. (*Abrégé Chronologique*, tom. ii. p. 645—732, &c.)

* Luitprand, *Hist.* l. 4, c. 4, in the *Rerum. Italic. Scrip.* tom. i. pars 1, p. 453, 454. Should the licentiousness of the tale be questioned, I may exclaim with poor Sterne, that it is hard if I may not transcribe with caution, what a bishop could write without scruple! What if I had translated, ut *viris certetis testiculos amputare, in quibus nostri corporis refocillatio, &c.*?

† The original monuments of the Normans in Italy are collected in the fifth volume of Muratori, and among these we may distinguish the poem of William Appulus (p. 245—278,) and the history of Galfridus (*Jeffery*) Malaterra (p. 537—607.). Both were natives of France, but they wrote on the spot, in the age of the first conquerors (before A.D. 1100,) and with the spirit of freemen. It is needless to recapitulate the compilers and critics of Italian history, Sigonius, Baronius, Pagi, Giannone, Muratori, St. Marc, &c., whom I have always consulted, and never copied.

‡ Some of the first converts were baptized ten or twelve times, for the sake of the white garment usually given at this ceremony. At the funeral of Rollo, the gifts to monasteries for the repose of his soul were accompanied by a sacrifice of one hundred captives. But in a generation or two, the national change was pure and general.

savage fierceness which they had brought from the snowy mountains of Norway was refined, without being corrupted, in a warmer climate; the companions of Rollo insensibly mingled with the natives; they imbibed the manners, language,* and gallantry, of the French nation; and in a martial age, the Normans might claim the palm of valour and glorious achievements. Of the fashionable superstitions, they embraced with ardour the pilgrimages of Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land. In this active devotion, their minds and bodies were invigorated by exercise; danger was the incentive, novelty the recompense; and the prospect of the world was decorated by wonder, credulity, and ambitious hope. They confederated for their mutual defence; and the robbers of the Alps, who had been allured by the garb of a pilgrim, were often chastised by the arm of a warrior. In one of these pious visits to the cavern of mount Garganus in Apulia, which had been sanctified by the apparition of the archangel Michael,† they were accosted by a stranger in the Greek habit, but who soon revealed himself as a rebel, a fugitive, and a mortal foe of the Greek empire. His name was Melo; a noble citizen of Bari, who, after an unsuccessful revolt, was compelled to seek new allies and avengers of his country. The bold appearance of the Normans revived his hopes and solicited his confidence;‡ they

* The Danish language was still spoken by the Normans of Bayeux on the sea-coast, at a time (A.D. 940) when it was already forgotten at Rouen, in the court and capital. Quem (Richard I.) confestim pater Baiocas mittens Botoni militiæ suæ principi nutriendum tradidit, ut, ibi *lingua* eruditus *Danica*, suis exterisque hominibus sciret aperte dare responsa. (Wilhelm. Gemeticensis de Ducibus Normannis, l. 3, c. 8, p. 623, edit. Camden.) Of the vernacular and favourite idiom of William the Conqueror (A.D. 1035,) Selden (Opera, tom. ii. p. 1640—1656,) has given a specimen, obsolete and obscure even to antiquarians and lawyers.

† See Leandro Alberti (Descrizione d'Italia, p. 250,) and Baronius (A.D. 493. No. 43.). If the archangel inherited the temple and oracle, perhaps the cavern, of old Calchas the soothsayer (Strab. Geograph. l. 6, p. 435, 436,) the Catholics, on this occasion, have surpassed the Greeks in the elegance of their superstition.

‡ [M. Guizot here quotes Sismondi who (Repub. i. 263) relates very differently the first advent of these strangers in Italy. His story is, that fifty Norman pilgrims, returning from the Holy Land, arrived at Salerno, just when it was attacked by a body of Saracens, and by their valour contributed greatly to the defeat of the invaders. Guimar III., then prince of the place, wished to retain such valuable friends in his service; but they declined his

listened to the complaints, and still more to the promises, of the patriot. The assurance of wealth demonstrated the justice of his cause; and they viewed, as the inheritance of the brave, the fruitful land which was oppressed by effeminate tyrants. On their return to Normandy they kindled a spark of enterprise; and a small but intrepid band was freely associated for the deliverance of Apulia. They passed the Alps by separate roads, and in the disguise of pilgrims; but in the neighbourhood of Rome they were saluted by the chief of Bari, who supplied the more indigent with arms and horses, and instantly led them to the field of action. In the first conflict, their valour prevailed; but in the second engagement they were overwhelmed by the numbers and military engines of the Greeks, and indignantly retreated with their faces to the enemy.* The un-

offers and would only promise to send some of their brave countrymen to fight against the infidels. The same account is repeated by Dean Milman from the "*Histoire des Conquêtes des Normans*, by M. Goutier d'Arc," who cites a translation which he had discovered of "the Chronicle of Aimé, monk of Monte Casino, a contemporary of the first Norman invaders of Italy." The name of this historian is Gauttier d'Arc. The "*Chronique inédite d'Aimé*" has furnished him only a few collateral incidents. His main facts are taken from the real authority for them, which is the "*Chronicon Casinense Leonis Marsicensis*," first inserted in the "*De Gestis Francorum*" of Aimoin, and afterwards republished by Muratori (*Script. Ital. tom. iv.*). The writer of this Chronicle, who is better known as Leo Ostiensis, was a monk of Monte Casino, and bishop of Ostia in 1101; he died in 1115. His Chronicle is cited by Camillo Pellegrino in his "*Series Abbatum Casinensium*" (*Script. Ital. v. 215*), and again by Muratori (A.D. 1016, *Annal. d'Ital. tom. xiii. p. 417*), who in the next year (p. 419) gives the adventure on Mount Garganus from the poem of William of Apulia, whom Gibbon followed. The two statements are not irreconcilable; since, if the defenders of Salerno did not themselves in the succeeding year visit Mount Garganus, they may, on their return home, have sent other Norman knights, who performed that pilgrimage. M. Gauttier d'Arc names (p. 28—35) Osmond Drengot, and Ralph and Anquetil de Quarrel, as the leaders of this second band, and makes them the heroes of the poet's tale. Leo's narrative is corroborated by the *Chronicon* of Lupus Protospata (*Script. Ital. v. 148*), who states that in the year 1016 the Saracens attacked Salerno and were repulsed. William of Apulia wrote after the Norman princes had become illustrious and powerful; he has often used a poet's licence to embellish their origin.—ED.]

* [Leo Ostiensis (*Script. Ital. iv. 364*) claims three victories for Melo

fortunate Melo ended his life a suppliant at the court of Germany; his Norman followers, excluded from their native and their promised land, wandered among the hills and valleys of Italy, and earned their daily subsistence by the sword. To that formidable sword the princes of Capua, Beneventum, Salerno, and Naples, alternately appealed in their domestic quarrels; the superior spirit and discipline of the Normans gave victory to the side which they espoused; and their cautious policy observed the balance of power, lest the preponderance of any rival State should render their aid less important, and their service less profitable. Their first asylum was a strong camp in the depth of the marshes of Campania; * but they were soon endowed, by the liberality of the duke of Naples, with a more plentiful and permanent seat. Eight miles from his residence, as a bulwark against Capua, the town of Aversa was built and fortified for their use; and they enjoyed as their own the corn and fruits, the meadows and groves, of that fertile district.† The report of their success attracted every year

and the Normans; the two first in 1017 at Arenola and at a place which he names Marsicum. Lupus Protospata calls the second a defeat; but William of Apulia asserts the success of his heroes. For the next year there are no records; in 1019 the Normans, after having conquered a third time at Vaccaritua, were finally defeated, near the fatal field of Cannæ, with such slaughter, that out of 250 only ten survived, "*decem tantummodo remansisse*." M. Gauttier d'Arc's version p. 48) is, that "nine out of ten perished in the field."—Ed.]

* [Gibbon here probably means the tower on the Garigliano, the ancient Liris. But this was no permanent station of the Normans. According to the Chronicle of Glaber (l. 3, c. 1. *Annali d'Italia*, xiii. 435) a fresh band of them, under the command of Rudolf, reached Rome in 1020 and were employed by pope Benedict VIII. to garrison this fort. Having granted a refuge there to Melo's relation and successor Batto, they were besieged in 1021 by the Greek catapan Bugiano and compelled to surrender. The Apulian rebel was put to death; but the Norman captives were released, at the intercession of Atanulphus, abbot of Monte Casino. Leo Ost. Lupus Protosp. ut supra.—Ed.]

† [M. Guizot denies the accuracy of this statement, and adduces a passage from Sismondi (*Repub. i.* 267) to prove that the Normans possessed Aversa at an earlier period; that Sergius, when driven from Naples, took refuge with them there; and having, with their assistance, regained the city he had lost, formally gave up Aversa to them, with the title of count to their leader Rainulf. The expulsion of Sergius occurred in 1027, in which year the emperor Conrad II. gave the Normans a licence to defend the frontiers of his Italian States against the Greeks (*Ann. d'Ital.* xiv. 26). The words of

new swarms of pilgrims and soldiers; the poor were urged by necessity, the rich were excited by hope, and the brave and active spirits of Normandy were impatient of ease and ambitious of renown. The independent standard of Aversa afforded shelter and encouragement to the outlaws of the province, to every fugitive who had escaped from the injustice or justice of his superiors; and these foreign associates were quickly assimilated in manners and language to the Gallic colony. The first leader of the Normans was count Rainulf; and, in the origin of society, pre-eminence of rank is the reward and the proof of superior merit.*

Since the conquest of Sicily by the Arabs, the Grecian emperors had been anxious to regain that valuable possession; but their efforts, however strenuous, had been opposed by the distance and the sea. Their costly armaments, after a gleam of success, added new pages of calamity and disgrace to the Byzantine annals; twenty thousand of their best troops were lost in a single expedition; and the victorious Moslems derided the policy of a nation which intrusted eunuchs not only with the custody of their women, but with the command of their men.† After a reign of two hundred years, the Saracens were ruined by their divisions.‡ The emir disclaimed the authority of the king of Tunis;

Muratori, "*che si trovavano in quelle parti*," do not imply that the Normans were then located at any one particular point, nor was the situation of Aversa adapted to the duty which they had to perform. All the writers of that age agree that they had not possession of this place till after the restoration of Sergius in 1029. Leo Ostiensis (l. 2, c. 58, Script. Ital. iv. p. 379) says, "*tumque primum Aversa cepta est habitari*," and William of Apulia (Scr. It. v. 255) places the event "*post annos aliquot*." Aversa was founded on a lofty hill, so near to the once noted, but then ruined, Atella, that it was known at first by the name of Novatella (the New Atella).—ED.]

* See the first book of William Appulus. His words are applicable to every swarm of Barbarians and freebooters:

Si vicinorum quis *pernitiosus* ad illos
 Confugiebat, eum gratanter suscipiebant;
 Moribus et lingua quoscumque venire videbant
 Informant propriâ; gens efficiatur ut una.

And elsewhere of the native adventurers of Normandy:

Pars parat, exiguae vel opes aderant quia nullae:
 Pars, quia de magnis majora subire volebant.

† Luitprand in Legatione, p. 485. Pagi has illustrated this event from the MS. history of the deacon Leo. (tom. iv. A.D. 965, No. 17—19.)

‡ See the Arabian Chronicle of Sicily, apud Muratori Script. Rerum
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the people rose against the emir; the cities were usurped by the chiefs; each meaner rebel was independent in his village or castle; and the weaker of two rival brothers implored the friendship of the Christians. In every service of danger the Normans were prompt and useful; and five hundred *knights* or warriors on horseback, were enrolled by Arduin, the agent and interpreter of the Greeks, under the standard of Maniaces, governor of Lombardy. Before their landing, the brothers were reconciled; the union of Sicily and Africa was restored; and the island was guarded to the water's edge. The Normans led the van, and the Arabs of Messina felt the valour of an untried foe. In a second action, the emir of Syracuse was unhorsed and transpierced by the *iron arm* of William of Hauteville. In a third engagement, his intrepid companions discomfited the host of sixty thousand Saracens, and left the Greeks no more than the labour of the pursuit; a splendid victory, but of which the pen of the historian may divide the merit with the lance of the Normans. It is, however, true, that they essentially promoted the success of Maniaces, who reduced thirteen cities, and the greater part of Sicily, under the obedience of the emperor. But his military fame was sullied by ingratitude and tyranny. In the division of the spoil, the deserts of his brave auxiliaries were forgotten: and neither their avarice nor their pride could brook this injurious treatment. They complained by the mouth of their interpreter: their complaint was disregarded; their interpreter was scourged; the sufferings were *his*; the insult and resentment belonged to *those* whose sentiments he had delivered. Yet they dissembled till they had obtained, or stolen, a safe passage to the Italian continent; their brethren of Aversa sympathised in their indignation, and the province of Apulia was invaded as the forfeit of the debt.* Above twenty years after the first emigration, the Normans took the field with no more than seven hundred horse and five hundred foot; and after the recall of the Byzantine legions† from the Sicilian war,

Ital. tom. i. p. 253.

* Jeffrey Malaterra, who relates the Sicilian war, and the conquest of Apulia (l. 1, c. 7—9. 19.) The same events are described by Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 741—743. 756, 756,) and Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 237, 238); and the Greeks are so hardened to disgrace, that their narratives are impartial enough.

† Cedrenus specifies the *ράγμα* of the Obsequium (Phrygia), and the

their numbers are magnified to the amount of threescore thousand men. Their herald proposed the option of battle or retreat: "Of battle," was the unanimous cry of the Normans; and one of their stoutest warriors, with a stroke of his fist, felled to the ground the horse of the Greek messenger. He was dismissed with a fresh horse; the insult was concealed from the imperial troops; but in two successive battles they were more fatally instructed of the prowess of their adversaries. In the plains of Cannæ, the Asiatics fled before the adventurers of France; the duke of Lombardy was made prisoner; the Apulians acquiesced in a new dominion; and the four places of Bari, Otranto, Brundisium, and Tarentum, were alone saved in the shipwreck of the Grecian fortunes. From this era we may date the establishment of the Norman power, which soon eclipsed the infant colony of Aversa. Twelve counts* were chosen by the popular suffrage; and age, birth, and merit, were the motives of their choice. The tributes of their peculiar districts were appropriated to their use; and each count erected a fortress in the midst of his lands, and at the head of his vassals. In the centre of the province, the common habitation of Melphi was reserved as the metropolis and citadel of the republic; a house and separate quarter were allotted to each of the twelve counts; and the national concerns were regulated by this military senate. The first of his peers, their president and general, was entitled count

μέγας of the Thracians (Lydia; consult Constantine de Thematis, l. 3, 4, with Delisle's map); and afterwards names the Pisidians and Lycaonians with the *foederati*. [The scene of this battle, according to Leo Ost. (ii. 67) was Monte Piloso or Monopoli. (Muratori, Ann. d'Ital. xiv. 107.) At Cannæ the Normans and Melo were defeated in 1019. See note, p. 304.—Ed.]

* *Omnes conveniunt: et bis sex nobiliores,
Quos genus et gravitas morum decorabat et ætas,
Elegere duces. Provectis ad comitatum
His alii parent. Comitatus nomen honoris
Quo donantur erat. Hi totas undique terras
Divisere sibi, ni sors inimica repugnet;
Singula proponunt loca quæ contingere sorte
Cuique duci debent, et quæque tributa locorum.*

And after speaking of Melphi, William Appulus adds,

*Pro numero comitum bis sex statuere plateas,
Atque domus comitum totidem fabricantur in urbe.*

Leo Ostiensis (l. 2, c. 67,) enumerates the divisions of the Apulian

x 2

of Apulia; and this dignity was conferred on William of the Iron Arm, who, in the language of the age, is styled a lion in battle, a lamb in society, and an angel in council.* The manners of his countrymen are fairly delineated by a contemporary and national historian.† "The Normans," says Malaterra, "are a cunning and revengeful people; eloquence and dissimulation appear to be their hereditary qualities; they can stoop to flatter; but unless they are curbed by the restraint of law, they indulge the licentiousness of nature and passion. Their princes affect the praise of popular munificence; the people observe the medium, or rather blend the extremes of avarice and prodigality; and, in their eager thirst of wealth and dominion, they despise whatever they possess, and hope whatever they desire. Arms and horses, the luxury of dress, the exercises of hunting and hawking,‡ are the delight of the Normans; but on pressing occasions they can endure with incredible patience the inclemency of every climate, and the toil and abstinence of a military life." §

The Normans of Apulia were seated on the verge of the two empires; and, according to the policy of the hour, they accepted the investiture of their lands from the sovereigns of Germany or Constantinople. But the firmest title of these adventurers was the right of conquest; they neither loved

cities, which it is needless to repeat.

* Gulielm. Appulus, l. 2, c. 12, according to the reference of Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 31,) which I cannot verify in the original. The Apulian praises indeed his *validas vires, probitas animi*, and *vivida virtus*; and declares that, had he lived, no poet could have equalled his merits. (l. 1, p. 258; l. 2, p. 259.) He was bewailed by the Normans, quippe qui tanti consilii virum, (says Malaterra, l. 1, c. 12, p. 552,) tam armis strenuum, tam sibi munificum, affabilem, morigeratum, ulterius se habere diffidebant.

† The gens astutissima, injuriarum ultrix adulari sciens eloquentiis inserviens, of Malaterra (l. 1, c. 3, p. 550, are expressive of the popular and proverbial character of the Normans.

‡ The hunting and hawking more properly belong to the *descendants* of the Norwegian sailors; though they might import from Norway and Iceland the finest casts of falcons. [Hawking was a field-sport of the Lombards in Italy during the sixth century, and was in use among the Franks at a still earlier period. See vol. v. p. 123, and note.—Ed.]

§ We may compare this portrait with that of William of Malsbury (de Gestis Anglorum, l. 3, p. 101, 102,) who appreciates, like a philosophic historian, the vices and virtues of the Saxons and Normans. England was assuredly a gainer by the conquest.

nor trusted; they were neither trusted nor beloved; the contempt of the princes was mixed with fear, and the fear of the natives was mingled with hatred and resentment. Every object of desire, a horse, a woman, a garden, tempted and gratified the rapaciousness of the strangers;* and the avarice of their chiefs was only coloured by the more specious names of ambition and glory. The twelve counts were sometimes joined in a league of injustice; in their domestic quarrels, they disputed the spoils of the people: the virtues of William were buried in his grave; and Drogo, his brother and successor, was better qualified to lead the valour, than to restrain the violence, of his peers. Under the reign of Constantine Monomachus, the policy, rather than benevolence, of the Byzantine court, attempted to relieve Italy from this adherent mischief, more grievous than a flight of Barbarians;† and Argyrus, the son of Melo, was invested for this purpose with the most lofty titles‡ and the most ample commission. The memory of his father might recommend him to the Normans; and he had already engaged their voluntary service to quell the revolt of Maniaces, and to avenge their own and the public injury. It was the design of Constantine to transplant this warlike colony from the Italian provinces to the Persian war; and the son of Melo distributed among the chiefs the gold and manufactures of Greece, as the first-fruits of the imperial bounty. But his arts were baffled by the sense and spirit of the conquerors of Apulia; his gifts, or at least his proposals, were rejected; and they unanimously refused to

* The biographer of St. Leo IX. pours his holy venom on the Normans. *Videns indisciplinatam et alienam gentem Normannorum, crudeli et inauditâ rabie et plusquam Paganâ impietate, adversus ecclesias Dei insurgere, passim Christianos trucidare, &c.* (Wibert, c. 6.) The honest Apulian (l. 2, p. 259) says calmly of their accuser, *Veris commiscens fallacia.*

† The policy of the Greeks, revolt of Maniaces, &c. must be collected from Cedrenus (tom. ii. p. 757, 758); William Appulus (l. 1, p. 257, 258; l. 2, p. 259); and the two chronicles of Bari, by Lupus Protospata (Muratori, *Script. Ital.* tom. v. p. 42—44); and an anonymous writer. (*Antiquitat. Italiæ mediæ Ævi*, tom. i. p. 31—35.) This last is a fragment of some value.

‡ Argyrus received, says the anonymous chronicle of Bari, imperial letters, *Fœderatûs et Patriciatûs, et Catapani et Vestatûs.* In his *Annals*, Muratori (tom. viii. p. 426) very properly reads, or interprets, *Sevestatus*, the title of Sebastos or Augustus. But in his *Antiquities*, he was taught by Ducange to make it a palatine office, master of the

relinquish their possessions and their hopes for the distant prospect of Asiatic fortune. After the means of persuasion had failed, Argyrus resolved to compel or to destroy; the Latin powers were solicited against the common enemy; and an offensive alliance was formed of the pope and the two emperors of the East and West. The throne of St. Peter was occupied by Leo the Ninth, a simple saint,* of a temper most apt to deceive himself and the world, and whose venerable character would consecrate with the name of piety the measures least compatible with the practice of religion. His humanity was affected by the complaints, perhaps the calumnies, of an injured people; the impious Normans had interrupted the payment of tithes; and the temporal sword might be lawfully unsheathed against the sacrilegious robbers, who were deaf to the censures of the church. As a German of noble birth and royal kindred, Leo had free access to the court and confidence of the emperor Henry the Third; and in search of arms and allies, his ardent zeal transported him from Apulia to Saxony, from the Elbe to the Tiber. During these hostile preparations, Argyrus indulged himself in the use of secret and guilty weapons; a crowd of Normans became the victims of public or private revenge; and the valiant Drogo was murdered in a church. But his spirit survived in his brother Humphrey, the third count of Apulia. The assassins were chastised; and the son of Melo, overthrown and wounded, was driven from the field to hide his shame behind the walls of Bari, and to await the tardy succour of his allies.

But the power of Constantine was distracted by a Turkish war; the mind of Henry was feeble and irresolute; and the pope, instead of repassing the Alps with a German army, was accompanied only by a guard of seven hundred Swabians and some volunteers of Lorraine. In his long progress from Mantua to Beneventum, a vile and promiscuous multitude of Italians was enlisted under the holy standard:† the priest and the robber slept in the wardrobe.

* A life of St. Leo IX. deeply tinged with the passions and prejudices of the age, has been composed by Wibert, printed at Paris, 1615, in octavo, and since inserted in the Collections of the Bollandists, of Mabillon, and of Muratori. The public and private history of that pope is diligently treated by M. de St. Marc. (*Abrégé* tom. ii. p. 140—210, and p. 25—95, second column.)

† See the expedition of Leo IX. against the Normans. See William

same tent; the pikes and crosses were intermingled in the front; and the martial saint repeated the lessons of his youth in the order of march, of encampment, and of combat. The Normans of Apulia could muster in the field no more than three thousand horse, with a handful of infantry; the defection of the natives intercepted their provisions and retreat; and their spirit, incapable of fear, was chilled for a moment by superstitious awe. On the hostile approach of Leo, they knelt without disgrace or reluctance before their spiritual father. But the pope was inexorable; his lofty Germans affected to deride the diminutive stature of their adversaries; and the Normans were informed that death or exile was their only alternative. Flight they disdained, and, as many of them had been three days without tasting food, they embraced the assurance of a more easy and honourable death. They climbed the hill of Civitella, descended into the plain, and charged in three divisions the army of the pope. On the left, and in the centre, Richard, count of Aversa, and Robert, the famous Guiscard, attacked, broke, routed, and pursued, the Italian multitudes, who fought without discipline, and fled without shame. A harder trial was reserved for the valour of count Humphrey, who led the cavalry of the right wing. The Germans* have been described as unskilful in the management of the horse and lance; but on foot they formed a strong and impenetrable phalanx, and neither man, nor steed, nor armour, could resist the weight of their long and two-handed swords. After a severe conflict, they were encompassed by the squadrons returning from the pursuit, and died in their ranks with the esteem of their foes, and the satisfaction of revenge. The gates of Civitella were shut against the flying pope, and he was overtaken by the pious conquerors, who kissed his feet,

Appulus (l. 2, p. 259—261) and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. 1, c. 13—15, p. 253.) They are impartial, as the national is counterbalanced by the clerical prejudice.

* Teutonici, quia cassaries et forma decoros
Fecerat egregie proceri corporis illos,
Corpora derident Normannica quæ breviora
Esse videbantur.

The verses of the Apulian are commonly in this strain, though he heats himself a little in the battle. Two of his similes from hawking and sorcery are descriptive of manners.

to implore his blessing, and the absolution of their sinful victory. The soldiers beheld in their enemy and captive the vicar of Christ; and, though we may suppose the policy of the chiefs, it is probable that they were infected by the popular superstition. In the calm of retirement, the well-meaning pope deplored the effusion of Christian blood, which must be imputed to his account; he felt, that he had been the author of sin and scandal; and as his undertaking had failed, the indecency of his military character was universally condemned.* With these dispositions he listened to the offers of a beneficial treaty; deserted an alliance which he had preached as the cause of God; and ratified the past and future conquests of the Normans. By whatever hands they had been usurped, the provinces of Apulia and Calabria were a part of the donation of Constantine and the patrimony of St. Peter; the grant and the acceptance confirmed the mutual claims of the pontiff and the adventurers. They promised to support each other with spiritual and temporal arms; a tribute or quit-rent of twelvepence was afterwards stipulated for every plough-land; and since this memorable transaction, the kingdom of Naples has remained above seven hundred years a fief of the Holy See.†

The pedigree of Robert Guiscard‡ is variously deduced from the peasants and the dukes of Normandy; from the peasants, by the pride and ignorance of a Grecian prin-

* Several respectable censures or complaints are produced by M. de St. Marc (tom. ii. p. 200—204). As Peter Damianus, the oracle of the times, had denied the popes the right of making war, the hermit (*Iugens eremi incola*) is arraigned by the cardinal; and Baronius (*Annal. Eccles. A.D. 1053, No. 10—17*) most strenuously asserts the two swords of St. Peter.

† The origin and nature of the papal investitures are ably discussed by Giannone (*Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. ii. p. 37—49, 57—66) as a lawyer and antiquarian. Yet he vainly strives to reconcile the duties of patriot and Catholic, adopts an empty distinction of "*Ecclesia Romana non dedit sed accepit*," and shrinks from an honest but dangerous confession of the truth.

‡ The birth, character, and first actions, of Robert Guiscard, may be found in Jeffrey Malaterra (l. 1, c. 3, 4, 11, 16—18, 38—40), William Appulus (l. 2, p. 260—262), William Gemeticensis, or of Jumièges (l. 11, c. 30, p. 663, 664, edit. Camden), and Anna Comnena (*Alexiad.* l. 1, p. 23—27; l. 6, p. 165, 166), with the annotations of Ducange (*Not. in Alexiad.* p. 230—232, 320), who has swept all the French and Latin chronicles for supplemental intelligence.

cess;* from the dukes, by the ignorance and flattery of the Italian subjects.† His genuine descent may be ascribed to the second or middle order of private nobility.‡ He sprang from a race of *valvassors* or *bannerets*, of the diocese of Coutances, in the Lower Normandy; the castle of Hauteville was their honourable seat; his father Tancred was conspicuous in the court and army of the duke; and his military service was furnished by ten soldiers, or knights. Two marriages, of a rank not unworthy of his own, made him the father of twelve sons, who were educated at home by the impartial tenderness of his second wife. But a narrow patrimony was insufficient for this numerous and daring progeny; they saw around the neighbourhood the mischiefs of poverty and discord, and resolved to seek in foreign wars a more glorious inheritance. Two only remained to perpetuate the race, and cherish their father's age; their ten brothers, as they successively attained the vigour of manhood, departed from the castle, passed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The elder were prompted by native spirit; their success encouraged their younger

* 'Ο δὲ 'Ρομπέρτος (a Greek corruption) οὗτος Νορμάνος τὸ γένος, τὴν τύχην ἄσημος Again, ἐξ ἀφανοῦς παρὰ τύχης περιφάνης. And elsewhere (l. 4, p. 84), ἀπὸ ἐσχάτης πενίας καὶ τύχης ἀφανοῦς. Anna Comnena was born in the purple; yet her father was no more than a private though illustrious subject, who raised himself to the empire.

† Giannone (tom. ii. p. 2) forgets all his original authors, and rests this princely descent on the credit of Inveges, an Augustine monk of Palermo in the last century. They continue the succession of dukes from Rollo to William II. the bastard or conqueror, whom they hold (communemente si tiene) to be the father of Tancred of Hauteville—a most strange and stupendous blunder! The sons of Tancred fought in Apulia, before William II. was three years old (A.D. 1037). [William's age is here incorrectly stated. There is no record of his birth. But at his death, in 1087, he is said by William of Malmesbury (p. 310, ed. Bohn) to have been in his fifty-ninth year, and by Ordericus Vitalis in his sixty-first. The Saxon Chron. calls him a child in 1031. Lappenberg (ii. 217) says, that he was thirty-six years old in 1066. He was, therefore, born between 1027 and 1030, and must have reached the age of seven or ten years in 1037.—ED.]

‡ The judgment of Ducange is just and moderate: Certè humilis fuit ac tenuis Roberti familia, si ducalem et regium spectemus apicem, ad quem postea pervenit; quæ honesta tamen et præter nobilium vulgarium statum et conditionem illustris habita est, “quæ nec humi reperet nec altum quid tumeret.” Wilhelm. Malmesbur. de Gestis Anglorum, l. 3, p. 107. Not. ad Alexiad, p. 230.)

brethren, and the three first in seniority, William, Drogo, and Humphrey, deserved to be the chiefs of their nation and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage; and even the reluctant praise of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a soldier and a statesman. His lofty stature surpassed the tallest of his army; his limbs were cast in the true proportion of strength and gracefulness; and to the decline of life he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his shoulders were broad, his hair and beard were long and of a flaxen colour, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his voice, like that of Achilles, could impress obedience and terror amidst the tumult of battle. In the ruder ages of chivalry, such qualifications are not below the notice of the poet or historian: they may observe that Robert, at once, and with equal dexterity, could wield in the right hand his sword, his lance in the left; that in the battle of Civitella, he was thrice unhorsed; and that in the close of that memorable day he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour from the warriors of the two armies.* His boundless ambition was founded on the consciousness of superior worth: in the pursuit of greatness, he was never arrested by the scruples of justice, and seldom moved by the feelings of humanity: though not insensible of fame, the choice of open or clandestine means was determined only by his present advantage. The surname of *Guiscard*† was ap-

* I shall quote with pleasure some of the best lines of the Apulian (l. 2, p. 270.)

Pugnat utrâque manû, nec lancea cassâ, nec ensis
Cassus erat, quocunque manû deducere vellet.
Ter dejectus equo, ter viribus ipse resumptis
Major in arma redit: stimulos furor ipse ministrat.
Ut Leo cum frendens, &c.

Nullus in hoc bello sicuti post bella probatum est
Victor vel victus, tam magnos edidit ictus.

† The Norman writers and editors, most conversant with their own idiom, interpret *Guiscard*, or *Wiscard*, by *Callidus*, a cunning man. The root (*wise*) is familiar to our ear; and in the old word *Wiscacre*, I can discern something of a similar sense and termination. Τὴν ψύχην πανουργίας, is no bad translation of the surname and character of Robert. [*Guiscard* denotes more than the *vafritia*, from

plied to this master of political wisdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of dissimulation and deceit; and Robert is praised by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulysses and the eloquence of Cicero. Yet these arts were disguised by an appearance of military frankness; in his highest fortune he was accessible and courteous to his fellow-soldiers; and while he indulged the prejudices of his new subjects, he affected in his dress and manners to maintain the ancient fashion of his country. He grasped with a rapacious, that he might distribute with a liberal, hand; his primitive indigence had taught the habits of frugality; the gain of a merchant was not below his attention; and his prisoners were tortured with slow and unfeeling cruelty to force a discovery of their secret treasure. According to the Greeks, he departed from Normandy with only five followers on horseback and thirty on foot; yet even this allowance appears too bountiful; the sixth son of Tancred of Hauteville passed the Alps as a pilgrim; and his first military band was levied among the adventurers of Italy. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia; but they guarded their shares with the jealousy of avarice; the aspiring youth was driven forwards to the mountains of Calabria, and in his first exploits against the Greeks and the natives, it is not easy to discriminate the hero from the robber. To surprise a castle or a convent, to ensnare a wealthy citizen, to plunder the adjacent villages for necessary food, were the obscure labours which formed and exercised the powers of his mind and body. The volunteers of Normandy adhered to his standard; and, under his command, the peasants of Calabria assumed the name and character of Normans.

As the genius of Robert expanded with his fortune, he awakened the jealousy of his elder brother, by whom, in a transient quarrel, his life was threatened and his liberty restrained. After the death of Humphrey, the tender age of his sons excluded them from the command; they were reduced to a private estate by the ambition of their guardian and uncle; and Guiscard was exalted on a buckler, and

which Ducange derives it (3, 996). It is formed from *Wizagarda*, a wise guard, or skilful protector. See note on *Werdan*, c. 51, p. 28, of this volume. *Wisacre* is the German *Weis-sager*, soothsayer. Adelung. Wörterbuch, 5, 147.—Ed.]

saluted count of Apulia and general of the republic. With an increase of authority and of force, he resumed the conquest of Calabria, and soon aspired to a rank that should raise him for ever above the heads of his equals. By some acts of rapine or sacrilege, he had incurred a papal excommunication; but Nicholas the Second was easily persuaded, that the divisions of friends could terminate only in their mutual prejudice; that the Normans were the faithful champions of the Holy See; and it was safer to trust the alliance of a prince than the caprice of an aristocracy. A synod of one hundred bishops was convened at Melphi; and the count interrupted an important enterprise to guard the person and execute the decrees of the Roman pontiff. His gratitude and policy conferred on Robert and his posterity the ducal title,* with the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and all the lands, both in Italy and Sicily, which his sword could rescue from the schismatic Greeks and the unbelieving Saracens.† This apostolic sanction might justify his arms; but the obedience of a free and victorious people could not be transferred without their consent; and Guiscard dissembled his elevation till the ensuing campaign had been illustrated by the conquest of Consenza and Reggio. In the hour of triumph, he assembled his troops, and solicited the Normans to confirm by their suffrages the judgment of the vicar of Christ; the soldiers hailed, with joyful acclamations, their valiant duke; and the counts, his former equals, pronounced the oath of fidelity, with hollow smiles and secret indignation. After this inauguration, Robert styled himself, “by the grace of God and St. Peter, duke of Apulia, Calabria, and hereafter of Sicily;” and it was the labour of twenty years to deserve and realize these lofty appellations. Such tardy progress, in a narrow space, may seem unworthy of the abilities of the chief and the spirit of the nation; but the Normans were few in number; their resources were

* The acquisition of the ducal title by Robert Guiscard is a nice and obscure business. With the good advice of Giannone, Muratori, and St. Marc, I have endeavoured to form a consistent and probable narrative.

† Baronius (*Annal. Eccles. A.D. 1059, No. 69*) has published the original act. He professes to have copied it from the *Liber Censuum*, a Vatican MS. Yet a *Liber Censuum* of the twelfth century has been printed by Muratori (*Antiquit. medii Ævi*, tom. v. p. 851—908); and the names of Vatican and Cardinal awaken the suspicions of a Protestant, and even of a philosopher.

scanty; their service was voluntary and precarious. The bravest designs of the duke were sometimes opposed by the free voice of his parliament of barons; the twelve counts of popular election conspired against his authority; and against their perfidious uncle, the sons of Humphrey demanded justice and revenge. By his policy and vigour, Guiscard discovered their plots, suppressed their rebellions, and punished the guilty with death or exile; but in these domestic feuds, his years and the national strength were unprofitably consumed. After the defeat of his foreign enemies, the Greeks, Lombards, and Saracens, their broken forces retreated to the strong and populous cities of the sea-coast. They excelled in the arts of fortification and defence; the Normans were accustomed to serve on horseback in the field, and their rude attempts could only succeed by the efforts of persevering courage. The resistance of Salerno was maintained above eight months; the siege or blockade of Bari lasted near four years. In these actions the Norman duke was the foremost in every danger; in every fatigue the last and most patient. As he pressed the citadel of Salerno, a huge stone from the rampart shattered one of his military engines; and by a splinter he was wounded in the breast. Before the gates of Bari, he lodged in a miserable hut or barrack, composed of dry branches, and thatched with straw; a perilous station, on all sides open to the inclemency of the winter and the spears of the enemy.*

The Italian conquests of Robert correspond with the limits of the present kingdom of Naples; and the countries united by his arms have not been dissevered by the revolutions of seven hundred years.† The monarchy has been composed of the Greek provinces of Calabria and Apulia, of the Lombard principality of Salerno, the republic of Amalphi, and the inland dependencies of the large and ancient duchy of Beneventum. Three districts only were exempted from the common law of subjection; the first for ever, and the two last till the middle of the succeeding

* Read the life of Guiscard in the second and third books of the Apulian, the first and second books of Malaterra.

† The conquests of Robert Guiscard and Roger I., the exemption of Benevento and the twelve provinces of the kingdom, are fairly exposed by Giannone in the second volume of his *Istoria Civile*, l. 9-11, and l. 17, p. 460-470. This modern division was not established

century. The city and immediate territory of Benevento had been transferred by gift or exchange, from the German emperor to the Roman pontiff; and although this holy land was sometimes invaded, the name of St. Peter was finally more potent than the sword of the Normans. Their first colony of Aversa subdued and held the state of Capua; and her princes were reduced to beg their bread before the palace of their fathers. The dukes of Naples, the present metropolis, maintained the popular freedom, under the shadow of the Byzantine empire. Among the new acquisitions of Guiscard, the science of Salerno,* and the trade of Amalphi,† may detain for a moment the curiosity of the reader. I. Of the learned faculties, jurisprudence implies the previous establishment of laws and property; and theology may perhaps be superseded by the full light of religion and reason. But the savage and the sage must alike implore the assistance of physic; and, if *our* diseases are inflamed by luxury, the mischiefs of blows and wounds would be more frequent in the ruder ages of society. The treasures of Grecian medicine had been communicated to the Arabian colonies of Africa, Spain, and Sicily; and in the intercourse of peace and war a spark of knowledge had been kindled and cherished at Salerno, an illustrious city, in which the men were honest, and the women beautiful.‡ A school, the first that arose in the darkness of Europe, was consecrated to the healing art; the conscience of monks and bishops was reconciled to that salutary and lucrative

before the time of Frederic II.

* Giannone (tom. ii. p. 119—127), Muratori (*Antiquitat. medii ævi*, tom. iii. dissert. 44, p. 935, 936), and Tiraboschi (*Istoria della Letteratura Italiana*), have given an historical account of these physicians; their medical knowledge and practice must be left to our physicians.

† At the end of the *Historia Pandectarum* of Henry Brenckman (*Trajecti ad Rhenum*, 1722, in quarto), the indefatigable author has inserted two dissertations, *De Republicâ Amalphitanâ*, and *De Amalphi à Pisanis directâ*, which are built on the testimonies of one hundred and forty writers. Yet he has forgotten two most important passages of the embassy of Luitprand (A.D. 969), which compare the trade and navigation of Amalphi with that of Venice.

‡ *Urbs Latii non est hac delitiosior urbe,
Frugibus, arboribus, vinoque redundat; et unde
Non tibi poma, nuces, non pulchra palatia desunt,
Non species muliebris abest probitasque virorum.*

Gulielmus Appulus, l. iii. p. 267.

profession; and a crowd of patients, of the most eminent rank, and most distant climates, invited or visited the physicians of Salerno. They were protected by the Norman conquerors; and Guiscard, though bred in arms, could discern the merit and value of a philosopher. After a pilgrimage of thirty-nine years, Constantine, an African Christian, returned from Bagdad, a master of the language and learning of the Arabians; and Salerno was enriched by the practice, the lessons, and the writings, of the pupil of Avicenna. The school of medicine has long slept in the name of a university; but her precepts are abridged in a string of aphorisms, bound together in the leonine verses, or Latin rhymes, of the twelfth century.* II. Seven miles to the west of Salerno, and thirty to the south of Naples, the obscure town of Amalphi displayed the power and rewards of industry. The land, however fertile, was of narrow extent; but the sea was accessible and open; the inhabitants first assumed the office of supplying the Western world with the manufactures and productions of the East; and this useful traffic was the source of their opulence and freedom. The government was popular under the administration of a duke and the supremacy of the Greek emperor. Fifty thousand citizens were numbered in the walls of Amalphi; nor was any city more abundantly provided with gold, silver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariners who swarmed in her port excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and astronomy; and the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune. Their trade was extended to the coasts, or at least to the commodities, of Africa, Arabia, and India; and their settlements in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, acquired the privileges of independent colonies.†

* Muratori carries their antiquity above the year (1066) of the death of Edward the Confessor, the *rex Anglorum* to whom they are addressed. Nor is this date affected by the opinion, or rather mistake, of Pasquier. (*Recherches de la France*, l. 7, c. 2), and Ducange, (*Glossar. Latin.*) The practice of rhyming, as early as the seventh century, was borrowed from the languages of the North and East. (Muratori, *Antiquitat.* tom. iii. dissert. 40, p. 686—708.) [The Arabians introduced their *Cafia* (consonancia or rhyme) into southern Europe. Condé, *Preface*, p. 20.—Ed.]

† The description of Amalphi, by William the Apulian (l. 3, p. 267),

After three hundred years of prosperity, Amalphi was oppressed by the arms of the Normans, and sacked by the jealousy of Pisa; but the poverty of one thousand fishermen is yet dignified by the remains of an arsenal, a cathedral, and the palaces of royal merchants.

Roger, the twelfth and last of the sons of Tancred, had been long detained in Normandy by his own and his father's age. He accepted the welcome summons; hastened to the Apulian camp; and deserved at first the esteem, and afterwards the envy, of his elder brother. Their valour and ambition were equal; but the youth, the beauty, the elegant manners, of Roger, engaged the disinterested love of the soldiers and people. So scanty was his allowance, for himself and forty followers, that he descended from conquest to robbery, and from robbery to domestic theft; and so loose were the notions of property, that, by his own historian, at his special command, he is accused of stealing

contains much truth and some poetry; and the third line may be applied to the sailor's compass:

Nulla magis locuples argento, vestibus, auro
Partibus innumeris: hac plurimus urbe moratur
Nauta maris calique vias aperire peritus.
Huc et Alexandri diversa feruntur ab urbe
Regis, et Antiochi. Gens hæc freta plurima transit,
His Arabes, Indi, Siculi nascuntur et Afri.
Hæc gens est totum prope nobilitata per orbem,
Et mercanda ferens, et amans mercata referre.

[Brenckmann (De Repub. Amalph. Diss. 1, c. 23) found only 1000 inhabitants when he visited Amalphi in the beginning of the last century. Their number is now increased to 6000 or 8000. Hist. des Repub. Ital. l. 1, p. 304.—Guizot.] [Malte Brun and Balbi (p. 588) say only three thousand inhabitants. The now generally entertained doubts as to the discovery of the mariner's compass at Amalphi, have been stated in a note to ch. 45, vol. v. p. 117. If the line here referred to can admit such an interpretation, it would prove only the use, not the invention, of the sailor's guide. But it asserts no more than Horace's "certa fulgent sidera nautis," and what almost all ancient poets have sung of the pilot watching the stars. It must also be observed, that William of Apulia wrote 200 years before Flavio Gioja is said to have invented the compass at Amalphi. Mr. Hallam has well observed, "It was the singular fate of this city to have filled up the interval between two periods of civilization, in neither of which she was destined to be distinguished. Scarcely known before the end of the sixth century, Amalphi ran a brilliant career as a free and trading republic, which was checked by the arms of a conqueror in the middle of the twelfth." Middle Ages, 3, 390.—Ed.]

horses from a stable at Melphi.* His spirit emerged from poverty and disgrace; from these base practices he rose to the merit and glory of a holy war; and the invasion of Sicily was seconded by the zeal and policy of his brother Guiscard. After the retreat of the Greeks, the *idolaters*, a most audacious reproach of the Catholics, had retrieved their losses and possessions; but the deliverance of the island, so vainly undertaken by the forces of the Eastern empire, was achieved by a small and private band of adventurers.† In the first attempt, Roger braved, in an open boat, the real and fabulous dangers of Scylla and Charybdis; landed with only sixty soldiers on a hostile shore; drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina; and safely returned with the spoils of the adjacent country. In the fortress of Trani, his active and patient courage were equally conspicuous. In his old age he related with pleasure, that, by the distress of the siege, himself, and the countess his wife, had been reduced to a single cloak or mantle, which they wore alternately: that in a sally his horse had been slain, and he was dragged away by the Saracens; but that he owed his rescue to his good sword, and had retreated with his saddle on his back, lest the meanest trophy might be left in the hands of the miscreants. In the siege of Trani, three hundred Normans withstood and repulsed the forces of the island. In the field of Ceramio, fifty thousand horse and foot were overthrown by one hundred and thirty-six Christian soldiers, without reckoning St. George, who fought on horseback in the foremost ranks. The captive

* *Letrocinio armigerorum suorum in multis sustentabatur, quod quidem ad ejus ignominiam non dicimus; sed ipso ita præcipiente adhuc viliora et reprehensibiliora dicturi sumus ut pluribus pateascat, quam laboriose et cum quantâ angustia a profundâ paupertate ad summum culmen divitiarum vel honoris attigerit.* Such is the preface of Malaterra (l. 1, c. 25) to the horse-stealing. From the moment (l. 1, c. 19) that he has mentioned his patron Roger, the elder brother sinks into the second character. Something similar in Velleius Paterculus may be observed of Augustus and Tiberius. [M. Gauttier d'Arc (*Conquêtes des Normands*, i. c. 9, p. 188) interprets a passage in Malaterra (i. c. 22) to mean, that Robert, through jealousy, "diminished the pay" of his brother, and thus drove him into these dishonourable courses. Roger had previously restored plenty into the camp, and poured into it large contributions, which he had levied in legitimate warfare.—ED.]

† Duo sibi proficua deputans animæ scilicet et corporis si terram Idolis deditam ad cultum divinum revocaret. (Galfrid Malaterra, l. 2,

banners, with four camels were reserved for the successor of St. Peter; and had these barbaric spoils been exposed not in the Vatican, but in the Capitol, they might have revived the memory of the Punic triumphs. These insufficient numbers of the Normans most probably denote their knights, the soldiers of honourable and equestrian rank, each of whom was attended by five or six followers in the field;* yet, with the aid of this interpretation, and after every fair allowance on the side of valour, arms, and reputation, the discomfiture of so many myriads will reduce the prudent reader to the alternative of a miracle or a fable. The Arabs of Sicily derived a frequent and powerful succour from their countrymen of Africa; in the siege of Palermo, the Norman cavalry was assisted by the galleys of Pisa; and, in the hour of action, the envy of the two brothers was sublimed to a generous and invincible emulation. After a war of thirty years,† Roger, with the title of great count, obtained the sovereignty of the largest and most fruitful island of the Mediterranean; and his administration displays a liberal and enlightened mind, above the limits of his age and education. The Moslems were maintained in the free enjoyment of their religion and property;‡ a philosopher and physician of Mazara, of the race of Mahomet, harangued the conqueror, and was invited to court; his geography of the seven climates was translated into Latin; and Roger, after a diligent perusal, preferred the work of the Arabian to the writings of the Grecian Ptolemy.§ A

c. 1.) The conquest of Sicily is related in the three last books, and he himself has given an accurate summary of the chapters (p. 544—546).

* See the word *militēs*, in the Latin Glossary of Ducange.

† Of odd particulars, I learn from Malaterra that the Arabs had introduced into Sicily the use of camels (l. 1, c. 33) and of carrier pigeons (c. 42); and that the bite of the tarantula provokes a windy disposition, quæ per anum inhoneste crepitando emergit; a symptom most ridiculously felt by the whole Norman army in their camp near Palermo (c. 36). I shall add an etymology not unworthy of the eleventh century: *Messana* is derived from *Messia*, the place from whence the harvests of the isle were sent in tribute to Rome (l. 2, c. 1).

‡ See the capitulation of Palermo in Malaterra (l. 2, c. 45, and Giannone, who remarks the general toleration of the Saracens (tom. ii. p. 72).

§ John Leo Afer, de Medicis et Philosophis Arabibus, c. 14, apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xiii. p. 278, 279. This philosopher is named Esseriph Essachalli, and he died in Africa, A.H. 516, A.D. 1122. Yet this story bears a strange resemblance to the Sherif al Edrisi, who

remnant of Christian natives had promoted the success of the Normans: they were rewarded by the triumph of the cross. The island was restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff; new bishops were planted in the principal cities; and the clergy was satisfied by a liberal endowment of churches and monasteries. Yet the Catholic hero asserted the rights of the civil magistrate. Instead of resigning the investiture of benefices, he dexterously applied to his own profit the papal claims; the supremacy of the crown was secured and enlarged, by the singular bull, which declares the princes of Sicily hereditary and perpetual legates of the holy see.*

To Robert Guiscard, the conquest of Sicily was more glorious than beneficial: the possession of Apulia and Calabria was inadequate to his ambition; and he resolved to embrace or create the first occasion of invading, perhaps of subduing, the Roman empire of the East.† From his first wife, the partner of his humble fortunes, he had been divorced under the pretence of consanguinity; and her son Bohemond was destined to imitate, rather than to succeed, his illustrious father. The second wife of Guiscard was the daughter of the princes of Salerno; the Lombards acquiesced in the lineal succession of their son Roger; their five daughters were given in honourable nuptials,‡ and one of

presented his book (*Geographia Nubiensis*, see preface, p. 88. 90. 170) to Roger, king of Sicily, A.H. 548, A.D. 1153 (*D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 786. *Prideaux's Life of Mahomet*, p. 188. *Petit de la Croix, Hist. de Gengiscan*, p. 535, 536. *Casiri, Bibliot. Arab. Hispan. tom. ii. p. 9—13*), and I am afraid of some mistake.

* Malaterra remarks the foundation of the bishoprics (l. 4, c. 7), and produces the original of the bull (l. 4, c. 29). Giannone gives a rational idea of this privilege, and the tribunal of the monarchy of Sicily (tom. ii. p. 95—102); and St. Marc (*Abrégé*, tom. iii. p. 217—301, first column) labours the case with the diligence of a Sicilian lawyer.

† In the first expedition of Robert against the Greeks, I follow Anna Comnena (the first, third, fourth, and fifth books of the *Alexiad*), William Appulus (l. 4, 5, p. 270—275), and Jeffrey Malaterra (l. 3, c. 13, 14. 24—29. 39). Their information is contemporary and authentic, but none of them were eye-witnesses of the war.

‡ One of them was married to Hugh, the son of Azzo, or Azo, a marquis of Lombardy, rich, powerful, and noble (*Gulielm. Appul. l. 3, p. 267*), in the eleventh century, and whose ancestors in the tenth and ninth, are explored by the critical industry of Leibnitz and Muratori. From the two elder sons of the marquis Azzo, are derived the illustrious lines of Brunswick and Este. See Muratori, *Antichità Estense*.

them was betrothed, in a tender age, to Constantine, a beautiful youth, the son and heir of the emperor Michael.* But the throne of Constantinople was shaken by a revolution: the imperial family of Ducas was confined to the palace or the cloister; and Robert deplored, and resented, the disgrace of his daughter, and the expulsion of his ally. A Greek, who styled himself the father of Constantine, soon appeared at Salerno; and related the adventures of his fall and flight. That unfortunate friend was acknowledged by the duke, and adorned with the pomp and titles of imperial dignity; in his triumphal progress through Apulia and Calabria, Michael† was saluted with the tears and acclamations of the people; and pope Gregory the Seventh exhorted the bishops to preach, and the Catholics to fight, in the pious work of his restoration. His conversations with Robert were frequent and familiar; and their mutual promises were justified by the valour of the Normans and the treasures of the East. Yet this Michael, by the confession of the Greeks and Latins, was a pageant and impostor; a monk who had fled from his convent, or a domestic who had served in the palace. The fraud had been contrived by the subtle Guiscard; and he trusted that, after this pretender had given a decent colour to his arms, he would sink, at the nod of the conqueror, into his primitive obscurity. But victory was the only argument that could determine the belief of the Greeks; and the ardour of the Latins was much inferior to their credulity; the Norman veterans wished to enjoy the harvest of their toils, and the unwarlike Italians trembled at the known and unknown dangers of a transmarine expedition. In his new levies, Robert exerted the influence of gifts and promises, the terrors of civil and ecclesiastical

* Anna Comnena, somewhat too wantonly, praises and bewails that handsome boy, who, after the rupture of his Barbaric nuptials (l. 1, p. 23), was betrothed as her husband; he was *ἀγαλμα φύσεως* . . . *θεοῦ χειρῶν φιλοτιμία* . . . *χρυσοῦ γένους ἀπορροή*, &c. (p. 27). Elsewhere she describes the red and white of his skin, his hawk's eyes, &c. l. 3, p. 71.

† Anna Comnena, l. 1, p. 28, 29. Gulielm. Appul. l. 4, p. 271. Galfrid. Malaterra, l. 3, c. 13, p. 579, 580. Malaterra is more cautious in his style; but the Apulian is bold and positive.

— Mentitus se Michaelēm

Venerat a Danais quidam seductor ad illum.

As Gregory VII. had believed, Baronius, almost alone, recognises the emperor Michael (A.D. 1080, No. 44).

authority; and some acts of violence might justify the reproach, that age and infancy were pressed, without distinction, into the service of their unrelenting prince. After two years' incessant preparations, the land and naval forces were assembled at Otranto, at the heel or extreme promontory of Italy; and Robert was accompanied by his wife, who fought by his side, his son Bohemond, and the representative of the emperor Michael. Thirteen hundred knights* of Norman race or discipline, formed the sinews of the army, which might be swelled to thirty thousand† followers of every denomination. The men, the horses, the arms, the engines, the wooden towers, covered with raw hides, were embarked on board one hundred and fifty vessels: the transports had been built in the ports of Italy, and the galleys were supplied by the alliance of the republic of Ragusa.

At the mouth of the Adriatic gulf, the shores of Italy and Epirus incline towards each other. The space between Brundisium and Durazzo, the Roman passage, is no more than one hundred miles;‡ at the last station of Otranto it is contracted to fifty;§ and this narrow distance had suggested to Pyrrhus and Pompey the sublime or extravagant idea of a bridge. Before the general embarkation, the Norman duke dispatched Bohemond with fifteen galleys to seize or threaten the isle of Corfu, to survey the opposite coast, and to secure a harbour in the neighbourhood of Val-

* *Ipsæ armatæ militiæ non plusquam MCCC milites secum habuisse, ab eis qui eidem negotio interfuerunt attestatur.* (Malaterra, l. 3, c. 24, p. 583.) These are the same whom the Apulian (l. 4, p. 273) styles the equestris gens ducis, equites de gente ducis.

† *Εἰς τριάκοντα χιλιάδας* says Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. 1, p. 37); and her account tallies with the number and lading of the ships. I vit in Dyrrachium cum XV millibus hominum, says the Chronicon Breve Normannicum. (Muratori, Scriptores, tom. v. p. 278.) I have endeavoured to reconcile these reckonings.

‡ The Itinerary of Jerusalem (p. 609, edit. Wesseling) gives a true and reasonable space of a thousand stadia, or one hundred miles, which is strangely doubled by Strabo (l. 6, p. 433) and Pliny (Hist. Natur. 3. 16).

§ Pliny (Hist. Nat. iii. 6. 16) allows *quinquaginta* millia for this brevissimus cursus, and agrees with the real distance from Otranto to La Vallona, or Aulon (D'Anville, Analyse de sa Carte des Côtes de la Grèce, &c. p. 3—6). Hermolaus Barbarus, who substitutes *centum* (Harduin, not. 66, in Plin. l. 3) might have been corrected by every Venetian pilot who had sailed out of the gulf.

lona for the landing of the troops. They passed and landed without perceiving an enemy; and this successful experiment displayed the neglect and decay of the naval power of the Greeks. The islands of Epirus and the maritime towns were subdued by the arms or the name of Robert, who led his fleet and army from Corfu (I use the modern appellation) to the siege of Durazzo. That city, the western key of the empire, was guarded by ancient renown and recent fortifications, by George Palæologus, a patrician, victorious in the Oriental wars, and a numerous garrison of Albanians and Macedonians, who, in every age, have maintained the character of soldiers. In the prosecution of his enterprise, the courage of Guiscard was assailed by every form of danger and mischance. In the most propitious season of the year, as his fleet passed along the coast, a storm of wind and snow unexpectedly arose; the Adriatic was swelled by the raging blast of the South, and a new shipwreck confirmed the old infamy of the Acroceraunian rocks.* The sails, the masts, and the oars, were shattered or torn away; the sea and shore were covered with the fragments of vessels, with arms and dead bodies; and the greatest part of the provisions were either drowned or damaged. The ducal galley was laboriously rescued from the waves, and Robert halted seven days on the adjacent cape, to collect the relics of his loss and revive the drooping spirits of his soldiers. The Normans were no longer the bold and experienced mariners who had explored the ocean from Greenland to mount Atlas, and who smiled at the petty dangers of the Mediterranean. They had wept during the tempest; they were alarmed by the hostile approach of the Venetians, who had been solicited by the prayers and

* *Infames scopulos Acroceraunia*, Horat. *carm.* 1. 3. The præcipitem Africum decertantem Aquilonibus et rabiem Noti, and the monstra natantia of the Adriatic, are somewhat enlarged; but Horace trembling for the life of Virgil, is an interesting moment in the history of poetry and friendship. [The popular dread of the sea that prevailed among the Romans magnified the dangers of navigation, in many other Odes of Horace. He had, perhaps, himself experienced them in his voyage to, and return from, Greece. The entrance of the Adriatic is still subject to sudden and terrific storms, called by sailors "white squalls," probably from the foam which then overspreads its surface. So recently as February, 1853, an English ship, conveying troops to the Ionian Islands, was driven from her moorings soon after

promises of the Byzantine court. The first day's action was not disadvantageous to Bohemond, a beardless youth,* who led the naval powers of his father. All night the galleys of the republic lay on their anchors in the form of a crescent; and the victory of the second day was decided by the dexterity of their evolutions, the station of their archers, the weight of their javelins, and the borrowed aid of the Greek fire. The Apulian and Ragusian vessels fled to the shore; several were cut from their cables and dragged away by the conqueror; and a sally from the town carried slaughter and dismay to the tents of the Norman duke. A seasonable relief was poured into Durazzo, and as soon as the besiegers had lost the command of the sea, the islands and maritime towns withdrew from the camp the supply of tribute and provision. That camp was soon afflicted with a pestilential disease; five hundred knights perished by an inglorious death; and the list of burials (if all could obtain a decent burial) amounted to ten thousand persons. Under these calamities, the mind of Guiscard alone was firm and invincible; and while he collected new forces from Apulia and Sicily, he battered, or scaled, or sapped, the walls of Durazzo. But his industry and valour were encountered by equal valour and more perfect industry. A moveable turret, of a size and capacity to contain five hundred soldiers, had been rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart: but the descent of the door or drawbridge was checked by an enormous beam, and the wooden structure was instantly consumed by artificial flames.

While the Roman empire was attacked by the Turks in the East and the Normans in the West, the aged successor of Michael surrendered the sceptre to the hands of Alexius, an illustrious captain, and the founder of the Comnenian dynasty. The princess Anne, his daughter and historian, observes, in her affected style, that even Hercules was unequal to a double combat; and on this principle, she approves a hasty peace with the Turks, which allowed her father to

anchoring in the harbour of Corfu, and nearly wrecked on the point of Vido.—Ed.]

* *Τῶν δὲ εἰς τὸν πύγωνα αὐτοῦ ἰσχυροτέρων.* (Alexias, l. 4, p. 106.) Yet the Normans shaved, and the Venetians wore their beards; they must have derided the no-beard of Bohemond; a harsh interpretation! (Ducange, Not. ad Alexiad. p. 283.)

undertake in person the relief of Durazzo. On his accession, Alexius found the camp without soldiers, and the treasury without money; yet such were the vigour and activity of his measures, that in six months he assembled an army of seventy thousand men,* and performed a march of five hundred miles. His troops were levied in Europe and Asia, from Peloponnesus to the Black Sea; his majesty was displayed in the silver arms and rich trappings of the companies of horse-guards; and the emperor was attended by a train of nobles and princes, some of whom, in rapid succession, had been clothed with the purple, and were indulged by the lenity of the times in a life of affluence and dignity. Their youthful ardour might animate the multitude; but their love of pleasure and contempt of subordination were pregnant with disorder and mischief; and their importunate clamours for speedy and decisive action disconcerted the prudence of Alexius, who might have surrounded and starved the besieging army. The enumeration of provinces recalls a sad comparison of the past and present limits of the Roman world; the raw levies were drawn together in haste and terror; and the garrisons of Anatolia, or Asia Minor, had been purchased by the evacuation of the cities which were immediately occupied by the Turks. The strength of the Greek army consisted in the Varangians, the Scandinavian guards, whose numbers were recently augmented by a colony of exiles and volunteers from the British island of Thule. Under the yoke of the Norman conqueror, the Danes and English were oppressed and united; a band of adventurous youths resolved to desert a land of slavery; the sea was open to their escape; and, in their long pilgrimage, they visited every coast that afforded any hope of liberty and revenge. They were entertained in the service of the Greek emperor; and their first station

* Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 136, 137) observes, that some authors (*Petrus Diacon. Chron. Casinen.* l. 3. c. 49) compose the Greek army of one hundred and seventy thousand men, but that the *hundred* may be struck off, and that Malaterra only reckons seventy thousand; a slight inattention. The passage to which he alludes is in the *Chronicle of Lupus Protospata* (*Script. Ital.* tom. v. p. 45). Malaterra (l. 4, c. 27) speaks in high but indefinite terms of the emperor, *cum copiis innumerabilibus*: like the Apulian poet (l. 4, p. 272):

More locustarum montes et plana teguntur.

was in a new city on the Asiatic shore: but Alexius soon recalled them to the defence of his person and palace; and bequeathed to his successors the inheritance of their faith and valour.* The name of a Norman invader revived the memory of their wrongs; they marched with alacrity against the national foe, and panted to regain in Epirus, the glory which they had lost in the battle of Hastings. The Varangians were supported by some companies of Franks or Latins; and the rebels who had fled to Constantinople from the tyranny of Guiscard, were eager to signalize their zeal and gratify their revenge. In this emergency the emperor had not disdained the impure aid of the Paulicians or Manichæans of Thrace and Bulgaria; and these heretics united with the patience of martyrdom, the spirit and discipline of active valour.† The treaty with the sultan had procured a supply of some thousand Turks; and the arrows of the Scythian horse were opposed to the lances of the Norman cavalry. On the report and distant prospect of these formidable numbers, Robert assembled a council of his principal officers. "You behold," said he, "your danger; it is urgent and inevitable. The hills are covered with arms

* See William of Malmsbury, *de Gestis Anglorum*, l. 2, p. 92. Alexius fidem Anglorum suscipiens præcipuis familiaritatibus suis eos applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens. Ordericus Vitalis (*Hist. Eccles.* l. 4, p. 508; l. 7, p. 641) relates their emigration from England, and their service in Greece. [Gibbon's inference from these passages is too hasty. Had it been warranted by them, there would still have remained the inquiry, how far we might trust any information from Constantinople, that reached the cells of English or Norman monks, one of whom, as will presently be seen, had a very confused knowledge of subjects much more within his ken. The Saxon Chronicle and Brompton are authorities at least equal to those which are here cited. They tell us how the fugitives of that period were received in Scotland, Ireland, France, and Flanders; but they make no mention of this flight to the seat of eastern empire, nor is it likely that places of refuge so near at hand should have been neglected, to seek the hire of mercenaries in so distant an asylum. The talk of Constantinople about Angli among the Varangians (see ch. 55, p. 278) may have been repeated by some returned pilgrim or crusader, to Ordericus Vitalis, who then inferred, or imagined, the rest. William of Malmsbury tells quite another tale, or rigmarole, about the seven sleepers, with no reference whatever to this supposed emigration. See Bohn's editions of Will. of Malmsbury (p. 249), and Ordericus Vitalis (vol. ii. pp. 10. 357).—Ed.] † See the Apulian, l. 1, p. 256. The character and story of these Manichæans has been the sub-

and standards; and the emperor of the Greeks is accustomed to wars and triumphs. Obedience and union are our only safety; and I am ready to yield the command to a more worthy leader. The vote and acclamation, even of his secret enemies, assured him, in that perilous moment, of their esteem and confidence; and the duke thus continued; "Let us trust in the rewards of victory, and deprive cowardice of the means of escape. Let us burn our vessels, and our baggage, and give battle on this spot, as if it were the place of our nativity and our burial." The resolution was unanimously approved; and without confining himself to his lines, Guiscard awaited in battle array the nearer approach of the enemy. His rear was covered by a small river, his right wing extended to the sea; his left to the hills; nor was he conscious, perhaps, that on the same ground Cæsar and Pompey had formerly disputed the empire of the world.*

Against the advice of his wisest captains, Alexius resolved to risk the event of a general action, and exhorted the garrison of Durazzo to assist their own deliverance by a well-timed sally from the town. He marched in two columns to surprise the Normans before day-break on two different sides; his light cavalry was scattered over the plain; the archers formed the second line; and the Varangians claimed the honours of the vanguard. In the first onset, the battle-axes of the strangers made a deep and bloody impression on the army of Guiscard, which was now reduced to fifteen thousand men. The Lombards and Calabrians ignominiously turned their backs; they fled towards the river and the sea; but the bridge had been broken down to check the sally of the garrison, and the coast was lined with the Venetian galleys, who played their engines among the disorderly throng. On the verge of ruin, they were saved by the spirit and conduct of their chiefs. Gaita, the wife of Robert, is painted by the Greeks as a warlike Amazon, a second Pallas; less skilful in arts, but not less terrible in arms, than the Athenian goddess;† though

ject of the fifty-fourth chapter.

* See the simple and masterly narrative of Cæsar himself. (Comment. de Bell. Civil. 3. 41—75.) It is a pity that Quintus Icilius (M. Guischartt) did not live to analyse these operations, as he has done the campaigns of Africa and Spain.

† Παλλὰς ἄλλη κὰν μὴ Ἀθήνη, which is very properly translated

wounded by an arrow, she stood her ground, and strove by her exhortation and example, to rally the flying troops.* Her female voice was seconded by the more powerful voice and arm of the Norman duke, as calm in action as he was magnanimous in council: "Whither," he cried aloud, "whither do ye fly? your enemy is implacable; and death is less grievous than servitude." The moment was decisive: as the Varangians advanced before the line, they discovered the nakedness of their flanks; the main battle of the duke, of eight hundred knights, stood firm and entire; they couched their lances, and the Greeks deplore the furious and irresistible shock of the French cavalry.† Alexius was not deficient in the duties of a soldier or a general; but he no sooner beheld the slaughter of the Varangians, and the flight of the Turks, than he despaired his subjects and despaired of his fortune. The princess Anne, who drops a tear on this melancholy event, is reduced to praise the strength and swiftness of her father's horse, and his vigorous struggle, when he was almost overthrown by the stroke of a lance, which had shivered the imperial helmet. His desperate valour broke through a squadron of Franks who opposed his flight; and, after

by the president Cousin (Hist. de Constantinople, tom. iv. p. 131, in 12mo.), qui combattoit comme une Pallas, quoiqu'elle ne fût pas aussi savante que celle d'Athènes. The Grecian goddess was composed of two discordant characters; of Neith, the workwoman of Sais in Egypt, and of a virgin Amazon of the Tritonian lake in Libya. (Banier, Mythologie, tom. iv. p. 1—31, in 12mo.) * Anna Comnena (l. 4, p. 116) admires, with some degree of terror, her masculine virtues. They were more familiar to the Latins; and though the Apulian (l. 4, p. 273) mentions her presence and her wound, he represents her as far less intrepid.

Uxor in hoc bello Roberti forte sagittâ
Quâdam læsa fuit: quo vulnere *territa* nullam
Dum sperabat opem se pœne *subegerat* hosti.

This last is an unlucky word for a female prisoner.

† Ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ῥομπέρτου προηγησαμένης μάχης, γινώσκων τὴν πρώτην κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιῶν ἰππασίαν τῶν Κελτῶν ἀνύποιστον (Anna, l. 5, p. 133); and elsewhere καὶ γὰρ Κελτὸς ἀνὴρ πᾶς ἐποχούμενος μὴ ἀνύποιστος τὴν ὁρμὴν, καὶ τὴν θίαν ἐστίν (p. 140). The pedantry of the princess in the choice of classic appellations, encouraged Ducange to apply to his countrymen the characters of the ancient Gauls. [The darkness which veiled the west of Europe from Grecian eyes, may excuse Anna Comnena for making the followers of *Rompertos* a Celtic race. But Ducange is not easily to be pardoned for his error, in so willingly applying to his countrymen generally the

wandering two days and as many nights in the mountains, he found some repose of body, though not of mind, in the walls of Lychnidus.* The victorious Robert reproached the tardy and feeble pursuit which had suffered the escape of so illustrious a prize; but he consoled his disappointment by the trophies and standards of the field, the wealth and luxury of the Byzantine camp, and the glory of defeating an army five times more numerous than his own. A multitude of Italians had been the victims of their own fears; but only thirty of his knights were slain in this memorable day. In the Roman host, the loss of Greeks, Turks, and English, amounted to five or six thousand;† the plain of Durazzo was stained with noble and royal blood; and the end of the impostor Michael was more honourable than his life.

It is more than probable that Guiscard was not afflicted by the loss of a costly pageant, which had merited only the contempt and derision of the Greeks. After their defeat they still persevered in the defence of Durazzo; and a Venetian commander supplied the place of George Palæologus, who had been imprudently called away from his station. The tents of the besiegers were converted into barracks, to sustain the inclemency of the winter; and in answer to the defiance of the garrison, Robert insinuated that his patience was at least equal to their obstinacy.‡ Perhaps he already trusted to his secret correspondence with a Venetian noble, who sold the city for a rich and honourable marriage. At the dead of night several ropeladders were dropped from the walls; the light Calabrians ascended in silence, and the Greeks were awakened by the name and trumpets of the conqueror. Yet they defended

praises which she meant for neither Gauls nor Franks, but for Normans alone.—ED.]

* [The modern Ochridu, on the lake of the same name, near the river Drin, in Albania. Reichard, Tab. vi. Malte Brun and Balbi, p. 611. Gauttier d'Arc, iii. c. 2, p. 365.—ED.]

† Lupus Protospata (tom. iii. p. 45) says six thousand; William the Apulian more than five thousand (l. 4, p. 273). Their modesty is singular and laudable; they might with so little trouble have slain two or three myriads of schismatics and infidels!

‡ The Romans had changed the inauspicious name of *Epi-damrus* to *Dyrrachium* (Plin. 3. 26); and the vulgar corruption of *Duracium* (see *Malaterra*) bore some affinity to *hardness*. One of Robert's names was *Durand*, a *durando*: poor wit! (Alberic. Monach. in Chron. apud Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 137.)

the streets three days against an enemy already master of the rampart; and near seven months elapsed between the first investment and the final surrender of the place. From Durazzo, the Norman duke advanced into the heart of Epirus or Albania; traversed the first mountains of Thessaly; surprised three hundred English in the city of Castoria; approached Thessalonica; and made Constantinople tremble. A more pressing duty suspended the prosecution of his ambitious designs. By shipwreck, pestilence, and the sword, his army was reduced to a third of the original numbers; and instead of being recruited from Italy, he was informed, by plaintive epistles, of the mischiefs and dangers which had been produced by his absence: the revolt of the cities and barons of Apulia; the distress of the pope; and the approach or invasion of Henry king of Germany. Highly presuming that his person was sufficient for the public safety, he repassed the sea in a single brigantine, and left the remains of the army under the command of his son and the Norman counts, exhorting Bohemond to respect the freedom of his peers, and the counts to obey the authority of their leader. The son of Guiscard trod in the footsteps of his father; and the two destroyers are compared, by the Greeks, to the caterpillar and the locust, the last of whom devours whatever has escaped the teeth of the former.* After winning two battles against the emperor, he descended into the plain of Thessaly, and besieged Larissa, the fabulous realm of Achilles,† which contained the treasure and magazines of the Byzantine camp. Yet a just praise must not be refused to the fortitude and prudence of Alexius, who bravely struggled with the calamities of the times. In the poverty of the State, he presumed to borrow the superfluous ornaments of the churches; the desertion of the Manichæans was supplied by some tribes of Moldavia; a reinforcement of seven thousand Turks re-

* Βροῦχους καὶ ἀκρίδας εἶπεν ἂν τις αὐτοῦς πατέρα καὶ υἱόν. (Anna, l. 1, p. 35.) By these similes, so different from those of Homer, she wishes to inspire contempt, as well as horror, for the little noxious animal, a conqueror. Most unfortunately, the common sense, or common nonsense of mankind, resists her laudable design.

† Prodiit hæc auctor Trojanæ cladis Achilles.

The supposition of the Apulian (l. 5, p. 275) may be excused by the more classic poetry of Virgil (*Æneid*, 2. 197): Larissæus Achilles; but it is not justified by the geography of Homer.

placed and revenged the loss of their brethren; and the Greek soldiers were exercised to ride, to draw the bow, and to the daily practice of ambuscades and evolutions. Alexius had been taught by experience, that the formidable cavalry of the Franks on foot was unfit for action, and almost incapable of motion;* his archers were directed to aim their arrows at the horse rather than the man; and a variety of spikes and snares were scattered over the ground on which he might expect an attack. In the neighbourhood of Larissa the events of war were protracted and balanced. The courage of Bohemond was always conspicuous and often successful; but his camp was pillaged by a stratagem of the Greeks; the city was impregnable; and the venal or discontented counts deserted his standard, betrayed their trusts, and enlisted in the service of the emperor. Alexius returned to Constantinople with the advantage, rather than the honour, of victory. After evacuating the conquests which he could no longer defend, the son of Guiscard embarked for Italy, and was embraced by a father who esteemed his merit, and sympathized in his misfortune.

Of the Latin princes, the allies of Alexius and enemies of Robert, the most prompt and powerful was Henry the Third or Fourth, King of Germany and Italy, and future emperor of the West. The epistle of the Greek monarch† to his brother is filled with the warmest professions of friendship, and the most lively desire of strengthening their alliance by every public and private tie. He congratulates Henry on his success in a just and pious war; and complains that the prosperity of his own empire is disturbed by the audacious enterprises of the Norman Robert. The list of his presents expresses the manners of the age, a radiated

* The τῶν πεδίων προάλματα, which encumbered the knights on foot, have been ignorantly translated spurs. (Anna Comnena, Alexius, l. 5, p. 140.) Ducange has explained the true sense by a ridiculous and inconvenient fashion, which lasted from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. These peaks, in the form of a scorpion, were sometimes two feet, and fastened to the knee with a silver chain.

† The epistle itself (Alexias, l. 3, p. 93—95) well deserves to be read. There is one expression, ἀστροπέλεκυν δεδεμένον μετὰ Χρυσάφειον, which Ducange does not understand; I have endeavoured to grope out a tolerable meaning; χρυσάφειον, is a golden crown; ἀστροπέλεκυς, is explained by Simon Portius (in Lexico Græco-Barbar.) by κεραυνός πρηστήρ, a flash of lightning.

crown of gold, a cross set with pearls to hang on the breast, a case of relics, with the names and titles of the saints, a vase of crystal, a vase of sardonyx, some balm, most probably of Mecca, and one hundred pieces of purple. To these he added a more solid present, of one hundred and forty-four thousand Byzantines of gold, with a farther assurance of two hundred and sixteen thousand, so soon as Henry should have entered in arms the Apulian territories, and confirmed by an oath the league against the common enemy. The German,* who was already in Lombardy at the head of an army and a faction, accepted these liberal offers, and marched towards the south; his speed was checked by the sound of the battle of Durazzo; but the influence of his arms or name, in the hasty return of Robert, was a full equivalent for the Grecian bride. Henry was the sincere adversary of the Normans, the allies and vassals of Gregory the Seventh, his implacable foe. The long quarrel of the throne and mitre had been recently kindled by the zeal and ambition of that haughty priest:† the king and the pope had degraded each other; and each had seated a rival on the temporal or spiritual throne of his antagonist. After the defeat and death of his Swabian rebel, Henry descended into Italy to assume the imperial crown, and to drive from the Vatican the tyrant of the church.‡ But the Roman people adhered

* For these general events, I must refer to the general historians, Sigonius, Baronius, Muratori, Mosheim, St. Marc, &c.

† The lives of Gregory VII. are either legends or invectives (St. Marc, *Abrégé*, tom. iii. p. 235, &c.); and his miraculous or magical performances are alike incredible to a modern reader. He will, as usual, find some instruction in Le Clerc (*Vie de Hildebrand*, *Bibliot. Ancienne et Moderne*, tom. viii.), and much amusement in Bayle (*Dictionnaire Critique. Gregoire VII.*). That pope was undoubtedly a great man, a second Athanasius, in a more fortunate age of the church. May I presume to add, that the portrait of Athanasius is one of the passages of my history (vol. ii. p. 424, &c.) with which I am the least dissatisfied! [This pope was by far the most important man of his age, and his influence on coming times was marked and mighty. His maxims, example, and projects, ruled in the Vatican long after his death. It is necessary that his character should be well studied, and his proceedings closely scrutinized. Mr. Hallam has given a clear general idea of them (*Middle Ages*, 2. p. 259—274), to which the reader may advantageously refer for the conduct of a pontiff “exhibiting an arrogance without parallel, and an ambition that grasped at universal and unlimited monarchy.”—ED.]

‡ Anna, with the rancour of a Greek schismatic, calls him *καράπ-*

to the cause of Gregory; their resolution was fortified by supplies of men and money from Apulia; and the city was thrice ineffectually besieged by the king of Germany. In the fourth year he corrupted, as it is said, with Byzantine gold, the nobles of Rome, whose estates and castles had been ruined by the war. The gates, the bridges, and fifty hostages, were delivered into his hands; the antipope, Clement the Third, was consecrated in the Lateran; the grateful pontiff crowned his protector in the Vatican; and the emperor Henry fixed his residence in the Capitol, as the lawful successor of Augustus and Charlemagne. The ruins of the Septizonium were still defended by the nephew of Gregory: the pope himself was invested in the castle of St. Angelo; and his last hope was in the courage and fidelity of his Norman vassal. Their friendship had been interrupted by some reciprocal injuries and complaints; but, on this pressing occasion, Guiscard was urged by the obligation of his oath, by his interest, more potent than oaths, by the love of fame, and his enmity to the two emperors. Unfurling the holy banner, he resolved to fly to the relief of the prince of the apostles; the most numerous of his armies, six thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, was instantly assembled; and his march from Salerno to Rome was animated by the public applause and the promise of the divine favour. Henry, invincible in sixty-six battles, trembled at his approach; recollected some indispensable affairs that required his presence in Lombardy; exhorted the Romans to persevere in their allegiance; and hastily retreated three days before the entrance of the Normans. In less than three years, the son of Tancred of Hauteville enjoyed the glory of delivering the pope, and of compelling the two emperors of the East and West to fly before his victorious arms.* But the triumph

τυστος οδρος Πάπας (l. 1, p. 32), a pope, or priest, worthy to be spit upon; and accuses him of scourging, shaving, perhaps of castrating, the ambassadors of Henry (p. 31. 33). But this outrage is improbable and doubtful. (See the sensible preface of Cousin.)

* Sic uno tempore victi

Sunt terræ Domini duo: rex Alemannicus iste,
Imperii rector Romani maximus ille.

Alter ad arma ruens armis superatur; et alter
Nominis auditi solâ formidine cessit.

It is singular enough, that the Apulian, a Latin, should distinguish the Greek as the ruler of the Roman empire (l. 4, p. 274).

of Robert was clouded by the calamities of Rome. By the aid of the friends of Gregory, the walls had been perforated or scaled; but the imperial faction was still powerful and active; on the third day, the people rose in a furious tumult, and a hasty word of the conqueror, in his defence or revenge, was the signal of fire and pillage.* The Saracens of Sicily, the subjects of Roger, and auxiliaries of his brother, embraced this fair occasion of rifling and profaning the holy city of the Christians; many thousands of the citizens, in the sight, and by the allies, of their spiritual father, were exposed to violation, captivity, or death; and a spacious quarter of the city, from the Lateran to the Coliseum, was consumed by the flames, and devoted to perpetual solitude.† From a city where he was now hated, and might be no longer feared, Gregory retired to end his days in the palace of Salerno. The artful pontiff might flatter the vanity of Guiscard, with the hope of a Roman or imperial crown; but this dangerous measure, which would have inflamed the ambition of the Norman, must for ever have alienated the most faithful princes of Germany.

The deliverer and scourge of Rome might have indulged himself in a season of repose; but in the same year of the flight of the German emperor, the indefatigable Robert resumed the design of his Eastern conquests. The zeal or gratitude of Gregory had promised to his valour the kingdoms of Greece and Asia;‡ his troops were assembled in arms, flushed with success, and eager for action. Their numbers, in the language of Homer, are compared by Anna

* The narrative of Malaterra (l. 3, c. 37, p. 587, 588) is authentic, circumstantial, and fair. *Dux ignem exclamans urbe incensa, &c.* The Apulian softens the mischief (*inde quibusdam sedibus exustis*), which is again exaggerated in some partial chronicles. (Muratori, *Annali*, tom. ix. p. 147.)

† After mentioning this devastation, the Jesuit Donatus (*de Româ Veteri et Nova*, l. 4, c. 8, p. 489) prettily adds, *Duraret hodieque in Cœlio monte, interque ipsum et capitolium miserabilis facies prostratæ urbis, nisi in hortorum vinetorumque amœnitatem Roma resurrexisset ut perpetuâ viriditate contegeret vulnera et ruinas suas.*

‡ The royalty of Robert, either promised or bestowed by the pope (Anna, l. 1, p. 32), is sufficiently confirmed by the Apulian (l. 4, p. 270);

Romani regni sibi promississe coronam

Papa ferebatur.

Nor can I understand why Gretser, and the other papal advocates should be displeased with this new instance of apostolic jurisdiction.

to a swarm of bees;* yet the utmost and moderate limits of the powers of Guiscard have been already defined; they were contained on this second occasion in one hundred and twenty vessels; and as the season was far advanced, the harbour of Brundisium† was preferred to the open road of Otranto. Alexius, apprehensive of a second attack, had assiduously laboured to restore the naval forces of the empire; and obtained from the republic of Venice an important succour of thirty-six transports, fourteen galleys, and nine galliots, or ships of extraordinary strength and magnitude. Their services were liberally paid by the licence or monopoly of trade, a profitable gift of many shops and houses in the port of Constantinople, and a tribute to St. Mark, the more acceptable as it was the produce of a tax on their rivals of Amalphi. By the union of the Greeks and Venetians, the Adriatic was covered with a hostile fleet; but their own neglect, or the vigilance of Robert, the change of a wind, or the shelter of a mist, opened a free passage; and the Norman troops were safely disembarked on the coast of Epirus. With twenty strong and well appointed galleys, their intrepid duke immediately sought the enemy, and, though more accustomed to fight on horseback, he trusted his own life and the lives of his brother and two sons, to the event of a naval combat. The dominion of the sea was disputed in three engagements, in sight of the isle of Corfu; in the two former, the skill and numbers of the allies were superior; but in the third, the Normans obtained a final and complete victory.‡ The light brigantines of the Greeks were scat-

* See Homer, *Iliad* B. (I hate this pedantic mode of quotation by the letters of the Greek alphabet) 87, &c. His bees are the image of a disorderly crowd: their discipline and public works seem to be the ideas of a later age. (Virgil, *Æneid*. l. 1.)

† Gulielm. Appulus, l. 5, p. 276. The admirable port of Brundisium was double; the outward harbour was a gulf covered by an island, and narrowing by degrees till it communicated by a small gullet with the inner harbour, which embraced the city on both sides. Cæsar and nature have laboured for its ruin; and against such agents, what are the feeble efforts of the Neapolitan government? (Swinburne's *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, vol. i. p. 384—390.)

‡ William of Apulia (l. 5, p. 276) describes the victory of the Normans, and forgets the two previous defeats, which are diligently recorded by Anna Comnena (l. 6, p. 159—161). In her turn, she invents or magnifies a fourth action, to give the Venetians revenge and rewards. Their own feelings were far different, since they deposed their doge,

tered in ignominious flight; the nine castles of the Venetians maintained a more obstinate conflict; seven were sunk, two were taken; two thousand five hundred captives implored in vain the mercy of the victor; and the daughter of Alexius deplores the loss of thirteen thousand of his subjects or allies. The want of experience had been supplied by the genius of Guiscard; and each evening, when he had sounded a retreat, he calmly explored the causes of his repulse, and invented new methods how to remedy his own defects, and to baffle the advantages of the enemy. The winter season suspended his progress; with the return of spring he again aspired to the conquest of Constantinople; but, instead of traversing the hills of Epirus, he turned his arms against Greece and the islands, where the spoils would repay the labour, and where the land and sea forces might pursue their joint operations with vigour and effect. But, in the isle of Cephalonia, his projects were fatally blasted by an epidemical disease; Robert himself, in the seventieth year of his age, expired in his tent; and a suspicion of poison was imputed, by public rumour, to his wife, or to the Greek emperor.* This premature death might allow a boundless

propter excidium stoli. (Dandulus in Chron., in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 249.) [The popular clamour was excited at Venice by the donatives and arts of Vitale Faledro, who thus intrigued himself into the situation of the deposed doge. (Annali d'Italia, xiii. p. 414, 8vo. Venezia, 1790.) *Stolus*, although used here and by many writers to designate a naval armament, had not strictly that meaning. It was no less applicable to a body of land forces, and indeed to any assemblage of men acting in concert. The progress of written language indicates the course by which the unwritten advanced. Those who are interested in the study may observe, in the Thesaurus Stephani, 8678, the stages by which the Greek substantive *στόλος* (formed from *στέλλω*, *mitto*), from denoting a simple mission, came to bear the import of an armed host. Through the Latin *stolus*, it arrived at its Italian form of *stolo*, in which it still signifies any "multitudine di gente armata." —Ed.]

* The most authentic writers, William of Apulia (l. 5. 277), Jeffrey Malaterra (l. 3, c. 41, p. 589), and Romuald of Salerno (Chron. in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. vii.), are ignorant of this crime, so apparent to our countrymen, William of Malmabury (l. 3, p. 107) and Roger de Hoveden (p. 710, in Script. post Bedam): and the latter can tell, how the just Alexius married, crowned, and burnt alive, his female accomplice. The English historian is indeed so blind, that he ranks Robert Guiscard, or Wiscard, among the knights of Henry I. who ascended the throne fifteen years after

scope for the imagination of his future exploits; and the event sufficiently declares, that the Norman greatness was founded on his life.* Without the appearance of an enemy, a victorious army dispersed or retreated in disorder and consternation; and Alexius, who had trembled for his empire, rejoiced in his deliverance. The galley which transported the remains of Guiscard was shipwrecked on the Italian shore; but the duke's body was recovered from the sea, and deposited in the sepulchre of Venusia,† a place more illustrious for the birth of Horace,‡ than for the burial of the Norman heroes. Roger, his second son and successor, immediately sank to the humble station of a duke of Apulia; the esteem or partiality of his father left the valiant Bohemond to the inheritance of his sword. The national tranquillity was disturbed by his claims, till the first crusade against the infidels of the East opened a more splendid field of glory and conquest.§

Of human life, the most glorious or humble prospects are alike and soon bounded by the sepulchre. The male line of

the duke of Apulia's death. [The account of Robert Guiscard given by William of Malmsbury (p. 295, Bohn's Translation) is generally correct, except as to his death by poison. At p. 428 the duke of Apulia appears to be confounded with Robert, the eldest brother of Henry I. Hoveden followed and embellished William of Malmsbury. The evidences of imperfect information justify the doubts expressed in a former note, p. 329, on the authority of such writers for transactions at Constantinople.—Ed.]

* The joyful Anna Comnena scatters some flowers over the grave of an enemy (Alexiad. l. 5, p. 162—166); and his best praise is the esteem and envy of William the Conqueror, the sovereign of his family. Græcia (says Malaterra), hostibus recedentibus libera læta quievit; Apulia tota sive Calabria turbatur.

† Urbs Venusina nitet tantis decorata sepulchris, is one of the last lines of the Apulian's poem (l. 5, p. 278). William of Malmsbury (l. 3, p. 107) inserts an epitaph on Guiscard, which is not worth transcribing.

‡ Yet Horace had few obligations to Venusia; he was carried to Rome in his childhood (Serm. 1, 6); and his repeated allusions to the doubtful limit of Apulia and Lucania (Carm. 3, 4, Serm. 2, 1), are unworthy of his age and genius. [All men are sensible, if not of obligation, at least of attachment, to their birthplace, which, in its turn, glories in the accident of having produced an illustrious son. Horace lived long enough in Venusia, for his nurses to presage the future eminence of the "animosus infans." It is not very clear, why his allusions to an ill-determined boundary are unworthy of his genius.—Ed.]

§ See Giannone (tom. ii. p. 88—93) and the historians of the first crusade.

Robert Guiscard was extinguished, both in Apulia and at Antioch, in the second generation ; but his younger brother became the father of a line of kings ; and the son of the great count was endowed with the name, the conquests, and the spirit of the first Roger.* The heir of that Norman adventurer was born in Sicily ; and, at the age of only four years, he succeeded to the sovereignty of the island, a lot which reason might envy, could she indulge for a moment the visionary, though virtuous, wish of dominion. Had Roger been content with his fruitful patrimony, a happy and grateful people might have blessed their benefactor ; and, if a wise administration could have restored the prosperous times of the Greek colonies,† the opulence and power of Sicily alone might have equalled the widest scope that could be acquired and desolated by the sword of war. But the ambition of the great count was ignorant of these noble pursuits : it was gratified by the vulgar means of violence and artifice. He sought to obtain the undivided possession of Palermo, of which one moiety had been ceded to the elder branch ; struggled to enlarge his Calabrian limits beyond the measure of former treaties ; and impatiently watched the declining health of his cousin William of Apulia, the grandson of Robert. On the first intelligence of his premature death, Roger sailed from Palermo with seven galleys, cast anchor in the bay of Salerno, received, after ten days' negotiation, an oath of fidelity from the Norman capital, commanded the submission of the barons, and extorted a legal investiture from the reluctant popes, who could not long endure either the friendship or enmity of a powerful vassal. The sacred spot of Benevento was

* The reign of Roger, and the Norman kings of Sicily, fills four books of the *Istoria Civile* of Giannone (tom. ii. l. 11—14, p. 136—340), and is spread over the ninth and tenth volumes of the *Italian Annals* of Muratori. In the *Bibliothèque Italique* (tom. i. p. 175—222) I find a useful abstract of Capacelatro, a modern Neapolitan, who has composed, in two volumes, the history of his country from Roger I. to Frederic II. inclusive.

† According to the testimony of Philistus and Diodorus, the tyrant Dionysius of Syracuse could maintain a standing force of ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and four hundred galleys. Compare Hume (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 268, 435) and his adversary Wallace (*Numbers of Mankind*, p. 306, 307). The ruins of Agrigentum are the theme of every traveller, D'Orville, Reidesel, Swinburne, &c.

respectfully spared, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the reduction of Capua and Naples completed the design of his uncle Guiscard; and the sole inheritance of the Norman conquests was possessed by the victorious Roger. A conscious superiority of power and merit prompted him to disdain the titles of duke and of count; and the isle of Sicily, with a third perhaps of the continent of Italy, might form the basis of a kingdom * which would only yield to the monarchies of France and England. The chiefs of the nation who attended his coronation at Palermo might doubtless pronounce under what name he should reign over them; but the example of a Greek tyrant or a Saracen emir was insufficient to justify his regal character; and the nine kings of the Latin world † might disclaim their new associate, unless he were consecrated by the authority of the supreme pontiff. The pride of Anacletus was pleased to confer a title, which the pride of the Norman had stooped to solicit; ‡ but his own legitimacy was attacked by the adverse election of Innocent the Second; and while Anacletus sat in the Vatican, the successful fugitive was acknowledged by the nations of Europe. The infant monarchy of Roger was shaken, and almost overthrown, by the unlucky choice of an ecclesiastical patron; and the sword of Lothaire the Second of Germany, the excommunications of Innocent, the fleets of Pisa, and the zeal of St. Bernard, were united for the ruin of the Sicilian robber. After a gallant resistance, the Norman prince was driven from the continent of Italy; a new duke of Apulia was invested by the pope and the emperor, each of whom

* A contemporary historian of the acts of Roger from the year 1127 to 1135, founds his title on merit and power, the consent of the barons, and the ancient royalty of Sicily and Palermo, without introducing pope Anacletus. (Alexand. Cœnobii Telesini Abbat. de Rebus gestis Regis Rogerii, l. 4, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. v. p. 607—645.)

† The kings of France, England, Scotland, Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary. The three first were more ancient than Charlemagne, the three next were created by their sword, the three last by their baptism; and of these the king of Hungary alone was honoured or debased by a papal crown.

‡ Fazellus, and a crowd of Sicilians, had imagined a more early and independent coronation (A.D. 1130, May 1), which Giannone unwillingly rejects (tom. ii. p. 137—144). This fiction is disproved by the silence of contemporaries; nor can it be restored by a spurious charter of Messina. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 340; Pagi,

held one end of the *gonfanon*, or flag-staff, as a token that they asserted their right, and suspended their quarrel.* But such jealous friendship was of short and precarious duration; the German armies soon vanished in disease and desertion;† the Apulian duke, with all his adherents, was exterminated by a conqueror, who seldom forgave either the dead or the living; like his predecessor Leo the Ninth, the feeble though haughty pontiff became the captive and friend of the Normans; and their reconciliation was celebrated by the eloquence of Bernard, who now revered the title and virtues of the king of Sicily.

As a penance for his impious war against the successor of St. Peter, that monarch might have promised to display the banner of the cross, and he accomplished with ardour a vow so propitious to his interest and revenge. The recent injuries of Sicily might provoke a just retaliation on the heads of the Saracens; the Normans, whose blood had been mingled with so many subject streams, were encouraged to remember and emulate the naval trophies of their fathers, and in the maturity of their strength they contended with the decline of an African power. When the Fatimite caliph departed for the conquest of Egypt, he rewarded the real merit and apparent fidelity of his servant Joseph with a gift of his royal mantle, and forty Arabian horses, his

Critica, tom. iv. p. 467, 468.)

* [The *gonfanon* was not the flag-staff, but the flag itself. None dispute its derivation from the Gothic *fana*, the root of the present German *fahne*, a standard. But there are many opinions as to the meaning of its first syllable. These may be seen in F. Wachter's learned dissertation on *Fahnen*. (Ersch and Gruber, Encyc. 41, p. 121—144.) The most probable is that which derives it from *chund*, *gund*, or *gunnr*, an early Gothic term for battle, which was introduced into many proper names, such as Gundobald, Gundhelm, Gunther, &c. and is found in our word *gun*. Ducange gives, without any explanation, *guntfana* as the earliest form of *gonfanon*, which was therefore the *schlachtfahne*, the battle-flag, borne in the field by or near the commander-in-chief of an army. See also the Glossary to the Prose Edda, Mallet, North. Ant. p. 554, edit. Bohn, and that of Meyrick, Ancient Armour, vol. viii. edit. 1842. In process of time it was applied to the banners of companies, guilds, municipalities, and churches, particularly in Lombardy. The *gonfalonier*, or standard-bearer, became the designation of the chief magistrate in some Italian republics. Hallam, Middle Ages, 1, 345, 427, &c.—ED.]

† Roger corrupted the second person of Lothaire's army, who sounded, or rather cried, a retreat; for the Germans (says Cinnamus, l. 3, c. 1, p. 51) are ignorant of the use

palace, with its sumptuous furniture, and the government of the kingdoms of Tunis and Algiers. The Zeirides*, the descendants of Joseph, forgot their allegiance and gratitude to a distant benefactor, grasped and abused the fruits of prosperity; and after running the little course of an Oriental dynasty, were now fainting in their own weakness. On the side of the land, they were oppressed by the Almohades, the fanatic princes of Morocco, while the sea-coast was open to the enterprises of the Greeks and Franks, who before the close of the eleventh century, had extorted a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. By the first arms of Roger, the island or rock of Malta, which has been since ennobled by a military and religious colony, was inseparably annexed to the crown of Sicily. Tripoli,† a strong and maritime city, was the next object of his attack; and the slaughter of the males, the captivity of the females, might be justified by the frequent practice of the Moslems themselves. The capital of the Zeirides was named Africa, from the country, and Mahadia‡ from the Arabian founder; it is strongly built on a neck of land, but the imperfection of the harbour is not compensated by the fertility of the adjacent plain. Mahadia was besieged by George, the Sicilian admiral, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty galleys, amply provided with men and the instruments of mischief; the sovereign had fled, the Moorish governor refused to capitulate, declined the last and irresistible assault, and, secretly escaping with the Moslem inhabitants, abandoned the place and its treasures to the rapacious Franks. In successive expeditions, the king of Sicily or his lieutenants reduced the cities of Tunis, Safax, Capsia, Bona, and a long tract of the sea-trumpets. Most ignorant himself!

* See De Guignes, *Hist. Générale des Huns*, tom. i. p. 369—373, and Cardonne, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, &c. sous la Domination des Arabes, tom. ii. p. 70—144. Their common original appears to be Novairi. [For Joseph, or Jusuf Ben Taxfin, and El Mehedi, the founder of the Almohades, their successors, and their wars, see Condé, *Arabs in Spain*, vol. ii. p. 205, et seq. edit. Bohn.—Ed.]

† Tripoli (says the Nubian geographer, or more properly the Sherif al Edrisi) *urbis fortis, saxeo muro vallata, sita prope littus maris. Hanc expugnavit Rogerius, qui mulieribus captivis ductis, viros peremit.*

‡ See the geography of Leo Africanus (in Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 74, verso, fol. 75, recto) and Shaw's *Travels* (p. 110), the seventh book of Thuanus, and the eleventh of the Abbé de Vertot. The possession and defence of the place was offered by Charles V. and wisely declined by the knights of Malta.

coast;* the fortresses were garrisoned, the country was tributary, and a boast, that it held Africa in subjection, might be inscribed with some flattery on the sword of Roger.† After his death, that sword was broken; and these transmarine possessions were neglected, evacuated, or lost, under the troubled reign of his successor.‡ The triumphs of Scipio and Belisarius have proved, that the African continent is neither inaccessible nor invincible; yet the great princes and powers of Christendom have repeatedly failed in their armaments against the Moors, who may still glory in the easy conquest and long servitude of Spain.§

Since the decease of Robert Guiscard, the Normans had relinquished, above sixty years, their hostile designs against the empire of the East. The policy of Roger solicited a public and private union with the Greek princes, whose alliance would dignify his regal character; he demanded in marriage a daughter of the Comnenian family, and the first steps of the treaty seemed to promise a favourable event. But the contemptuous treatment of his ambassadors exasperated the vanity of the new monarch; and the insolence of the Byzantine court was expiated, according to the laws of nations, by the sufferings of a guiltless people.** With a fleet of seventy galleys, George, the admiral of Sicily, appeared before Corfu; and both the island and city were

* Pagi has accurately marked the African conquests of Roger; and his criticism was supplied by his friend the Abbé Longuerue, with some Arabic memorials (A.D. 1147, No. 26, 27, A.D. 1148, No. 16, A.D. 1153, No. 16).

† Appulus et Calaber, Siculus mihi servit et Afer.

A proud inscription, which denotes that the Norman conquerors were still discriminated from their Christian and Moslem subjects.

‡ Hugo Falcandus (Hist. Sicula, in Muratori Script. tom. vii. p. 270, 271) ascribes these losses to the neglect or treachery of the admiral Majo.

§ [The piracies of Barbary corsairs, the long-endured scourge and disgrace of Europe, have been quelled; and Algeria has been for nearly thirty years subjugated and colonized by a civilized and powerful people. What impediments are there now to obstruct the revival of industry and arts, of beauty and prosperity, in an extensive region, which once surpassed in productiveness every country of Europe?—ED.]

** The silence of the Sicilian historians, who end too soon or begin too late, must be supplied by Otho of Frisingen, a German (de Gestis Frederici I. lib. 1, c. 33, in Muratori Script. tom. vi. p. 668), the Venetian Andrew Dandolo (Id. tom. xii. p. 282, 283), and the Greek writers Cinnamus (l. 3, c. 2—5) and Nicetas, in Manuel. (l. 2, c. 1—6).

delivered into his hands by the disaffected inhabitants, who had yet to learn that a siege is still more calamitous than a tribute. In this invasion, of some moment in the annals of commerce, the Normans spread themselves by sea, and over the provinces of Greece; and the venerable age of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, was violated by rapine and cruelty. Of the wrongs of Athens, no memorial remains. The ancient walls, which encompassed, without guarding, the opulence of Thebes, were scaled by the Latin Christians; but their sole use of the gospel was to sanctify an oath, that the lawful owners had not secreted any relic of their inheritance or industry. On the approach of the Normans the lower town of Corinth was evacuated; the Greeks retired to the citadel, which was seated on a lofty eminence, abundantly watered by the classic fountain of Pirene; an impregnable fortress, if the want of courage could be balanced by any advantages of art or nature. As soon as the besiegers had surmounted the labour (their sole labour) of climbing the hill, their general, from the commanding eminence, admired his own victory, and testified his gratitude to heaven, by tearing from the altar the precious image of Theodore the tutelary saint. The silk-weavers of both sexes, whom George transported to Sicily, composed the most valuable part of the spoil; and in comparing the skilful industry of the mechanic with the sloth and cowardice of the soldier, he was heard to exclaim, that the distaff and loom were the only weapons which the Greeks were capable of using. The progress of this naval armament was marked by two conspicuous events, the rescue of the king of France, and the insult of the Byzantine capital. In his return by sea from an unfortunate crusade, Louis the seventh was intercepted by the Greeks, who basely violated the laws of honour and religion. The fortunate encounter of the Norman fleet delivered the royal captive: and after a free and honourable entertainment in the court of Sicily, Louis continued his journey to Rome and Paris.*

* To this imperfect capture and speedy rescue, I apply the *παρ' ὀλίγον ἤλθε τοῦ ἀλῶναι*, of Cinnamus, l. 2, c. 19, p. 49. Muratori, on tolerable evidence (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. ix. p. 420, 421), laughs at the delicacy of the French, who maintain, *marisque nullo impediēte periculo ad regnum proprium reversum esse*; yet I observe that their advocate, Ducange, is less positive as the commentator on Cinnamus, than as

In the absence of the emperor, Constantinople and the Hellespont were left without defence, and without the suspicion of danger. The clergy and people, for the soldiers had followed the standard of Manuel, were astonished and dismayed at the hostile appearance of a line of galleys, which boldly cast anchor in front of the imperial city. The forces of the Sicilian admiral were inadequate to the siege or assault of an immense and populous metropolis; but George enjoyed the glory of humbling the Greek arrogance, and of marking the path of conquest to the navies of the West. He landed some soldiers to rifle the fruits of the royal gardens, and pointed with silver, or more probably with fire, the arrows which he discharged against the palace of the Cæsars.* This playful outrage of the pirates of Sicily, who had surprised an unguarded moment, Manuel affected to despise, while his martial spirit, and the forces of the empire, were awakened to revenge. The Archipelago and Ionian sea were covered with his squadrons and those of Venice; but I know not by what favourable allowance of transports, victuallers, and pinnaces, our reason, or even our fancy, can be reconciled to the stupendous account of fifteen hundred vessels, which is proposed by a Byzantine historian. These operations were directed with prudence and energy; in his homeward voyage George lost nineteen of his galleys, which were separated and taken; after an obstinate defence, Corfu implored the clemency of her lawful sovereign; nor could a ship, or a soldier of the Norman prince be found, unless as a captive, within the limits of the Eastern empire. The prosperity and the health of Roger were already in a declining state; while he listened in his palace of Palermo to the messengers of victory or defeat, the invincible Manuel, the foremost in every assault, was celebrated by the Greeks and Latins as the Alexander or Hercules of the age.

the editor of Joinville. [Muratori says that this event is attested by a sufficient number of ancient historians "storici antichi bastevoli." Taaffe (i. p. 252) complains that the second crusade had only three historians, who all break off suddenly at Damascus; to which he afterwards adds, "Dreadfully eloquent is the silence of annalists." It was at Potenza in Calabria, according to Muratori, that Roger so hospitably entertained Louis.—Ed.]

* In palatium regium sagittas igneus iniecit, says Dandulus; but Nicetas, l. 2, c. 8, p. 66, transforms them into Βελη αργυρίους έχοντα άτράκτους, and adds, that Manuel

A prince of such a temper could not be satisfied with having repelled the insolence of a Barbarian. It was the right and duty, it might be the interest and glory, of Manuel to restore the ancient majesty of the empire, to recover the provinces of Italy and Sicily, and to chastise this pretended king, the grandson of a Norman vassal.* The natives of Calabria were still attached to the Greek language and worship, which had been inexorably proscribed by the Latin clergy; after the loss of her dukes, Apulia was chained as a servile appendage to the crown of Sicily; the founder of the monarchy had ruled by the sword; and his death had abated the fear, without healing the discontent, of his subjects; the feudal government was always pregnant with the seeds of rebellion, and a nephew of Roger himself invited the enemies of his family and nation. The majesty of the purple, and a series of Hungarian and Turkish wars, prevented Manuel from embarking his person in the Italian expedition. To the brave and noble Palæologus, his lieutenant, the Greek monarch intrusted a fleet and army; the siege of Bari was his first exploit, and in every operation, gold as well as steel was the instrument of victory. Salerno, and some places along the western coast, maintained their fidelity to the Norman king; but he lost in two campaigns the greater part of his continental possessions; and the modest emperor, disdaining all flattery and falsehood, was content with the reduction of three hundred cities or villages of Apulia and Calabria, whose names and titles were inscribed on all the walls of the palace. The prejudices of the Latins were gratified by a genuine or fictitious donation, under the seal of the German Cæsars;† but the successor of Constantine soon renounced this ignominious pretence, claimed the indefeasible dominion of Italy, and professed his design of chasing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. By the artful speeches, liberal gifts, and

styled this insult *παίγνιον*, and *γέλωτα* *ληστεύοντα*. These arrows, by the compiler, Vincent de Beauvais, are again transmuted into gold.

* For the invasion of Italy, which is almost overlooked by Nicetas, see the more polite history of Cinnamus (l. 4, c. 1—15, p. 78—101), who introduces a diffuse narrative by a lofty profession, *περί τῆς Σικελίας τε, καὶ τῆς Ἰταλῶν ἐσέκπετο γῆς, ὡς καὶ ταύτας Ῥωμαῖοις ἀνασώσαιο*.

† The Latin Otho (de Gestis Frederici l. 2, c. 30, p. 734), attests the forgery; the Greek

unbounded promises, of their Eastern ally, the free cities were encouraged to persevere in their generous struggle against the despotism of Frederic Barbarossa; the walls of Milan were rebuilt by the contributions of Manuel, and he poured, says the historian, a river of gold into the bosom of Ancona, whose attachment to the Greeks was fortified by the jealous enmity of the Venetians.* The situation and trade of Ancona rendered it an important garrison in the heart of Italy; it was twice besieged by the arms of Frederic; the imperial forces were twice repulsed by the spirit of freedom; that spirit was animated by the ambassador of Constantinople; and the most intrepid patriots, the most faithful servants, were rewarded by the wealth and honours of the Byzantine court.† The pride of Manuel disdained and rejected a barbarian colleague; his ambition was excited by the hope of stripping the purple from the German usurpers, and of establishing, in the West, as in the East, his lawful title of sole emperor of the Romans. With this view, he solicited the alliance of the people and the bishop of Rome. Several of the nobles embraced the cause of the Greek monarch; the splendid nuptials of his niece with Odo Frangipani, secured the support of that powerful family,‡ and his royal standard or image was entertained with due reverence in the ancient metropolis.§ During the quarrel between Frederic and Alexander the Third, the pope twice received in the Vatican the ambassadors of Constantinople. They flattered his piety by the long-promised union of the

Cinnamus (l. 1, c. 4, p. 78) claims a promise of restitution from Conrad and Frederic. An act of fraud is always credible when it is told of the Greeks.

* Quod Anconitani Græcum imperium nimis diligenter . . . : Veneti speciali odio Anconam oderunt. The cause of love, perhaps of envy, were the beneficia, flumen aureum of the emperor; and the Latin narrative is confirmed by Cinnamus (l. 4, c. 14, p. 98).

† Muratori mentions the two sieges of Ancona; the first, in 1167, against Frederic I. in person (Annali, tom. x. p. 39, &c.); the second, in 1173, against his lieutenant Christian, archbishop of Mentz, a man unworthy of his name and office (p. 76, &c). It is of the second siege, that we possess an original narrative, which he has published in his great collection (tom. vi. p. 921—946).

‡ We derive this anecdote from an anonymous chronicle of Fossa Nova, published by Muratori. (Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 874.)

§ The βασιλεῖον σημεῖον of Cinnamus (l. 4, c. 14, p. 99) is susceptible of this double sense. A standard is more Latin, an image more Greek.

two churches, tempted the avarice of his venal court, and exhorted the Roman pontiff to seize the just provocation, the favourable moment, to humble the savage insolence of the Allemanni, and to acknowledge the true representative of Constantine and Augustus.*

But these Italian conquests, this universal reign, soon escaped from the hand of the Greek emperor. His first demands were eluded by the prudence of Alexander the Third, who paused on this deep and momentous revolution;† nor could the pope be seduced by a personal dispute to renounce the perpetual inheritance of the Latin name. After his reunion with Frederic, he spoke a more peremptory language, confirmed the acts of his predecessors, excommunicated the adherents of Manuel, and pronounced the final separation of the churches, or at least the empires, of Constantinople and Rome.‡ The free cities of Lombardy no longer remembered their foreign benefactor, and without preserving the friendship of Ancona, he soon incurred the enmity of Venice§ By his own avarice, or the complaints of his subjects, the Greek emperor was provoked to arrest the persons and confiscate the effects, of the Venetian merchants. This violation of the public faith exasperated a free and commercial people; one hundred galleys were launched and armed in as many days; they swept the coasts of Dalmatia and Greece; but after some mutual wounds, the war was terminated by an agreement inglorious to the empire, insufficient for the republic; and a complete vengeance of these and of fresh injuries, was reserved for the succeeding generation. The lieutenant of Manuel had informed his sovereign that he was strong enough to quell any domestic

* *Nihilominus quoque petebat, ut quia occasio justa et tempus opportunum et acceptabile se obtulerant, Romani corona imperii a sancto apostolo sibi redderetur; quoniam non ad Frederici Alemanni, sed ad suum jus asseruit pertinere.* (Vit. Alexandri III. a Cardinal. Arragoniæ, in Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. par. 1, p. 458.) His second embassy was accompanied cum immensa multitudo pecuniarum.

† *Nimis alta et perplexa sunt* (Vit. Alexandri III. p. 460, 461), says the cautious pope. ‡ *Μηδὲν μεσὸν εἶναι λέγων 'Ρωμῇ τῇ νεωτέρᾳ πρὸς τὴν πρεσβυτέραν, πάλαι ἀποβράγισσῶν.* (Cinnamus, l. 4, c. 14, p. 99.)

§ In his sixth book, Cinnamus describes the Venetian war, which Nicetas has not thought worthy of his attention. The Italian accounts, which do not satisfy our curiosity, are reported by the annalist Muratori, under the years 1171, &c.

revolt of Apulia and Calabria; but that his forces were inadequate to resist the impending attack of the king of Sicily. His prophecy was soon verified; the death of Palæologus devolved the command on several chiefs, alike eminent in rank, alike defective in military talents; the Greeks were oppressed by land and sea; and a captive remnant that escaped the swords of the Normans and Saracens, abjured all future hostility against the person or dominions of their conqueror.* Yet the king of Sicily esteemed the courage and constancy of Manuel, who had landed a second army on the Italian shore; he respectfully addressed the new Justinian; solicited a peace or truce of thirty years; accepted as a gift the regal title; and acknowledged himself the military vassal of the Roman empire.† The Byzantine Cæsars acquiesced in this shadow of dominion, without expecting, perhaps without desiring, the service of a Norman army; and the truce of thirty years was not disturbed by any hostilities between Sicily and Constantinople. About the end of that period, the throne of Manuel was usurped by an inhuman tyrant, who had deserved the abhorrence of his country and mankind; the sword of William the Second, the grandson of Roger, was drawn by a fugitive of the Comnenian race; and the subjects of Andronicus might salute the strangers as friends, since they detested their sovereign as the worst of enemies. The Latin historians‡ expatiate on the rapid progress of the four counts who invaded Romania with a fleet and army, and reduced many castles and cities to the obedience of the king of Sicily. The Greeks§ accuse and magnify

* This victory is mentioned by Romuald of Salerno (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 198). It is whimsical enough, that in the praise of the king of Sicily, Cinnamus (l. 4, c. 13, p. 97, 98) is much warmer and more copious than Falcandus (p. 268—270). But the Greek is fond of description, and the Latin historian is not fond of William the Bad.

† For the epistle of William I. see Cinnamus (l. 4, c. 15, p. 101, 102) and Nicetas (l. 2, c. 8). It is difficult to affirm, whether these Greeks deceived themselves or the public, in these flattering portraits of the grandeur of the empire.

‡ I can only quote of original evidence the poor chronicles of Sicard of Cremona (p. 603) and of Fossa Nova (p. 875), as they are published in the seventh tome of Muratori's historians. The king of Sicily sent his troops *contra nequitiam Andronici ad acquirendum imperium C. P.* They were *capti aut confusi decepti captique*, by Isaac.

§ By the failure of Cinnamus, we are now

the wanton and sacrilegious cruelties that were perpetrated in the sack of Thessalonica, the second city of the empire. The former deplore the fate of those invincible but unsuspecting warriors, who were destroyed by the arts of a vanquished foe. The latter applaud, in songs of triumph, the repeated victories of their countrymen on the sea of Marmora or Propontis, on the banks of the Strymon, and under the walls of Durazzo. A revolution which punished the crimes of Andronicus, had united against the Franks the zeal and courage of the successful insurgents; ten thousand were slain in battle, and Isaac Angelus, the new emperor, might indulge his vanity or vengeance in the treatment of four thousand captives. Such was the event of the last contest between the Greeks and Normans: before the expiration of twenty years, the rival nations were lost or degraded in foreign servitude; and the successors of Constantine did not long survive to insult the fall of the Sicilian monarchy.

The sceptre of Roger successively devolved to his son and grandson: they might be confounded under the name of William; they are strongly discriminated by the epithets of the *bad* and the *good*; but these epithets, which appear to describe the perfection of vice and virtue, cannot strictly be applied to either of the Norman princes. When he was roused to arms by danger and shame, the first William did not degenerate from the valour of his race; but his temper was slothful; his manners were dissolute; his passions headstrong and mischievous; and the monarch is responsible, not only for his personal vices, but for those of Majo, the great admiral, who abused the confidence, and conspired against the life, of his benefactor. From the Arabian conquest, Sicily had imbibed a deep tincture of Oriental manners; the despotism, the pomp, and even the haram, of a sultan; and a Christian people was oppressed and insulted by the ascendant of the eunuchs, who openly

reduced to Nicetas (in Andronico, l. 1, c. 7—9; l. 2, c. 1, in Isaac Angelo, l. 1, c. 1—4) who now becomes a respectable contemporary. As he survived the emperor and the empire, he is above flattery; but the fall of Constantinople exasperated his prejudices against the Latins. For the honour of learning, I shall observe that Homer's great commentator, Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, refused to desert his flock.

professed, or secretly cherished, the religion of Mahomet. An eloquent historian of the times* has delineated the misfortunes of his country :† the ambition and fall of the ungrateful Majo; the revolt and punishment of his assassins; the imprisonment and deliverance of the king himself; the private feuds that arose from the public confusion; and the various forms of calamity and discord which afflicted Palermo, the island, and the continent, during the reign of William the First, and the minority of his son. The youth, innocence, and beauty of William the Second,‡ endeared him to the nation; the factions were reconciled; the laws were revived; and from the manhood to the premature death of that amiable prince, Sicily enjoyed a short season of peace, justice and happiness, whose value was enhanced by the remembrance of the past and the dread of futurity. The legitimate male posterity of Tancred of Hauteville was extinct in the person of the second William; but his aunt, the daughter of Roger, had married the most powerful prince of the age; and Henry the Sixth, the son of Frederic Barbarossa, descended from the Alps to claim the imperial

* The *Historia Sicula* of Hugo Falcandus, which properly extends from 1154 to 1169, is inserted in the seventh volume of Muratori's Collection (tom. vii. p. 259—344), and preceded by an elegant preface or epistle (p. 251—258) de Calamitatibus Siciliæ. Falcandus has been styled the Tacitus of Sicily; and, after a just, but immense, abatement from the first to the twelfth century, from a senator to a monk, I would not strip him of his title; his narrative is rapid and perspicuous, his style bold and elegant, his observation keen; he had studied mankind, and feels like a man. I can only regret the narrow and barren field on which his labours have been cast.

† The laborious Benedictines (*l'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, p. 896) are of opinion, that the true name of Falcandus, is Fulcandus, or Foucault. According to them, Hugues Foucault, a Frenchman by birth, and at length abbot of St. Denys, had followed into Sicily his patron Stephen de la Perche, uncle to the mother of William II. archbishop of Palermo, and great chancellor of the kingdom. Yet Falcandus has all the feelings of a Sicilian; and the title of *Alumnus* (which he bestows on himself) appears to indicate that he was born, or at least educated, in the island.

‡ Falcand. p. 303, Richard de St. Germano begins his history from the death and praises of William II. After some unmeaning epithets, he thus continues: *legis et justitiæ cultus tempore suo vigeat in regno; suâ erat quilibet sorte contentus; (were they mortals?) ubique pax, ubique securitas, nec latronum metuebat viator insidias, nec maris nauta offendicula piratarum.* (*Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. vii. p. 969.)

crown and the inheritance of his wife. Against the unanimous wish of a free people, this inheritance could only be acquired by arms; and I am pleased to transcribe the style and sense of the historian Falcandus, who writes at the moment and on the spot, with the feelings of a patriot, and the prophetic eye of a statesman. "Constantia, the daughter of Sicily, nursed from her cradle in the pleasures and plenty, and educated in the arts and manners, of this fortunate isle, departed long since to enrich the Barbarians with our treasures, and now returns with her savage allies, to contaminate the beauties of her venerable parent. Already I behold the swarms of angry Barbarians; our opulent cities, the places flourishing in a long peace, are shaken with fear, desolated by slaughter, consumed by rapine, and polluted by intemperance and lust. I see the massacre or captivity of our citizens, the rapes of our virgins and matrons.* In this extremity (he interrogates a friend) how must the Sicilians act? By the unanimous election of a king, of valour and experience, Sicily and Calabria might yet be preserved;† for in the levity of the Apulians, ever eager for new revolutions, I can repose neither confidence nor hope.‡ Should Calabria be lost, the lofty towers, the numerous youth, and the naval strength of Messina,§ might guard the passage against a foreign invader. If the savage Germans coalesce with the pirates of Messina; if they destroy with fire the fruitful region, so often wasted by the fires of mount Ætna,¶ what

* Constantia, primis a cunabulis in deliciarum tuarum affluentia diutius educata, tuisque institutis, doctrinis et moribus informata, tandem opibus tuis Barbaros delatura discessit: et nunc cum ingentibus copiis revertitur, ut pulcherrima nutricis ornamenta Barbaricæ fœditate contamine. . . . Intueri mihi jam videor turbulentas Barbarorum acies civitates opulentas et loca diuturnâ pace florentia, metû concutere, cæde vastare, rapinis atterere, et fœdare luxuriâ: hinc cives aut gladiis intercepti, aut servitute depressi, virgines constupratæ, matronæ, &c.

† Certe si regem non dubiæ virtutis elegerint, nec a Saracenis Christiani dissentiant, poterit rex creatus rebus licet quasi desperatis et perditis subvenire, et incursum hostium, si prudenter egerit, propulsare.

‡ In Apulia, qui, semper novitate gaudentes, novarum rerum studiis aguntur, nihil arbitror spei aut fiduciæ reponendum.

§ Si civium tuorum virtutem et audaciam attendas, . . . murorum etiam ambitum densis turribus circumseptum.

¶ Cum crudelitate piraticâ Theutonum configat atrocitas, et inter ambustos lapides, et Æthnæ flagrantis incendia, &c.

resource will be left for the interior parts of the island, these noble cities which should never be violated by the hostile footsteps of a Barbarian? * Catana has again been overwhelmed by an earthquake; the ancient virtue of Syracuse expires in poverty and solitude; † but Palermo is still crowned with a diadem, and her triple walls enclose the active multitudes of Christians and Saracens. If the two nations, under one king, can unite for their common safety, they may rush on the Barbarians with invincible arms. But if the Saracens, fatigued by a repetition of injuries, should now retire and rebel, if they should occupy the castles of the mountains and sea-coast, the unfortunate Christians, exposed to a double attack, and placed as it were between the hammer and the anvil, must resign themselves to hopeless and inevitable servitude." ‡ We must not forget, that a priest here prefers his country to his religion; and that the Moslems, whose alliance he seeks, were still numerous and powerful in the State of Sicily.

The hopes, or at least the wishes, of Falcandus were at first gratified by the free and unanimous election of Tancred, the grandson of the first king, whose birth was illegitimate, but whose civil and military virtues shone without a blemish. During four years, the term of his life and reign, he stood in arms on the farthest verge of the Apulian frontier, against the powers of Germany; and the restitution of a royal captive, of Constantia herself, without injury or ransom, may appear to surpass the most liberal measure of policy or

* *Eam partem, quam nobilissimarum civitatum fulgor illustrat, quæ et toti regno sigulari meruit privilegio præeminere, nefarium esset . . . vel Barbarorum ingressu pollui.* I wish to transcribe his florid, but curious, description of the palace, city, and luxuriant plain of Palermo.

† *Vires non suppetunt, et conatus tuos tam inopia civium, quam paucitas bellatorum elidunt.*

‡ *At vero, quia difficile est Christianos in tanto rerum turbine, sublato regis timore Saracenos non opprimere, si Saraceni injuriis fatigati ab eis cœperint dissidere, et castella forte maritima vel montanas munitiones occupaverint; ut hinc cum Theutonicis summâ virtute pugnandum, illinc Saracenis crebris insultibus occurrendum, quid putas acturi sunt Siculi inter has depressi angustias, et velut inter malleum et incudem multo cum discrimine constituti? hoc utique agent quod poterunt, ut se Barbaris miserabili conditione dedentes, in eorum se conferant potestatem. O utinam plebis et procerum, Christianorum et Saracenorum vota conveniant; ut regem sibi concorditer eligentes, Barbaros totis viribus, toto conamine, totisque desideriis*

reason. After his decease, the kingdom of his widow and infant son fell without a struggle; and Henry pursued his victorious march from Capua to Palermo. The political balance of Italy was destroyed by his success; and if the pope and the free cities had consulted their obvious and real interest, they would have combined the powers of earth and heaven to prevent the dangerous union of the German empire with the kingdom of Sicily. But the subtle policy, for which the Vatican has so often been praised or arraigned, was on this occasion blind and inactive; and if it were true that Celestine the Third had kicked away the imperial crown from the head of the prostrate Harry,* such an act of impotent pride could serve only to cancel an obligation and provoke an enemy. The Genoese, who enjoyed a beneficial trade and establishment in Sicily, listened to the promise of his boundless gratitude and speedy departure;† their fleet commanded the straits of Messina, and opened the harbour of Palermo; and the first act of his government was to abolish the privileges, and to seize the property, of these imprudent allies. The last hope of Falcandus was defeated by the discord of the Christians and Mahometans; they fought in the capital; several thousands of the latter were slain; but their surviving brethren fortified the mountains, and disturbed above thirty years the peace of the island. By the policy of Frederic the Second, sixty thousand Saracens were transplanted to Nocera in Apulia. In their wars against the Roman church, the emperor and his son Mainfroy were strengthened and disgraced by the service of the enemies of Christ; and this national colony maintained their religion and manners in the heart of Italy, till they were extirpated at the end of the thirteenth century, by the zeal and revenge of the house of Anjou.‡ All the

proturbare contentant. The Normans and Sicilians appear to be confounded.

* The testimony of an Englishman, of Roger de Hoveden (p. 689), will lightly weigh against the silence of German and Italian history. (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. x. p. 156.) The priests and pilgrims who returned from Rome exalted, by every tale, the omnipotence of the holy father.

† Ego enim in eo cum Teutonicis manere non debeo. (Caffari, *Annal. Genuenses*, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. vi. p. 367, 368.)

‡ For the Saracens of Sicily and Nocera, see the annals of Muratori (tom. x. p. 149, and A.D. 1223—1247), Giannone (tom. ii. p. 385), and of the originals, in Muratori's Collection, Richard de St. Germano

calamities which the prophetic orator had deplored, were surpassed by the cruelty and avarice of the German conqueror. He violated the royal sepulchres, and explored the secret treasures of the palace, Palermo, and the whole kingdom; the pearls and jewels, however precious, might be easily removed; but one hundred and sixty horses were laden with the gold and silver of Sicily.* The young king, his mother and sisters, and the nobles of both sexes, were separately confined in the fortresses of the Alps; and, on the slightest rumour of rebellion the captives were deprived of life, of their eyes, or of the hope of posterity. Constantia herself was touched with sympathy for the miseries of her country; and the heiress of the Norman line might struggle to check her despotic husband, and to save the patrimony of her new-born son, of an emperor so famous in the next age under the name of Frederic the Second. Ten years after this revolution, the French monarchs annexed to their crown the duchy of Normandy; the sceptre of her ancient dukes had been transmitted, by a granddaughter of William the Conqueror, to the house of Plantagenet; and the adventurous Normans, who had raised so many trophies in France, England, and Ireland, in Apulia, Sicily, and the East, were lost either in victory or servitude, among the vanquished nations.

(tom. vii. p. 996), Matteo Spinelli de Giovenazzo (tom. vii. p. 1064) Nicholas de Jamsilla (tom. x. p. 494), and Matteo Villani (tom. xiv. l. 7, p. 103). The last of these insinuates, that in reducing the Saracens of Nocera, Charles II. of Anjou employed rather artifice than violence.

† Muratori quotes a passage from Arnold of Lubec (l. 4, c. 20.) *Reperit thesauros absconditos, et omnem lapidum pretiosorum et gemmarum gloriam, ita ut oneratis 160 summariis, gloriose ad terram suam redierit.* Roger de Hoveden, who mentions the violation of the royal tombs and corpses, computes the spoil of Salerno at two hundred thousand ounces of gold (p. 746). On these occasions I am almost tempted to exclaim, with the listening maid in *La Fontaine*—"Par ma foi, je voudrais avoir ce qui s'en faut."

CHAPTER LVII.—THE TURKS OF THE HOUSE OF SELJUK.—THEIR REVOLT AGAINST MAHMUD, CONQUEOR OF HINDOSTAN.—TOGRUL SUBDUES PERSIA, AND PROTECTS THE CALIPHS.—DEFEAT AND CAPTIVITY OF THE EMPEROR ROMANUS DIOGENES BY ALP ARSLAN.—POWER AND MAGNIFICENCE OF MALEK SHAH.—CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR AND SYRIA.—STATE AND OPPRESSION OF JERUSALEM.—PILGRIMAGES TO THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

FROM the isle of Sicily, the reader must transport himself beyond the Caspian sea, to the original seat of the Turks or Turkmans, against whom the first crusade was principally directed. Their Scythian empire of the sixth century was long since dissolved; but the name was still famous among the Greeks and Orientals; and the fragments of the nation, each a powerful and independent people, were scattered over the desert from China to the Oxus and the Danube; the colony of Hungarians was admitted into the republic of Europe, and the thrones of Asia were occupied by slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction. While Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, a swarm of these northern shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia; their princes of the race of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt; and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor, till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of St. Sophia.

One of the greatest of the Turkish princes was Mahmood or Mahmud,* the Gaznevide, who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia, one thousand years after the birth of Christ. His father Sebectagi was the slave of the slave of the slave of the commander of the faithful. But in this descent of servitude, the first degree was merely titular, since it was filled by the sovereign of Transoxiana and Chorasana, who still paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The second rank was that of a minister of state, a lieutenant of the Samanides,† who broke, by his revolt, the

* I am indebted for his character and history to D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, *Mahmud*, p. 533—537), M. de Guignes (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 155—173), and our countryman Colonel Alexander Dow (vol. i. p. 23—83). In the two first volumes of his history of Hindostan, he styles himself the translator of the Persian *Ferishtas*; but in his florid text, it is not easy to distinguish the version from the original.

† The dynasty of the Samanides continued

bonds of political slavery. But the third step was a state of real and domestic servitude in the family of that rebel; from which Sebectagi, by his courage and dexterity, ascended to the supreme command of the city and province of Gazna,* as the son-in-law and successor of his grateful master. The falling dynasty of the Samanides was at first protected, and at last overthrown, by their servants; and, in the public disorders, the fortune of Mahmud continually increased. For him, the title of *sultan* † was first invented; and his kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. But the principal source of his fame and riches was the holy war which he waged against the Gentoos of Hindostan. In this foreign narrative I may not consume a page; and a volume would scarcely suffice to recapitulate the battles and sieges of his twelve expeditions. Never was the Mussulman hero dismayed by the inclemency of the seasons, the height of the mountains, the breadth of the rivers, the barrenness of the desert, the multitudes of the enemy, or the formidable array of their

one hundred and twenty-five years, A.D. 874-999, under ten princes. See their succession and ruin in the tables of M. de Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. 404-406). They were followed by the Gaznevdes, A.D. 999-1183. (See tom. i. p. 239, 240.) His division of nations often disturbs the series of time and place.

* *Gaznah hortos non habet; est emporium et domicilium mercaturæ Indicæ.* Abulfedæ *Geograph.* Reiske, tab. 23, p. 349, D'Herbelot, p. 364. It has not been visited by any modern traveller. [*Gaznah* has of late emerged from the obscurity of ages, as the Ghuznee of our Indian warfare in 1839-42. It is described in Elphinstone's *Caulbul* (p. 121, 4to. edit.) and by all writers on the war in *Affghanistan*.—Ed.]

† By the ambassador of the caliph of Bagdad, who employed an Arabian or Chaldaic word that signifies *lord* and *master* (D'Herbelot, p. 825). It is interpreted *Ἀντοκράτωρ, Βασιλεὺς Βασιλείων*, by the Byzantine writers of the eleventh century; and the name (*Σουλτανός*, Souldanus) is familiarly employed in the Greek and Latin languages, after it had passed from the Gaznevdes to the Seljukides, and other emirs of Asia and Egypt. Ducange (*Dissertation* 16. sur Joinville, p. 238-240. *Gloss. Græc. et Latin.*) labours to find the title of *sultan* in the ancient kingdom of Persia; but his proofs are mere shadows; a proper name in the Themes of Constantine (2. 11), an anticipation of Zonaras, &c. and a medal of Kai Khosrou, not (as he believes) the Sassanide of the sixth, but the Seljukide of Iconium of the thirteenth century. (De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 246.)

elephants of war.* The sultan of Gasna surpassed the limits of the conquests of Alexander; after a march of three months, over the hills of Cashmir and Thibet, he reached the famous city of Kinnoge,† on the Upper Ganges; and, in a naval combat on one of the branches of the Indus, he fought and vanquished four thousand boats of the natives. Delhi, Lahor, and Multan, were compelled to open their gates; the fertile kingdom of Guzarat attracted his ambition and tempted his stay; and his avarice indulged the fruitless project of discovering the golden and aromatic isles of the Southern ocean. On the payment of a tribute, the *rajahs* preserved their dominions; the people, their lives and fortunes; but to the religion of Hindostan the zealous Mussulman was cruel and inexorable; many hundred tem-

* Ferialta (apud Dow, Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 49) mentions the report of a *gun* in the Indian army. But as I am slow in believing this premature (A.D. 1008) use of artillery, I must desire to scrutinize first the text, and then the authority of Ferialta, who lived in the Mogul court in the last century. [Dow himself questions the fact. But he adds, that "many Eastern authors mention guns, and ascribe the invention to one Lockman." (Lokman is the evil spirit of the East.) If guns be spoken of at so early a period, they can only mean the tubes used in projecting the Greek fire. In Briggs's version of Ferialta (vol. i. p. 47) this passage is rendered "the effects of naphtha balls," and MSS. are cited, which have *nuph*, naphtha, instead of *tope*, a gun. The "*report*" which alarmed the elephant, is one of Dow's embellishments.—ED.]

† Kinnouge, or Canouge (the old Palimbothra), is marked in latitude 27° 3', longitude 80° 13'. See D'Anville (Antiquité de l'Inde, p. 60—62), corrected by the local knowledge of Major Rennell (in his excellent Memoir on his map of Hindostan, p. 37—43): three hundred jewellers, thirty thousand shops for the areca nut, sixty thousand bands of musicians, &c. (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. 15, p. 274. Dow, vol. i. p. 16), will allow an ample deduction. [We are indebted to Major Rennell for much valuable information on the geography of India. But in his Memoir (p. 49), he misunderstood Pliny's "*per Palibotros*" (Hist. Nat. 6. 19), which the context explains to be the *country* of the Prasii, and which he considered to mean the *city* of Palibothra. He has therefore erroneously placed the confluence of the Jomanes and Ganges at this point. This mistake led him to concur in the error of M. d'Anville (Ant. de l'Inde, p. 54), and regard the Erannoboas and Jomanes of the ancients to be the same river. By correcting this mistranslation, and comparing all the imperfect information which Greek and Latin writers possessed respecting the tributary streams of the Ganges, it will appear evident that the Inamuna of Polyænus (l. 8, c. 26), the Jobares and Commenases of Arrian (Hist. Ind. c. 4 and 8), the Diamuna of Ptolemy (7. 1), and the Jomanes of Pliny (6. 19), are all different names of the

ples, or pagodas, were levelled with the ground; many thousand idols were demolished, and the servants of the prophet were stimulated and rewarded by the precious materials of which they were composed. The pagoda of Sumnat was situated on the promontory of Guzarat, in the neighbourhood of Diu, one of the last remaining possessions of the Portuguese.* It was endowed with the revenue of two thousand villages; two thousand Brahmins were consecrated to the service of the deity, whom they washed each morning and evening in water from the distant Ganges; the subordinate ministers consisted of three hundred musicians, three hundred barbers, and five hundred dancing girls, conspicuous for their birth or beauty. Three sides of the temple were protected by the ocean, the narrow isthmus was fortified by a natural or artificial precipice; and the city and adjacent country were peopled by a nation of fanatics. They confessed the sins and the punishment of Kinnoge and Delhi; but if the impious stranger should presume to approach *their* holy precincts, he would surely be overwhelmed by a blast of the divine vengeance. By this challenge, the faith of Mahmud was animated to a personal trial of the strength of this Indian deity. Fifty thousand of his worshippers were pierced by the spear of the Moslems; the walls were scaled; the sanctuary was profaned; and the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol. The trembling Brahmins are said to have offered ten millions sterling for his ransom; and it was urged by the wisest counsellors, that the destruction of a stone image would not change the hearts of the Gentoos; and that such a sum might be dedicated to the relief of the true believers. "Your reasons," replied the sultan, "are specious and strong; but never in the eyes of posterity shall Mahmud appear as a merchant of idols." He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the belly of the statue, explained in some degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmins. The fragments of the idol were distributed to Gazna, Mecca, and Medina.

present Jumnah. Major Rennell (p. 54) places the site of Palibothra near the modern Patna—Ed.] * The idolaters of Europe, says Ferishta (Dow, vol. i. p. 66). Consult Abulfeda (p. 272), and Rennell's map of Hindostan.

Bagdad listened to the edifying tale; and Mahmud was saluted by the caliph with the title of guardian of the fortune and faith of Mahomet.

From the paths of blood, and such is the history of nations, I cannot refuse to turn aside to gather some flowers of science or virtue. The name of Mahmud the Gaznevide is still venerable in the East; his subjects enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; his vices were concealed by the veil of religion; and two familiar examples will testify his justice and magnanimity. I. As he sat in the divan, an unhappy subject bowed before the throne to accuse the insolence of a Turkish soldier who had driven him from his house and bed. "Suspend your clamours," said Mahmud, "inform me of his next visit; and ourself in person will judge and punish the offender." The sultan followed his guide, invested the house with his guards, and, extinguishing the torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been seized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of the sentence, the lights were rekindled, Mahmud fell prostrate in prayer, and, rising from the ground, demanded some homely fare, which he devoured with the voraciousness of hunger. The poor man, whose injury he had avenged, was unable to suppress his astonishment and curiosity; and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motives of this singular behaviour. "I had reason to suspect that none, except one of my sons, could dare to perpetrate such an outrage; and I extinguished the lights, that my justice might be blind and inexorable. My prayer was a thanksgiving on the discovery of the offender; and so painful was my anxiety, that I had passed three days without food since the first moment of your complaint." II. The sultan of Gazna had declared war against the dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the Western Persia; he was disarmed by an epistle of the sultana mother, and delayed his invasion till the manhood of her son.* "During the life of my husband," said the artful regent, "I was ever apprehensive of your ambition; he was a prince and a soldier worthy of your arms. He is now no more; his sceptre has passed to a woman and a

* D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 527. Yet these letters, apophthegms, &c. are rarely the language of the heart, or the motives

child, and you *dare not* attack their infancy and weakness. How inglorious would be your conquest, how shameful your defeat ! and yet the event of war is in the hand of the Almighty." Avarice was the only defect that tarnished the illustrious character of Mahmud ; and never has that passion been more richly satiated. The Orientals exceed the measure of credibility in the account of millions of gold and silver, such as the avidity of man has never accumulated ; in the magnitude of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, such as have never been produced by the workmanship of nature.* Yet the soil of Hindostan is impregnated with precious minerals ; her trade, in every age, has attracted the gold and silver of the world ; and her virgin spoils were rifled by the first of the Mahometan conquerors. His behaviour, in the last days of his life, evinces the vanity of these possessions, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, and so inevitably lost. He surveyed the vast and various chambers of the treasury of Gazna ; burst into tears ; and again closed the doors, without bestowing any portion of the wealth which he could no longer hope to preserve. The following day he reviewed the state of his military force ; one hundred thousand foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and thirteen hundred elephants of battle.† He again wept the instability of human greatness ; and his grief was imbittered by the hostile progress of the Turkmans, whom he had introduced into the heart of his Persian kingdom.

In the modern depopulation of Asia, the regular operation of government and agriculture is confined to the neighbourhood of cities ; and the distant country is abandoned to the pastoral tribes of Arabs, Curds, and *Turkmans*.‡ Of the last mentioned people, two considerable

of public action.

* For instance, a ruby of four hundred and fifty miskals (Dow, vol. i. p. 53), or six pounds three ounces : the largest in the treasury of Delhi, weighed seventeen miskals. (Voyages de Tavernier, partie 2, p. 280.) It is true, that in the East all coloured stones are called rubies (p. 355), and that Tavernier saw three larger and more precious among the jewels de notre grand roi, le plus puissant et plus magnifique de tous les rois de la terre (p. 376).

† Dow, vol. i, p. 65. The sovereign of Kinoge is said to have possessed two thousand five hundred elephants. (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. 15, p. 274.) From these Indian stories, the reader may correct a note in my first volume (p. 266), or from that note he may correct these stories.

‡ See a just and

branches extend on either side of the Caspian sea: the western colony can muster forty thousand soldiers; the eastern, less obvious to the traveller, but more strong and populous, has increased to the number of one hundred thousand families. In the midst of civilized nations, they preserve the manners of the Scythian desert, remove their encampments with the change of seasons, and feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces and temples. Their flocks and herds are their only riches; their tents, either black or white, according to the colour of the banner, are covered with felt, and of a circular form; their winter apparel is a sheep-skin; a robe of cloth or cotton their summer garment; the features of the men are harsh and ferocious; the countenance of their women is soft and pleasing. Their wandering life maintains the spirit and exercise of arms; they fight on horseback; and their courage is displayed in frequent contests with each other and with their neighbours. For the licence of pasture they pay a slight tribute to the sovereign of the land; but the domestic jurisdiction is in the hands of the chiefs and elders. The first emigration of the eastern Turkmans, the most ancient of their race, may be ascribed to the tenth century of the Christian era.* In the decline of the caliphs, and the weakness of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated; in each invasion after the victory or retreat of their countrymen, some wandering tribe, embracing the Mahometan faith, obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxiana and Carizme. The Turkish slaves who aspired to the throne encouraged these emigrations, which recruited their armies, awed their subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wilder natives of Turkestan; and this policy was abused by Mahmud the Gaznevide beyond the example of former times. He was admonished of his error

natural picture of these pastoral manners in the history of William archbishop of Tyre (l. 1, c. 7, in the *Gesta Dei per Franco*, p. 633, 634), and a valuable note by the editor of the *Histoire Généalogique des Tatars*, p. 535—538.

* The first emigrations of the Turkmans, and doubtful origin of the Seljukians, may be traced in the laborious *History of the Huns*, by M. de Guignes (tom. i. *Tables Chronologiques*, l. 5; tom. iii. l. 7. 9, 10); and the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of D'Herbelot (p. 799—802, 897—901), Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen*. p. 331—333), and Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 221, 222).

by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The sultan had inquired what supply of men he could furnish for military service. "If you send," replied Ismael, "one of these arrows into our camp, fifty thousand of your servants will mount on horseback." "And if that number," continued Mahmud, "should not be sufficient?" "Send this second arrow to the horde of Balik, and you will find fifty thousand more."—"But," said the Gaznevide, dissembling his anxiety, "if I should stand in need of the whole force of your kindred tribes?"—"Dispatch my bow," was the last reply of Ismael, "and as it is circulated around, the summons will be obeyed by two hundred thousand horse." The apprehension of such formidable friendship induced Mahmud to transport the most obnoxious tribes into the heart of Chorasan, where they would be separated from their brethren by the river Oxus, and enclosed on all sides by the walls of obedient cities. But the face of the country was an object of temptation rather than terror; and the vigour of government was relaxed by the absence and death of the sultan of Gazna. The shepherds were converted into robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors; as far as Ispahan and the Tigris, Persia was afflicted by their predatory inroads; and the Turkmans were not ashamed or afraid to measure their courage and numbers with the proudest sovereigns of Asia. Massoud, the son and successor of Mahmud, had too long neglected the advice of his wisest omrahs. "Your enemies," they repeatedly urged, "were in their origin a swarm of ants; they are now little snakes; and, unless they be instantly crushed, they will acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents." After some alternations of truce and hostility, after the repulse or partial success of his lieutenants, the sultan marched in person against the Turkmans, who attacked him on all sides with barbarous shouts and irregular onset. "Massoud," says the Persian historian,* "plunged singly to oppose the torrent of gleaming arms, exhibiting such acts of gigantic force and valour as never king had before displayed. A few of his friends, roused by his words and actions, and

* Dow, Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 89. 95--98. I have copied this passage as a specimen of the Persian manner: but I suspect, that

that innate honour which inspires the brave, seconded their lord so well, that wheresoever he turned his fatal sword, the enemies were mowed down, or retreated before him. But now, when victory seemed to blow on his standard, misfortune was active behind it; for when he looked around he beheld almost his whole army, excepting that body he commanded in person, devouring the paths of flight." The Gaznevide was abandoned by the cowardice or treachery of some generals of Turkish race; and this memorable day of Zendekan * founded in Persia the dynasty of the shepherd kings.†

The victorious Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a king; and if the probable tale of a Latin historian ‡ deserves any credit, they determined by lot the choice of their new master. A number of arrows were successively inscribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child; and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the son of Michael, the son of Seljuk, whose surname was immortalized in the greatness of his posterity.

by some odd fatality, the style of Ferishta has been improved by that of Ossian. * The Zendekan of D'Herbelot (p. 1028), the Dindaka of Dow (vol. i. p. 97), is probably the Dandanekan of Abulfeda (Geograph. p. 345, Reiske), a small town of Chorasán, two days' journey from Marû, and renowned through the East for the production and manufacture of cotton. [This place is called *Dundaken* by Briggs (i. 110). From the narrative we learn that its situation was among mountain passes between Herat and Nishapoor. The name is not to be found in Fraser's Khorasan. Hedineh, which is on the route from Mushed to Herat (p. 249, and Appendix. p. 118) may be a corruption of the former name, and it occupies a similar position, near "a pass among the hills." But this is an obscure village, and in some modern maps, *Dandenakin* is marked to the northward of this line.—ED.]

† The Byzantine historians (Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 766, 767. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 255. Nicephorus Bryennius, p. 21) have confounded, in this revolution, the truth of time and place, of names and persons, of causes and events. The ignorance and errors of these Greeks (which I shall not stop to unravel) may inspire some distrust of the story of Cyaxares and Cyrus, as it is told by their most eloquent predecessors. [These observations corroborate many notes in which we have protested against the ready credence given to enormities related by ancient historians, more especially those which have been imputed to the Barbarian subverters of the Roman empire.—ED.] ‡ Willerm. Tyr. l. 1, c. 7, p. 633. The divination by arrows is ancient and famous in the East.

The sultan Mahmud, who valued himself on his skill in national genealogy, professed his ignorance of the family of Seljuk; yet the father of that race appears to have been a chief of power and renown.* For a daring intrusion into the harem of his prince, Seljuk was banished from Turkestan; with a numerous tribe of his friends and vassals, he passed the Jaxartes, encamped in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, embraced the religion of Mahomet, and acquired the crown of martyrdom in a war against the infidels. His age, of a hundred and seven years, surpassed the life of his son, and Seljuk adopted the care of his two grandsons, Togrul and Jaafar; the eldest of whom, at the age of forty-five, was invested with the title of sultan, in the royal city of Nishabur. The blind determination of chance was justified by the virtues of the successful candidate. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Turk; and the ambition of Togrul† was equal to his valour. By his arms, the Gaznevites were expelled from the Eastern kingdoms of Persia, and gradually driven to the banks of the Indus, in search of a softer and more wealthy conquest. In the West he annihilated the dynasty of the Bowides; and the sceptre of Irak passed from the Persian to the Turkish nation. The princes who had felt, or who feared, the Seljukian arrows, bowed their heads in the dust; by the conquest of Aderbijan, or Media, he approached the Roman confines; and the shepherd presumed to dispatch an ambassador, or herald, to demand the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Constantinople.‡ In his own dominions,

* D'Herbelot, p. 801. Yet after the fortune of his posterity, Seljuk became the thirty-fourth in lineal descent from the great Afrasiab, emperor of Touran (p. 800). The Tartar pedigree of the house of Zingis gave a different cast to flattery and fable; and the historian Mirkhond derives the Seljukides from Alankavah, the virgin-mother (p. 801, col. 2). If they be the same as the *Zalzuts* of Abulghazi Bahader Khan (Hist. Généalogique, p. 148), we quote in their favour the most weighty evidence of a Tartar prince himself, the descendant of Zingis, Alankavah, or Alancu, and Oguz Khan.

† By a slight corruption, Togrul Beg is the Tangroli-pix of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 1027, 1028) and De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 189—201).

‡ Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 774, 775. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 257. With their usual knowledge of Oriental affairs, they describe the ambassador as a *sherif*, who, like the syncellus of the patriarch, was the vicar and successor of the caliph.

Togrul was the father of his soldiers and people; by a firm and equal administration, Persia was relieved from the evils of anarchy; and the same hands which had been imbrued in blood became the guardians of justice and the public peace. The more rustic, perhaps the wisest, portion of the Turkmans* continued to dwell in the tents of their ancestors; and, from the Oxus to the Euphrates, these military colonies were protected and propagated by their native princes. But the Turks of the court and city were refined by business and softened by pleasure; they imitated the dress, language, and manners of Persia; and the royal palaces of Nishabur and Rei displayed the order and magnificence of a great monarchy. The most deserving of the Arabians and Persians were promoted to the honours of the State; and the whole body of the Turkish nation embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mahomet. The northern swarms of Barbarians, who overspread both Europe and Asia, have been irreconcilably separated by the consequences of a similar conduct. Among the Moslems, as among the Christians, their vague and local traditions have yielded to the reason and authority of the prevailing system, to the fame of antiquity, and the consent of nations. But the triumph of the Koran is more pure and meritorious, as it was not assisted by any visible splendour of worship which might allure the Pagans by some resemblance of idolatry. The first of the Seljukian sultans was conspicuous by his zeal and faith; each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers; of each week, the two first days were consecrated by an extraordinary fast: and in every city a mosch was completed before Togrul presumed to lay the foundations of a palace.†

With the belief of the Koran, the son of Seljuk imbibed a lively reverence for the successor of the prophet. But that sublime character was still disputed by the caliphs of

* From William of Tyre I have borrowed this distinction of Turks and Turkmans, which at least is popular and convenient. The names are the same, and the addition of *man* is of the same import in the Persic and Teutonic idioms. Few critics will adopt the etymology of James de Vitry (Hist. Hierosol. l. 1, c. 11, p. 1061), of *Turcomani*, quasi *Turci et Comani*, a mixed people.

† Hist. Générale des Huns, tom. iii. p. 165—167. M. de Guignes quotes Abulmahasen,

Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the rivals was solicitous to prove his title in the judgment of the strong, though illiterate, Barbarians. Mahmud the Gaznevide had declared himself in favour of the line of Abbas; and had treated with indignity the robe of honour which was presented by the Fatimite ambassador. Yet the ungrateful Hashemite had changed with the change of fortune; he applauded the victory of Zendecan, and named the Seljukian sultan his temporal viceregent over the Moslem world. As Togrul executed and enlarged this important trust, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy summons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms.* In the palace of Bagdad, the commander of the faithful still slumbered, a venerable phantom. His servant or master, the prince of the Bowides, could no longer protect him from the insolence of meaner tyrants; and the Euphrates and Tigris were oppressed by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian emirs. The presence of a conqueror was implored as a blessing; and the transient mischiefs of fire and sword were excused as the sharp but salutary remedies which alone could restore the health of the republic. At the head of an irresistible force, the sultan of Persia marched from Hamadan; the proud were crushed, the prostrate were spared; the prince of the Bowides disappeared; the heads of the most obstinate rebels were laid at the feet of Togrul; and he inflicted a lesson of obedience on the people of Mosul and Bagdad. After the chastisement of the guilty, and the restoration of peace, the royal shepherd accepted the reward of his labours; and a solemn comedy represented the triumph of religious prejudice over Barbarian power.† The Turkish sultan embarked on the Tigris, landed at the gate of Racca, and made his public entry on horseback. At the palace-gate he respectfully dismounted, and walked on foot, preceded by his emirs without arms. The caliph was seated behind his black veil; the black garment of the Abbassides

an historian of Egypt.

* Consult the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, in the articles of the *Abbassides*, *Caher*, and *Caiem*, and the annals of Elmacin and Abulpharagius.

† For this curious ceremony, I am indebted to M. de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 197, 198), and that learned author is obliged to Bondari, who composed in Arabic the history of the Seljukides (tom. v. p. 365). I am ignorant of his age, country, and character.

was cast over his shoulders, and he held in his hand the staff of the apostle of God. The conqueror of the East kissed the ground, stood some time in a modest posture, and was led towards the throne by the vizir and an interpreter. After Togrul had seated himself on another throne, his commission was publicly read, which declared him the temporal lieutenant of the vicar of the prophet. He was successively invested with seven robes of honour, and presented with seven slaves, the natives of the seven climates of the Arabian empire. His mystic veil was perfumed with musk; two crowns were placed on his head; two scimitars were girded to his side, as the symbols of a double reign over the East and West. After this inauguration, the sultan was prevented from prostrating himself a second time; but he twice kissed the hand of the commander of the faithful, and his titles were proclaimed by the voice of heralds and the applause of the Moslems. In a second visit to Bagdad, the Seljukian prince again rescued the caliph from his enemies; and devoutly, on foot, led the bridle of his mule from the prison to the palace. Their alliance was cemented by the marriage of Togrul's sister with the successor of the prophet. Without reluctance he had introduced a Turkish virgin into his haram; but Cayem proudly refused his daughter to the sultan, disdained to mingle the blood of the Hashemites with the blood of a Scythian shepherd; and protracted the negotiation many months, till the gradual diminution of his revenue admonished him that he was still in the hands of a master. The royal nuptials were followed by the death of Togrul himself.* As he left no children, his nephew Alp Arslan succeeded to the title and prerogatives of sultan; and his name, after that of the caliph, was pronounced in the public prayers of the Moslems. Yet in this revolution, the Abbassides acquired a larger measure of liberty and power. On the throne of Asia, the Turkish monarchs were less jealous of the domestic administration of Bagdad; and the commanders of the faithful were relieved from the ignominious vexations to which they had been exposed by the presence and poverty of the Persian dynasty.

* Eodem anno (A.H. 455) obiit princeps Togrulbecus rex fuit clemens, prudens, et peritus regnandi, cujus terror corda mortalium nvaserat, ita ut obedirent ei reges atque ad ipsum scriberent. Elmacin,

Since the fall of the caliphs, the discord and degeneracy of the Saracens respected the Asiatic provinces of Rome, which, by the victories of Nicephorus, Zimisceus, and Basil, had been extended as far as Antioch and the eastern boundaries of Armenia. Twenty-five years after the death of Basil, his successors were suddenly assaulted by an unknown race of Barbarians, who united the Scythian valour with the fanaticism of new proselytes, and the art and riches of a powerful monarchy.* The myriads of Turkish horse overspread a frontier of six hundred miles from Taurus to Erzeroum, and the blood of one hundred and thirty thousand Christians was a grateful sacrifice to the Arabian prophet. Yet the arms of Togrul did not make any deep or lasting impression on the Greek empire. The torrent rolled away from the open country; the sultan retired without glory or success from the siege of an Armenian city; the obscure hostilities were continued or suspended with a vicissitude of events; and the bravery of the Macedonian legions renewed the fame of the conqueror of Asia.† The name of Alp Arslan, the valiant lion, is expressive of the popular idea of the perfection of man; and the successor of Togrul displayed the fierceness and generosity of the royal animal. He passed the Euphrates at the head of the Turkish cavalry, and entered Cæsarea, the metropolis of Cappadocia, to which he had been attracted by the fame and wealth of the temple of St. Basil. The solid structure resisted the destroyer; but he carried away the doors of the shrine incrustated with gold and pearls, and profaned the relics of the tutelar saint, whose mortal frailties were now covered by the venerable rust of

Hist. Saracen. p. 342, vers. Erpenii.

* For these wars of the Turks and Romans, see in general the Byzantine histories of Zonaras and Cedrenus, Scylitzes the continuator of Cedrenus, and Nicephorus Bryennius Cæsar. The two first of these were monks, the two latter statesmen; yet such were the Greeks, that the difference of style and character is scarcely discernible. For the Orientals, I draw as usual on the wealth of D'Herbelot (see titles of the first Seljukides) and the accuracy of De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. l. 10).

† Ἐφίπετο γὰρ ἐν Τούρκοις λόγος, ὡς εἶη πεπρωμένον καταστραφῆναι τὸ Τούρκων γένος ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης δυνάμεως, ὅποιαν ὁ Μακιδῶν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχων κατεστρέψατο Πέρσας. Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 791. The credulity of the vulgar is always probable; and the Turks had learned from the Arabs the history or legend of Escander Dulcarnein. (D'Herbelot, p. 317, &c.)

antiquity. The final conquest of Armenia and Georgia was achieved by Alp Arslan. In Armenia the title of a kingdom, and the spirit of a nation, were annihilated; the artificial fortifications were yielded by the mercenaries of Constantinople: by strangers without faith, veterans without pay or arms, and recruits without experience or discipline. The loss of this important frontier was the news of a day; and the Catholics were neither surprised nor displeased, that a people so deeply infected with the Nestorian and Eutychian errors, had been delivered by Christ and his mother into the hands of the infidels.* The woods and valleys of Mount Caucasus were more strenuously defended by the native Georgians,† or Iberians; but the Turkish sultan and his son Malek were indefatigable in this holy war; their captives were compelled to promise a spiritual as well as temporal obedience; and, instead of their collars and bracelets, an iron horse-shoe, a badge of ignominy, was imposed on the infidels who still adhered to the worship of their fathers. The change, however, was not sincere or universal; and, through ages of servitude, the Georgians have maintained the succession of their princes and bishops. But a race of men, whom nature has cast in her most perfect mould, is degraded by poverty, ignorance, and vice; their profession, and still more their practice, of Christianity, is an empty name; and if they have emerged from heresy, it is only because they are too illiterate to remember a metaphysical creed.‡

* Οἱ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν, καὶ τὴν παρακειμένην δικούσιν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν τοῦ Νεστορίου καὶ τῶν Ἀκεφάλων θρησκείουσιν αἵρεσιν. (Scylitzes, ad calceem Cedreni, tom. ii. p. 834, whose ambiguous construction shall not tempt me to suspect that he confounded the Nestorian and Monophysite heresies.) He familiarly talks of the μῆνις, χόλος, ὀργή, Θεοῦ, qualities, as I should apprehend, very foreign to the perfect Being; but his bigotry is forced to confess, that they were soon afterwards discharged on the orthodox Romans.

† Had the name of Georgians been known to the Greeks (Stritter, *Memoriæ Byzant.* tom. iv. *Iberica*), I should derive it from their agriculture, as the *Σκυθαὶ γίωργοι* of Herodotus (l. 4, c. 18, p. 289, edit. Wesseling). But it appears only since the crusades, among the Latins (Jac. à Vitriaco, *Hist. Hierosol.* c. 79, p. 1095) and Orientals (D'Herbelot, p. 407), and was devoutly borrowed from St. George of Cappadocia.

‡ Mosheim, *Institut. Hist. Eccles.* p. 632. See in Chardin's *Travels* (tom. i. p. 171—174), the manners and religion of this handsome but worthless nation. See the pedigree of their princes from Adam to the present century, in the tables of M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 433—438).

The false or genuine magnanimity of Mahmud the Gaznevide was not imitated by Alp Arslan; and he attacked without scruple the Greek empress Eudocia and her children. His alarming progress compelled her to give herself and her sceptre to the hand of a soldier; and Romanus Diogenes was invested with the imperial purple. His patriotism, and perhaps his pride, urged him from Constantinople within two months after his accession; and the next campaign he most scandalously took the field during the holy festival of Easter. In the palace, Diogenes was no more than the husband of Eudocia: in the camp he was the emperor of the Romans, and he sustained that character with feeble resources, and invincible courage. By his spirit and success, the soldiers were taught to act, the subjects to hope, and the enemies to fear. The Turks had penetrated into the heart of Phrygia; but the sultan himself had resigned to his emirs the prosecution of the war; and their numerous detachments were scattered over Asia in the security of conquest. Laden with spoil and careless of discipline, they were separately surprised and defeated by the Greeks; the activity of the emperor seemed to multiply his presence; and while they heard of his expedition to Antioch, the enemy felt his sword on the hills of Trebizond. In three laborious campaigns, the Turks were driven beyond the Euphrates; in the fourth and last, Romanus undertook the deliverance of Armenia. The desolation of the land obliged him to transport a supply of two months' provisions; and he marched forwards to the siege of Malazkerd,* an important fortress in the midway between the modern cities of Erzeroum and Van. His army amounted, at the least, to one hundred thousand men. The troops of Constantinople were reinforced by the disorderly

* This city is mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (de Administ. Imp. l. 2, c. 44, p. 119) and the Byzantines of the eleventh century, under the name of Mantzikierte, and by some is confounded with Theodosiopolis; but Delisle, in his notes and maps, has very properly fixed the situation. Abulfeda (Geograph. tab. 18, p. 310) describes Malasgerd as a small town built with black stone, supplied with water, without trees, &c. [This was the *Mazicertum* of Procopius. Malaskert is situated on the Euphrates, where that river holds its westward course a few miles north of Lake Wan. The chief of the once powerful Kurdish tribe of Mamanli now resides there. Mr. Layard, on his way from Trebizond to Mosul, passed within a short distance of Malaskert, and describes the desolate aspect, which

multitudes of Phrygia and Cappadocia ; but the real strength was composed of the subjects and allies of Europe, the legions of Macedonia, and the squadrons of Bulgaria ; the Uzi, a Moldavian horde, who were themselves of the Turkish race,* and above all, the mercenary and adventurous bands of French and Normans. Their lances were commanded by the valiant Ursel of Baliol, the kinsman or father of the Scottish kings,† and were allowed to excel in the exercise of arms, or, according to the Greek style, in the practice of the Pyrrhic dance.

On the report of this bold invasion, which threatened his hereditary dominions, Alp Arslan flew to the scene of action at the head of forty thousand horse.‡ His rapid and skilful evolutions distressed and dismayed the superior numbers of the Greeks ; and in the defeat of Basilacius, one of their principal generals, he displayed the first example of his valour and clemency. The imprudence of the emperor had separated his forces after the reduction of Malazkerd. It was in vain that he attempted to recall the mercenary Franks ; they refused to obey his summons ; he disdained to await their return ; the desertion of the Uzi filled his mind with anxiety and suspicion ; and against the most salutary advice he rushed forwards to speedy and decisive action. Had he listened to the fair proposals of

the complete absence of wood still gives to the neighbouring country. Nin. and Bab. p. 17, 18 — Ed.]

* The Uzi of the Greeks (Stritter, *Memor. Byzant.* tom. iii. p. 923—948) are the Goss of the Orientals (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. p. 522 ; tom. iii. p. 133, &c.). They appear on the Danube and the Volga, in Armenia, Syria, and Chorasán, and the name seems to have been extended to the whole Turkman race.

† Urselius (the Russelius of Zonaras) is distinguished by Jeffrey Malaterra (l. 1, c. 38) among the Norman conquerors of Sicily, and with the surname of *Baliol* : and our own historians will tell how the Baliols came from Normandy to Durham, built Barnard's Castle on the Tees, married an heiress of Scotland, &c. Ducange (*Not. ad Nicephor. Bryennium*, l. 2, No. 4) has laboured the subject in honour of the president de Bailleul, whose father had exchanged the sword for the gown.

‡ Elmacin (p. 343, 344) assigns this probable number, which is reduced by Abulpharagius to fifteen thousand (p. 227), and by D'Herbelot (p. 102) to twelve thousand horse. But the same Elmacin gives three hundred thousand men to the emperor, of whom Abulpharagius says, *cum centum hominum millibus, multisque equis et magnâ pompa instructus*. The Greeks abstain from any definition of numbers.

the sultan, Romanus might have secured a retreat, perhaps a peace; but in these overtures he supposed the fear or weakness of the enemy, and his answer was conceived in the tone of insult and defiance. "If the Barbarian wishes for peace, let him evacuate the ground which he occupies for the encampment of the Romans, and surrender his city and palace of Rei as a pledge of his sincerity." Alp Arslan smiled at the vanity of the demand, but he wept the death of so many faithful Moslems; and, after a devout prayer, proclaimed a free permission to all who were desirous of retiring from the field. With his own hands he tied up his horse's tail, exchanged his bow and arrows for a mace and scimitar, clothed himself in a white garment, perfumed his body with musk, and declared that if he were vanquished, that spot should be the place of his burial.* The sultan himself had affected to cast away his missile weapons; but his hopes of victory were placed in the arrows of the Turkish cavalry, whose squadrons were loosely distributed in the form of a crescent. Instead of the successive lines and reserves of the Grecian tactics, Romanus led his army in a single and solid phalanx, and pressed with vigour and impatience the artful and yielding resistance of the Barbarians. In this desultory and fruitless combat he wasted the greater part of a summer's day, till prudence and fatigue compelled him to return to his camp. But a retreat is always perilous in the face of an active foe; and no sooner had the standard been turned to the rear, than the phalanx was broken by the base cowardice, or the baser jealousy, of Andronicus, a rival prince, who disgraced his birth and the purple of the Cæsars.† The Turkish squadrons poured a cloud of arrows on this moment of confusion and lassitude; and the horns of their formidable crescent were closed in the rear of the Greeks. In the destruction of the army and pillage of the camp, it

* The Byzantine writers do not speak so distinctly of the presence of the sultan; he committed his forces to a eunuch, had retired to a distance, &c. Is it ignorance, or jealousy, or truth?

† He was the son of the Cæsar John Ducas, brother of the emperor Constantine. (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 165) Nicephorus Bryennius applauds his virtues and extenuates his faults (l. 1, p. 30. 38; l. 2, p. 53). Yet he owns his enmity to Romanus, οὐ παντὶ δὲ φιλίῳς ἔχων πρὸς βασιλεία. Scylitzes speaks more explicitly of his treason

would be needless to mention the number of slain or captives. The Byzantine writers deplore the loss of an inestimable pearl; they forget to mention, that in this fatal day the Asiatic provinces of Rome were irretrievably sacrificed.

As long as a hope survived, Romanus attempted to rally and save the relics of his army. When the centre, the imperial station, was left naked on all sides and encompassed by the victorious Turks, he still, with desperate courage, maintained the fight till the close of day, at the head of the brave and faithful subjects who adhered to his standard. They fell around him; his horse was slain; the emperor was wounded; yet he stood alone and intrepid, till he was oppressed and bound by the strength of multitudes. The glory of this illustrious prize was disputed by a slave and a soldier; a slave who had seen him on the throne of Constantinople, and a soldier whose extreme deformity had been excused on the promise of some signal service. Despoiled of his arms, his jewels, and his purple, Romanus spent a dreary and perilous night on the field of battle, amidst a disorderly crowd of the meaner Barbarians. In the morning the royal captive was presented to Alp Arslan, who doubted of his fortune, till the identity of the person was ascertained by the report of his ambassadors, and by the more pathetic evidence of Basilacius, who embraced with tears the feet of his unhappy sovereign. The successor of Constantine, in a plebeian habit, was led into the Turkish divan, and commanded to kiss the ground before the lord of Asia. He reluctantly obeyed; and Alp Arslan, starting from his throne, is said to have planted his foot on the neck of the Roman emperor.* But the fact is doubtful; and if, in this moment of insolence, the sultan complied with a national custom, the rest of his conduct has extorted the praise of his bigoted foes, and may afford a lesson to the most civilized ages. He instantly raised the royal captive from the ground; and thrice clasping his hand with tender sympathy, assured him, that his life and dignity should be inviolate in the hands of a prince who had learned to respect the majesty of his equals and the

* This circumstance, which we read and doubt in Scylitzes and Constantine Manasses, is more prudently omitted by Nicephorus and

vicissitudes of fortune. From the divan, Romanus was conducted to an adjacent tent, where he was served with pomp and reverence by the officers of the sultan, who, twice each day, seated him in the place of honour at his own table. In a free and familiar conversation of eight days, not a word, not a look, of insult escaped from the conqueror; but he severely censured the unworthy subjects who had deserted their valiant prince in the hour of danger, and gently admonished his antagonist of some errors which he had committed in the management of the war. In the preliminaries of negotiation, Alp Arslan asked him what treatment he expected to receive, and the calm indifference of the emperor displays the freedom of his mind. "If you are cruel," said he, "you will take my life; if you listen to pride, you will drag me at your chariot wheels; if you consult your interest, you will accept a ransom, and restore me to my country." "And what," continued the sultan, "would have been your own behaviour, had fortune smiled on your arms?" The reply of the Greek betrays a sentiment, which prudence, and even gratitude, should have taught him to suppress. "Had I vanquished," he fiercely said, "I would have inflicted on thy body many a stripe." The Turkish conqueror smiled at the insolence of his captive; observed that the Christian law inculcated the love of enemies and forgiveness of injuries; and nobly declared that he would not imitate an example which he condemned. After mature deliberation, Alp Arslan dictated the terms of liberty and peace, a ransom of a million, an annual tribute of three hundred and sixty thousand pieces of gold,* the marriage of the royal children, and the deliverance of all the Moslems who were in the power of the Greeks. Romanus, with a sigh, subscribed this treaty, so disgraceful to the majesty of the empire; he was immediately invested with a Turkish robe of honour; his nobles and patricians were restored to their sovereign; and the sultan, after a courteous embrace, dismissed him with rich presents and a military guard. No sooner did he reach the

Zonaras.

* The ransom and tribute are attested by reason and the Orientals. The other Greeks are modestly silent; but Nicephorus Bryennius dares to affirm, that the terms were οὐκ ἐνάξιας Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, and that the emperor would have preferred

confines of the empire, than he was informed that the palace and provinces had disclaimed their allegiance to a captive; a sum of two hundred thousand pieces was painfully collected; and the fallen monarch transmitted this part of his ransom, with a sad confession of his impotence and disgrace. The generosity, or perhaps the ambition, of the sultan, prepared to espouse the cause of his ally; but his designs were prevented by the defeat, imprisonment, and death, of Romanus Diogenes.*

In the treaty of peace, it does not appear that Alp Arslan extorted any province or city from the captive emperor; and his revenge was satisfied with the trophies of his victory and the spoils of Anatolia, from Antioch to the Black Sea. The fairest part of Asia was subject to his laws; twelve hundred princes, or the sons of princes, stood before his throne; and two hundred thousand soldiers marched under his banners. The sultan disdained to pursue the fugitive Greeks; but he meditated the more glorious conquest of Turkestan, the original seat of the house of Seljuk. He moved from Bagdad to the banks of the Oxus; a bridge was thrown over the river; and twenty days were consumed in the passage of his troops. But the progress of the great king was retarded by the governor of Berzem; and Joseph the Carizmian presumed to defend his fortress against the powers of the East. When he was produced a captive in the royal tent, the sultan, instead of praising his valour, severely reproached his obstinate folly; and the insolent replies of the rebel provoked a sentence that he should be fastened to four stakes, and left to expire in that painful situation. At this command, the desperate Carizmian, drawing a dagger, rushed headlong towards the throne; the guards raised their battle-axes; their zeal was

death to a shameful treaty.

* The defeat and captivity of Romanus Diogenes may be found in John Scylitzes, *ad calcem Cedreni*, tom. ii. p. 835—843. Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 281—284. Nicephorus Bryennius, l. 1, p. 25—32. Glycas, p. 325—327. Constantine Manasses, p. 134. Elmacin, *Hist. Saracen*, p. 343, 344. Abulpharag. *Dynast.* p. 227. D'Herbelot, p. 102, 103. De Guignes, tom. iii. p. 207—211. Besides my old acquaintance Elmacin and Abulpharagius, the historian of the Huns has consulted Abulfeda, and his epitomizer Benschounah, a *Chronicle of the Caliphs by Soyouthi*, *Abulmahassen of Egypt*, and *Novairi of Africa*.

checked by Alp Arslan, the most skilful archer of the age; he drew his bow, but his foot slipped, the arrow glanced aside, and he received in his breast the dagger of Joseph, who was instantly cut in pieces. The wound was mortal; and the Turkish prince bequeathed a dying admonition to the pride of kings. "In my youth," said Alp Arslan, "I was advised by a sage, to humble myself before God; to distrust my own strength; and never to despise the most contemptible foe. I have neglected these lessons; and my neglect has been deservedly punished. Yesterday, as from an eminence, I beheld the numbers, the discipline, and the spirit of my armies; the earth seemed to tremble under my feet; and I said in my heart, Surely thou art the king of the world, the greatest and most invincible of warriors. These armies are no longer mine; and in the confidence of my personal strength, I now fall by the hand of an assassin." * Alp Arslan possessed the virtues of a Turk and a Mussulman; his voice and stature commanded the reverence of mankind; his face was shaded with long whiskers; and his ample turban was fashioned in the shape of a crown. The remains of the sultan were deposited in the tomb of the Seljukian dynasty; and the passenger might read and meditate this useful inscription:† "O YE WHO HAVE SEEN THE GLORY OF ALP ARSLAN EXALTED TO THE HEAVENS, REPAIR TO MARU, AND YOU WILL BEHOLD IT BURIED IN THE DUST!" The annihilation of the inscription, and the tomb itself, more forcibly proclaims the instability of human greatness.

During the life of Alp Arslan, his eldest son had been acknowledged as the future sultan of the Turks. On his father's death, the inheritance was disputed by an uncle, a cousin, and a brother; they drew their scimitars, and assembled their followers; and the triple victory of Malek Shah‡

* This interesting death is told by D'Herbelot (p. 103, 104) and M. de Guignes (tom. iii. p. 212, 213), from their Oriental writers; but neither of them has transfused the spirit of Elmacin. (Hist. Saracen. p. 844, 845.)

† A critic of high renown (the late Dr. Johnson), who has severely scrutinized the epitaphs of Pope, might cavil in this sublime inscription at the words, "repair to Maru," since the reader must already be at Maru before he could peruse the inscription.

‡ The Bibliothèque Orientale has given the text of the reign of Malek (p. 542—544. 654, 655), and the *Histoire Générale des Huns* (tom. iii. p. 214—224), has added the usual

established his own reputation and the right of primogeniture. In every age, and more especially in Asia, the thirst of power has inspired the same passions and occasioned the same disorders; but from the long series of civil war, it would not be easy to extract a sentiment more pure and magnanimous than is contained in a saying of the Turkish prince. On the eve of the battle, he performed his devotions at Thous, before the tomb of the imam Riza. As the sultan rose from the ground, he asked his vizir Nizam, who had knelt beside him, what had been the object of his secret petition: "That your arms may be crowned with victory," was the prudent, and most probably the sincere answer of the minister. "For my part," replied the generous Malek, "I implored the Lord of hosts that he would take from me my life and crown, if my brother be more worthy than myself to reign over the Moslems." The favourable judgment of Heaven was ratified by the caliph; and, for the first time, the sacred title of commander of the faithful was communicated to a Barbarian. But this Barbarian, by his personal merit, and the extent of his empire, was the greatest prince of his age. After the settlement of Persia and Syria, he marched at the head of innumerable armies, to achieve the conquest of Turkestan, which had been undertaken by his father. In his passage of the Oxus, the boatmen, who had been employed in transporting some troops, complained that their payment was assigned on the revenues of Antioch. The sultan frowned at this preposterous choice; but he smiled at the artful flattery of his vizir. "It was not to postpone their reward, that I selected those remote places, but to leave a memorial to posterity, that, under your reign, Antioch and the Oxus were subject to the same sovereign." But this description of his limits was unjust and parsimonious; beyond the Oxus he reduced to his obedience the cities of Bochara, Carizme, and Samarcand, and crushed each rebellious slave, or independent savage, who dared to resist. Malek passed the Sihon or Jaxartes, the last boundary of Persian civilization: the hordes of Turkestan yielded to his supremacy; his name was inserted on the coins, and in the prayers, of Cashgar, a Tartar

measure of repetition, emendation, and supplement. Without those two learned Frenchmen, I should be blind indeed in the Eastern world.

kingdom on the extreme borders of China. From the Chinese frontier, he stretched his immediate jurisdiction or feudatory sway to the West and South, as far as the mountains of Georgia, the neighbourhood of Constantinople, the holy city of Jerusalem, and the spicy groves of Arabia Felix. Instead of resigning himself to the luxury of his harem, the shepherd king, both in peace and war, was in action and in the field. By the perpetual motion of the royal camp, each province was successively blessed with his presence; and he is said to have perambulated twelve times the wide extent of his dominions, which surpassed the *Asiatic* reign of Cyrus and the caliphs. Of these expeditions, the most pious and splendid was the pilgrimage of Mecca: the freedom and safety of the caravans were protected by his arms; the citizens and pilgrims were enriched by the profusion of his alms; and the desert was cheered by the places of relief and refreshment, which he instituted for the use of his brethren. Hunting was the pleasure, and even the passion, of the sultan, and his train consisted of forty-seven thousand horses; but after the massacre of a Turkish chase, for each piece of game, he bestowed a piece of gold on the poor, a slight atonement, at the expense of the people, for the cost and mischief of the amusement of kings. In the peaceful prosperity of his reign, the cities of Asia were adorned with palaces and hospitals, with moschs and colleges; few departed from his divan without reward, and none without justice. The language and literature of Persia revived under the house of Seljuk;* and if Malek emulated the liberality of a Turk less potent than himself,† his palace might resound with the songs of a hundred poets. The sultan bestowed a more serious and learned care on the reformation of the calendar, which was effected by a general assembly of the astronomers of the East. By a law of the prophet, the Moslems are confined to the irregular course of the lunar

* See an excellent discourse at the end of Sir William Jones's *History of Nadir Shah*, and the articles of the poets, Amak, Anvari, Raschidi, &c. in the *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

† His name was Kheder Khan. Four bags were placed round his sofa, and as he listened to the song, he cast handfuls of gold and silver to the poets (D'Herbelot, p. 107). All this may be true; but I do not understand how he could reign in Transoxiana in the time of Malek Shah, and much less how Kheder could surpass him in power and pomp. I suspect that the beginning, not the end, of the eleventh

months; in Persia, since the age of Zoroaster, the revolution of the sun has been known and celebrated as an annual festival;* but after the fall of the Magian empire, the intercalation had been neglected; the fractions of minutes and hours were multiplied into days; and the date of the spring was removed from the sign of Aries to that of Pisces. The reign of Malek was illustrated by the *Gelaléan* era; and all errors, either past or future, were corrected by a computation of time, which surpasses the Julian, and approaches the accuracy of the Gregorian, style.†

In a period when Europe was plunged in the deepest barbarism, the light and splendor of Asia may be ascribed to the docility rather than the knowledge of the Turkish conquerors. An ample share of their wisdom and virtue is due to a Persian vizir, who ruled the empire under the reigns of Alp Arslan and his son. Nizam, one of the most illustrious ministers of the East, was honoured by the caliph as an oracle of religion and science; he was trusted by the sultan as the faithful vicerent of his power and justice. After an administration of thirty years, the fame of the vizir, his wealth, and even his services, were transformed into crimes. He was overthrown by the insidious arts of a

century, is the true era of his reign.

* See Chardin,

Voyages en Perse, tom. ii. p. 235.

† The Gelaléan era

(Gelaeddin, glory of the faith, was one of the names or titles of Malek Shah) is fixed to the 15th of March, A.H. 471, A.D. 1079. Dr. Hyde has produced the original testimonies of the Persians and Arabians. (*De Religione Veterum Persarum*, c. 17, p. 200—211.) [A very clear and scientific explanation of this era is given by Dr. Ideler in his *Math. und Techn. Chronologie*, 2 vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1825—6. It appears that eight astronomers were employed by Malek Shah, one of whom was the poet Omar Alcheijam, and that they dated its commencement from the vernal equinox, 6^h 31' in the morning of 10 Ramadan, A.H. 471 (15 March, 1079). Gatterer (*Abriiss der Chronologie*, p. 240) prefers their mode of computing time to the Gregorian, in which Ideler does not concur, and points out its errors. It is certainly remarkable, that the Persians should have introduced a calendar so nearly accurate, 500 years before such an improvement was thought of in Europe. They chose A.H. 471, the seventh of Malek Shah's reign, for the first of their era, because in that year the sun entered the sign of Aries soon after his rising. Their epoch is—

393,812 days later than our A.D. or Christian era.

507,497 . . . that of the Seleucidæ.

166,797 . . . the A.H. or Hegira of the Arabians.

163,173 . . . the era of Yezdegerd.—ED.]

woman and a rival; and his fall was hastened by a rash declaration, that his cap and inkhorn, the badges of his office, were connected by the divine decree with the throne and diadem of the sultan. At the age of ninety-three years, the venerable statesman was dismissed by his master, accused by his enemies, and murdered by a fanatic; the last words of Nizam attested his innocence, and the remainder of Malek's life was short and inglorious. From Ispahan, the scene of this disgraceful transaction, the sultan moved to Bagdad, with the design of transplanting the caliph, and of fixing his own residence in the capital of the Moslem world. The feeble successor of Mahomet obtained a respite of ten days; and before the expiration of the term, the Barbarian was summoned by the angel of death. His ambassadors at Constantinople had asked in marriage a Roman princess; but the proposal was decently eluded; and the daughter of Alexius, who might herself have been the victim, expresses her abhorrence of this unnatural conjunction.* The daughter of the sultan was bestowed on the caliph Mootadi, with the imperious condition, that, renouncing the society of his wives and concubines, he should for ever confine himself to this honourable alliance.

The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah. His vacant throne was disputed by his brother and his four sons; and, after a series of civil wars, the treaty which reconciled the surviving candidates confirmed a lasting separation in the *Persian* dynasty, the eldest and principal branch of the house of Seljuk. The three younger dynasties were those of *Kerman*, of *Syria*, and of *Roum*: the first of these commanded an extensive, though obscure,† dominion on the shores of the Indian ocean:‡ the second expelled the Arabian princes of Aleppo

* She speaks of this Persian royalty as ἀπάσης κακοδαιμονίστηρον πινίας. Anna Comnena was only nine years old at the end of the reign of Malek Shah (A.D. 1092), and when she speaks of his assassination, she confounds the sultan with the vizir. (Alexias, l. 6, p. 177, 178.)

† So obscure that the industry of M. de Gungnes could only copy (tom. i. p. 244; tom. iii. part 1, p. 269, &c.) the history, or rather list, of the Seljukides of Kerman, in Bibliothèque Orientale. They were extinguished before the end of the twelfth century.

‡ Tavernier, perhaps the only traveller who has visited Kerman, describes the capital as a great ruinous village, twenty-five days' journey from Ispahan, and twenty-seven from Ormus, in the midst of

and Damascus; and the third, our peculiar care, invaded the Roman provinces of Asia Minor. The generous policy of Malek contributed to their elevation; he allowed the princes of his blood, even those whom he had vanquished in the field, to seek new kingdoms worthy of their ambition; nor was he displeased that they should draw away the more ardent spirits, who might have disturbed the tranquillity of his reign. As the supreme head of his family and nation, the great sultan of Persia commanded the obedience and tribute of his royal brethren, the thrones of Kerman and Nice, of Aleppo and Damascus; the Atabeks, and emirs of Syria and Mesopotamia, erected their standards under the shadow of his sceptre,* and the hordes of Turkmans overspread the plains of the Western Asia. After the death of Malek, the bands of union and subordination were relaxed and finally dissolved; the indulgence of the house of Seljuk invested their slaves with the inheritance of kingdoms; and, in the Oriental style, a crowd of princes arose from the dust of their feet.†

A prince of the royal line, Cutulmish, the son of Izrail, the son of Seljuk, had fallen in a battle against Alp Arslan, and the humane victor had dropped a tear over his grave. His five sons, strong in arms, ambitious of power, and eager for revenge, unsheathed their scimitars against the son of Alp Arslan. The two armies expected the signal, when the caliph, forgetful of the majesty which secluded him from vulgar eyes, interposed his venerable mediation. "Instead of shedding the blood of your brethren, your brethren both in descent and faith, unite your forces in a holy war against the Greeks, the enemies of God and his apostle. They

a fertile country. (*Voyages en Turquie et en Perse*, p. 107. 110.) [Tavernier visited Kerman 180 years ago. Malte Brun and Balbi give a very different account of its present state. The province, they say, is mountainous and barren; but its capital, Kerman, 220 miles E. from Shiraz, and 340 S.E. by E. from Ispahan, stands in a large, well cultivated plain, and has a population of 20,000; its wool is celebrated, and its manufactures of shawls, felts, and matchlocks, are in request all over Iran. *System of Univ. Geog.* p. 673.—ED.]

* It appears from Anna Comnena, that the Turks of Asia Minor obeyed the signet and chausas of the great sultan (Alexias, l. 6, p. 170); and that the two sons of Soliman were detained in his court (p. 180).

† This expression is quoted by Petit de la Croix (*Vie de Gengiscan*, p. 161) from some poet, most probably a Persian.

listened to his voice; the sultan embraced his rebellious kinsmen; and the eldest, the valiant Soliman, accepted the royal standard, which gave him the free conquest and hereditary command of the provinces of the Roman empire, from Erzeroum to Constantinople, and the unknown regions of the West.* Accompanied by his four brothers, he passed the Euphrates; the Turkish camp was soon seated in the neighbourhood of Kutaieh in Phrygia; and his flying cavalry laid waste the country as far as the Hellespont and the Black Sea. Since the decline of the empire, the peninsula of Asia Minor had been exposed to the transient, though destructive, inroads of the Persians and Saracens; but the fruits of a lasting conquest were reserved for the Turkish sultan; and his arms were introduced by the Greeks, who aspired to reign on the ruins of their country. Since the captivity of Romanus, six years the feeble son of Eudocia had trembled under the weight of the imperial crown, till the provinces of the East and West were lost in the same month by a double rebellion; of either chief Nicephorus was the common name; but the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates distinguish the European and Asiatic candidates. Their reasons, or rather their promises, were weighed in the divan; and, after some hesitation, Soliman declared himself in favour of Botaniates, opened a free passage to his troops in their march from Antioch to Nice, and joined the banner of the crescent to that of the cross. After his ally had ascended the throne of Constantinople, the sultan was hospitably entertained in the suburb of Chrysopolis or Scutari; and a body of two thousand Turks was transported into Europe, to whose dexterity and courage the new emperor was indebted for the defeat and captivity of his rival Bryennius. But the conquest of Europe was dearly purchased by the sacrifice of Asia; Constantinople was deprived of the obedience and revenue of the provinces beyond the Bosphorus and Hellespont; and the regular progress of the Turks, who fortified the passes of the rivers and mountains,

* On the conquest of Asia Minor, M. de Guignes has derived no assistance from the Turkish or Arabian writers, who produce a naked list of the Seljukides of Roum. The Greeks are unwilling to expose their shame, and we must extort some hints from Seylitzes (p. 860. 863), Nicephorus Bryennius (p. 88. 91, 92, &c. 103, 104), and Anna Comnena (Alexias, p. 91, 92, &c. 163, &c.).

left not a hope of their retreat or expulsion. Another candidate implored the aid of the sultan; Melissenus, in his purple robes and red buskins, attended the motions of the Turkish camp; and the desponding cities were tempted by the summons of a Roman prince, who immediately surrendered them into the hands of the Barbarians. These acquisitions were confirmed by a treaty of peace with the emperor Alexius; his fear of Robert compelled him to seek the friendship of Soliman; and it was not till after the sultan's death that he extended as far as Nicomedia, about sixty miles from Constantinople, the Eastern boundary of the Roman world. Trebizond alone, defended on either side by the sea and mountains, preserved at the extremity of the Euxine, the ancient character of a Greek colony, and the future destiny of a Christian empire.

Since the first conquests of the caliphs, the establishment of the Turks in Anatolia or Asia Minor was the most deplorable loss which the church and empire had sustained. By the propagation of the Moslem faith, Soliman deserved the name of *Gazi*, a holy champion; and his new kingdom of the Romans, or of *Roum*, was added to the tables of Oriental geography. It is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria; pregnant with mines of silver and iron, of alum and copper, fruitful in corn and wine, and productive of cattle and excellent horses.* The wealth of Lydia, the arts of the Greeks, the splendour of the Augustan age, existed only in books and ruins, which were equally obscure in the eyes of the Scythian conquerors. Yet, in the present decay, Anatolia still contains *some* wealthy and populous cities; and, under the Byzantine empire they weer far more flourishing in numbers, size, and opulence. By the choice of the sultan, Nice, the metropolis of Bithynia, was preferred for his palace and fortress; the seat of the Seljukian dynasty of Roum was planted one hundred miles from Constantinople; and the divinity of Christ was denied and derided in the same temple in which it had been pronounced by the first general synod of the Catholics. The unity of God, and the mission of Mahomet, were

* Such is the description of Roum by Haiton the Armenian, whose Tartar history may be found in the collections of Ramusio and Bergeron. (See Abulfeda, Geograph. climat. 17, p. 301—305.)

preached in the moschs; the Arabian learning was taught in the schools; the cadhis judged according to the law of the Koran; the Turkish manners and language prevailed in the cities; and Turkman camps were scattered over the plains and mountains of Anatolia. On the hard conditions of tribute and servitude, the Greek Christians might enjoy the exercise of their religion; but their most holy churches were profaned; their priests and bishops were insulted;* they were compelled to suffer the triumph of the *Pagans*, and the apostasy of their brethren; many thousand children were marked by the knife of circumcision; and many thousand captives were devoted to the service or the pleasures of their masters.† After the loss of Asia, Antioch still maintained her primitive allegiance to Christ and Cæsar; but the solitary province was separated from all Roman aid, and surrounded on all sides by the Mahometan powers. The despair of Philaretus, the governor, prepared the sacrifice of his religion and loyalty, had not his guilt been prevented by his son, who hastened to the Nicene palace, and offered to deliver this valuable prize into the hands of Soliman. The ambitious sultan mounted on horseback, and in twelve nights (for he reposed in the day) performed a march of six hundred miles. Antioch was oppressed by the speed and secrecy of his enterprise; and the dependent cities, as far as Laodicea and the confines of Aleppo,‡ obeyed the example of the metropolis. From Laodicea to the Thracian Bosphorus, or arm of St. George, the conquests and reign of

* Dicit eos quendam abusione sodomitica intervertisse episcopum. (Guibert. Abbat. Hist. Hierosol. l. 1, p. 468.) It is odd enough that we should find a parallel passage of the same people in the present age. "Il n'est point d'horreur que ces Turcs n'ayent commis, et semblables aux soldats effrénés, qui dans le sac d'une ville, non contents de disposer de tout à leur gré, prétendent encore aux succès les moins désirables, quelques Spahis ont porté leurs attentats sur la personne du vieux rabbi de la synagogue, et celle de l'archevêque Grec." (Mémoires du Baron de Tott, tom. ii, p. 193.)

† The emperor, or abbot, describes the scenes of a Turkish camp, as if he had been present. *Matres correptæ in conspectu filiarum multipliciter repetitis diversorum coitibus vexabantur* (is that the true reading?); *cum filiæ assistentes carmina præcinere saltando cogerentur. Mox eadem passio ad filias, &c.* [The emperor in this note is Alexius, who is said to have written, and the abbot is Guibert, who preserved the letter to Robert, count of Flanders, to which Gibbon refers in the next and a subsequent page. See Bougarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 475, folio, Hanov. 1611.—Ed.]

‡ See Antioch, and the death of Soliman,

Soliman extended thirty days' journey in length, and in breadth about ten or fifteen, between the rocks of Lycia and the Black Sea.* The Turkish ignorance of navigation protected, for a while, the inglorious safety of the emperor; but no sooner had a fleet of two hundred ships been constructed by the hands of the captive Greeks, than Alexius trembled behind the walls of his capital. His plaintive epistles were dispersed over Europe, to excite the compassion of the Latins, and to paint the danger, the weakness, and the riches, of the city of Constantine.†

But the most interesting conquest of the Seljukian Turks, was that of Jerusalem,‡ which soon became the theatre of nations. In their capitulation with Omar, the inhabitants had stipulated the assurance of their religion and property; but the articles were interpreted by a master against whom it was dangerous to dispute; and in the four hundred years of the reign of the caliphs, the political climate of Jerusalem was exposed to the vicissitudes of storms and sunshine.§ By the increase of proselytes and population, the Mahometans might excuse their usurpation of three-fourths of the city; but a peculiar quarter was reserved for the patriarch with his clergy and people; a tribute of two pieces of gold was the price of protection; and the sepulchre

in Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. 6, p. 168, 169) with the notes of Ducange.

* William of Tyre (l. 1, c. 9, 10, p. 635) gives the most authentic and deplorable account of these Turkish conquests.

† In his epistle to the count of Flanders, Alexius seems to fall too low beneath his character and dignity; yet it is approved by Ducange (Not. ad Alexiad. p. 335, &c.), and paraphrased by the abbot Guibert, a contemporary historian. The Greek text no longer exists; and each translator and scribe might say with Guibert (p. 475), *verbis vestita meis*, a privilege of most indefinite latitude. [In his next chapter (p. 411, note) Gibbon questions more plainly the genuineness of this epistle.—Ed.]

‡ Our best fund for the history of Jerusalem, from Heraclius to the crusades, is contained in two large and original passages of William archbishop of Tyre (l. 1, c. 1—10; l. 18, c. 5, 6), the principal author of the *Gesta Dei per Francos*. M. de Guignes has composed a very learned *Mémoire sur le Commerce des Français dans le Levant avant les Croisades*, &c. (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xxxvii. p. 467—500.*)

§ *Secundum Dominorum dispositionem plerumque lucida plerumque nubila recepit intervalla, et agrotantium more temporum præsentium gravabatur aut respirabat qualitate* (l. 1, c. 3, p. 630). The latinity of William of Tyre is by no means contemptible; but in his account of four hundred and ninety years, from

of Christ, with the church of the resurrection, was still left in the hands of his votaries. Of these votaries, the most numerous and respectable portions were strangers to Jerusalem; the pilgrimages to the Holy Land had been stimulated, rather than suppressed, by the conquest of the Arabs; and the enthusiasm which had always prompted these perilous journeys, was nourished by the congenial passions of grief and indignation. A crowd of pilgrims from the East and West continued to visit the holy sepulchre and the adjacent sanctuaries, more especially at the festival of Easter; and the Greeks and Latins, the Nestorians and Jacobites, the Copts and Abyssinians, the Armenians and Georgians, maintained the chapels, the clergy, and the poor, of their respective communions. The harmony of prayer in so many various tongues, the worship of so many nations in the common temple of their religion, might have afforded a spectacle of edification and peace; but the zeal of the Christian sects was embittered by hatred and revenge; and in the kingdom of a suffering Messiah, who had pardoned his enemies, they aspired to command and persecute their spiritual brethren. The pre-eminence was asserted by the spirit and numbers of the Franks; and the greatness of Charlemagne* protected both the Latin pilgrims, and the Catholics of the East. The poverty of Carthage, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, was relieved by the alms of that pious emperor; and many monasteries of Palestine were founded or restored by his liberal devotion. Harun Alrashid, the greatest of the Abbassides, esteemed in his Christian brother a similar supremacy of genius and power; their friendship was cemented by a frequent intercourse of gifts and embassies; and the caliph, without resigning the substantial dominion, presented the emperor with the keys of the holy sepulchre, and perhaps of the city of Jerusalem. In the decline of the Carolingian monarchy, the republic of Amalphi promoted the interest of trade and religion in the East. Her vessels transported the

the loss to the recovery of Jerusalem, he exceeds the true account by thirty years. [The loss of Jerusalem dates from its capture by Chosroes in 614 (see vol. v. p. 171) 485 years before it was delivered by the crusaders. Gibbon here reckons from the Saracen conquest in 637. (See p. 45 of this vol.)—ED.]

* For the transactions of Charlemagne with the Holy Land, see Eginhard (*de Vita Caroli Magni*, c. 16, p. 79—82), Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Administr. Imp.* l. 2, c. 26, p. 80), and Pagi (*Critica*, tom. iii. A.D. 800, No. 13—15).

Latin pilgrims to the coasts of Egypt and Palestine, and deserved, by their useful imports, the favour and alliance of the Fatimite caliphs;* an annual fair was instituted on mount Calvary; and the Italian merchants founded the convent and hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the cradle of the monastic and military order, which has since reigned in the isles of Rhodes and of Malta. Had the Christian pilgrims been content to revere the tomb of a prophet, the disciples of Mahomet, instead of blaming, would have imitated their piety; but these rigid *Unitarians* were scandalized by a worship which represents the birth, death, and resurrection of a God; the Catholic images were branded with the name of idols; and the Moslems smiled with indignation † at the miraculous flame, which was kindled on the eve of Easter in the holy sepulchre.‡ This pious fraud, first devised in the ninth century,§ was devoutly cherished by the Latin crusaders, and is annually repeated by the clergy of the Greek, Armenian, and Coptic sects,¶ who impose on the credulous spectators** for their own benefit,

* The caliph granted his privileges, *Amalphitanis viris amicis et utilium introductoribus*. (*Gesta Dei*, p. 934.) The trade of Venice to Egypt and Palestine cannot produce so old a title, unless we adopt the laughable translation of a Frenchman, who mistook the two factions of the circus (*Veneti et Prasini*) for the Venetians and Parisians.

† An Arabic chronicle of Jerusalem (*apud Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 628; tom. iv. p. 368*) attests the unbelief of the caliph and the historian; yet Cantacuzene presumes to appeal to the Mahometans themselves for the truth of this perpetual miracle.

‡ In his dissertations on ecclesiastical history, the learned Mosheim has separately discussed this pretended miracle (*tom. ii. p. 214—306, de lumine sancti sepulchri*).

§ William of Malmesbury (*l. 4, c. 2, p. 209*) quotes the *Itinerary* of the monk Bernard, an eye-witness, who visited Jerusalem, A.D. 870. The miracle is confirmed by another pilgrim some years older; and Mosheim ascribes the invention to the Franks, soon after the decease of Charlemagne. [There is a MS. of Bernard's *Itinerary* in the British Museum (*Bib. Cott. Faust. b. 1*), but it is dated by mistake A.D. 970. An English version of it forms part of Bohn's "*Early Travels in Palestine*" (*p. 23—31*). The writer says only, "an angel comes and lights the lamps." *How or when* the fire made its *first* appearance, is stated by no historian. But we learn from Abulpharagius, that it was produced by greasing the chain of the lamp with an inflammable oil, to which a lighted match was applied through the roof. See also Bohn's *William of Malmesbury*, p. 384.—*En.*]

¶ Our travellers, Sandys (*p. 134*), Thevenot (*p. 621—627*), Maundrell (*p. 94, 95*), &c. describe this extravagant farce. The Catholics are puzzled to decide *when* the miracle ended, and the trick began.

The Orientals themselves confess the fraud, and plead necessity

and that of their tyrants. In every age, a principle of toleration has been fortified by a sense of interest; and the revenue of the prince and his emir was increased each year, by the expense and tribute of so many thousand strangers.

The revolution which transferred the sceptre from the Abbassides to the Fatimites was a benefit, rather than an injury to the Holy Land. A sovereign resident in Egypt was more sensible of the importance of Christian trade; and the emirs of Palestine were less remote from the justice and power of the throne. But the third of these Fatimite caliphs was the famous Hakem,* a frantic youth, who was delivered by his impiety and despotism from the fear either of God or man; and whose reign was a wild mixture of vice and folly. Regardless of the most ancient customs of Egypt, he imposed on the women an absolute confinement; the restraint excited the clamours of both sexes; their clamours provoked his fury; a part of Old Cairo was delivered to the flames; and the guards and citizens were engaged many days in a bloody conflict. At first the caliph declared himself a zealous Musulman, the founder or benefactor of moschs and colleges; twelve hundred and ninety copies of the Koran were transcribed at his expense in letters of gold, and his edict extirpated the vineyards of the Upper Egypt. But his vanity was soon flattered by the hope of introducing a new religion; he aspired above the fame of a prophet, and styled himself the visible image of the most high God, who, after nine apparitions on earth, was at length manifest in his royal person. At the name of Hakem, the lord of the living and the dead, every knee was bent in religious adoration; his mysteries were performed on a mountain near Cairo; sixteen thousand converts had signed his profession of faith; and at the present hour, a free and warlike people, the Druses of mount Libanus, are persuaded of the life and divinity of a madman and tyrant.† In his divine

and edification (*Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, tom. ii. p. 140. Joseph Abudaeni, *Hist. Copt.* c. 20), but I will not attempt, with Mosheim, to explain the mode. Our travellers have failed with the blood of St. Januarius at Naples.

* See D'Herbelot (*Biblioth. Orientale*, p. 411), Renaudot (*Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 390, 397. 400, 401), Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 321—323), and Marei (p. 334—386), an historian of Egypt, translated by Reiske from Arabic into German, and verbally interpreted to me by a friend.

† The religion of the Druses is concealed by their ignorance and

character, Hakem hated the Jews and Christians, as the servants of his rivals; while some remains of prejudice or prudence still pleaded in favour of the law of Mahomet. Both in Egypt and Palestine his cruel and wanton persecution made some martyrs and many apostates; the common rights and special privileges of the sectaries were equally disregarded; and a general interdict was laid on the devotion of strangers and natives. The temple of the Christian world, the church of the resurrection, was demolished to its foundations; the luminous prodigy of Easter was interrupted, and much profane labour was exhausted to destroy the cave in the rock which properly constitutes the holy sepulchre. At the report of this sacrilege, the nations of Europe were astonished and afflicted; but instead of arming in the defence of the Holy Land, they contented themselves with burning or banishing the Jews, as the secret advisers of the impious Barbarian.* Yet the calamities of Jerusalem were in some measure alleviated by the inconstancy or repentance of Hakem himself; and the royal mandate was sealed for the restitution of the churches, when the tyrant was assassinated by the emissaries of his sister. The succeeding caliphs resumed the maxims of religion and policy; a free toleration was again granted; with the pious aid of the emperor of Constantinople, the holy sepulchre arose from its ruins, and, after a short abstinence, the pilgrims returned with an increase of appetite to the spiritual feast.† In the sea-voyage of Palestine, the dangers hypocrisy. Their secret doctrines are confined to the elect who profess a contemplative life; and the vulgar Druses, the most indifferent of men, occasionally conform to the worship of the Mahometans and Christians of their neighbourhood. The little that is, or deserves to be, known, may be seen in the industrious Niebuhr (*Voyages*, tom. ii. p. 354—357), and the second volume of the recent and instructive *Travels* of M. de Volney. [Since this period the Druses have excited considerable attention. Burckhardt, Capt. Light, Jowett, Von Hammer (see his *History of the Assassins*) De Sacy, Dr. Hogg, and others, have illustrated both their history and their religion. All agree in saying that they are industrious, brave, and hospitable. Their staple article of commerce is silk, and Capt. Light says he saw about twenty looms at work round one of the squares. Their population exceeds 200,000, and it is said that in case of need the Emir could assemble in a very short time 30,000 men armed with muskets. Their country is a land of refuge from Turkish oppression.—Ed.]

* See Glaber, l. 3, c. 7, and the *Annals* of Baronius and Pagi, A.D. 1009.

† *Per idem tempus ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo*

were frequent, and the opportunities rare; but the conversion of Hungary opened a safe communication between Germany and Greece. The charity of St. Stephen, the apostle of his kingdom, relieved and conducted his itinerant brethren;* and from Belgrade to Antioch, they traversed fifteen hundred miles of a Christian empire. Among the Franks, the zeal of pilgrimage prevailed beyond the example of former times; and the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions; and the numbers of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the cross. About thirty years before the first crusade, the archbishop of Mentz, with the bishops of Utrecht, Bamberg, and Ratisbon, undertook this laborious journey from the Rhine to the Jordan; and the multitude of their followers amounted to seven thousand persons. At Constantinople, they were hospitably entertained by the emperor; but the ostentation of their wealth provoked the assault of the wild Arabs; they drew their swords with scrupulous reluctance, and sustained a siege in the village of Capernaum, till they were rescued by the venal protection of the Fatimite emir. After visiting the holy places, they embarked for Italy, but only a remnant of two thousand arrived in safety in their native land. Ingulphus, a secretary of William the Conqueror, was a companion of this pilgrimage; he observes that they sallied from Normandy, thirty stout and well-appointed horsemen; but that they repassed the Alps, twenty miserable palmers, with the staff in their hand, and the wallet at their back.†

cepit confluere ad sepulchrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantum nullus hominum prius sperare poterat. Ordo inferioris plebis mediocres reges et comites præsules mulieres multæ nobiles cum pauperioribus . . . Pluribus enim erat mentis desiderium mori priusquam ad propria revertentur. (Glaber, l. 4, c. 6. Bouquet, *Historians of France*, tom. x. p. 50.)

* Glaber, l. 3, c. 1. Katona (*Hist. Critic. Regum Hungariæ*, tom. i. p. 304—311) examines whether St. Stephen founded a monastery at Jerusalem.

† Baronius (A.D. 1064, No. 43—56) has transcribed the greater part of the original narratives of Ingulphus, Marianus, and Lambertus. [This pilgrimage took place in 1064. Some extraordinary incentive must have urged four of the richest

After the defeat of the Romans, the tranquillity of the Fatimite caliphs was invaded by the Turks.* One of the lieutenants of Malek Shah, Atsiz the Carizmian, marched into Syria at the head of a powerful army, and reduced Damascus by famine and the sword. Hems, and the other cities of the province, acknowledged the caliph of Bagdad and the sultan of Persia; and the victorious emir advanced without resistance to the banks of the Nile; the Fatimite was preparing to fly into the heart of Africa; but the negroes of his guard and the inhabitants of Cairo made a desperate sally, and repulsed the Turk from the confines of Egypt. In his retreat, he indulged the licence of slaughter and rapine; the judge and notaries of Jerusalem were invited to his camp; and their execution was followed by the massacre of three thousand citizens. The cruelty or the defeat of Atsiz was soon punished by the sultan Toucush, the brother of Malek Shah, who, with a higher title and more formidable powers, asserted the dominion of Syria and Palestine. The house of Seljuk reigned about twenty years in Jerusalem;† but the hereditary command

among the luxurious prelates of Germany to engage in such an enterprise. At that time Hildebrand, who was afterwards pope Gregory VII., directed every ecclesiastical proceeding. "*Era allora il cardinale Ildebrando il mobile principale della corte pontificia. Nulla si faceva senza di lui, anzi pareva che tutto fosse fatto da lui,*" are the emphatic words of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, xiv. p. 264). See also Hallam (Middle Ages, ii. p. 259). It cannot, therefore, be doubted, and subsequent events give validity to the conclusion, that this mover of the church was the secret instigator of so important a church movement. He had already conceived the project of a great crusade against the East, to which this pilgrimage was devised as a preliminary step. It was skillfully managed so as to make some conspicuous characters the victims of an ill-treatment not general at that time towards such visitors of the Holy Land, and the number of the returning host was dexterously diminished to heighten the effect. Then three exaggerated narratives of the hardships endured were circulated through Europe to arouse Christendom and prepare it for the mighty effort that was designed. English readers may consult that of Ingulphus in Riley's version of his Chronicle (p. 148, 149, edit. Bohn), and will perceive that the pilgrims underwent no sufferings in Palestine to account for their asserted losses. This will be found to accord with, and even to explain, the earlier measures related in the next chapter.—ED.]

* See Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 349, 350) and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 237, vers. Pocock). M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. part 1, p. 215, 216) adds the testimonies, or rather the names, of Abulfeda and Novairi.

† From the expedition of Isar Atsiz

of the holy city and territory was intrusted or abandoned to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans, whose children, after their expulsion from Palestine, formed two dynasties on the borders of Armenia and Assyria.* The Oriental Christians and the Latin pilgrims deplored a revolution, which, instead of the regular government and old alliance of the caliphs, imposed on their necks the iron yoke of the strangers of the north.† In his court and camp the great sultan had adopted in some degree the arts and manners of Persia; but the body of the Turkish nation, and more especially the pastoral tribes, still breathed the fierceness of the desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia were a scene of foreign and domestic hostility; and the shepherds of Palestine, who held a precarious sway on a doubtful frontier, had neither leisure nor capacity to await the slow profits of commercial and religious freedom. The pilgrims, who, through innumerable perils, had reached the gates of Jerusalem, were the victims of private rapine or public oppression, and often sank under the pressure of famine and disease, before they were permitted to salute the holy sepulchre. A spirit of native barbarism, or recent zeal, prompted the Turkmans to insult the clergy of every sect; the patriarch was dragged by the hair along the pavement, and cast into a dungeon, to extort a ransom from the sympathy of his flock; and the divine worship in the church of the Resurrection was often disturbed by the savage rudeness of its masters. The pathetic tale excited the millions of the West to march

(A.H. 469, A.D. 1076) to the expulsion of the Ortokides (A.D. 1096). Yet William of Tyre (l. 1, c. 6, p. 633) asserts that Jerusalem was thirty-eight years in the hands of the Turks; and an Arabic chronicle quoted by Pagi (tom. iv. p. 202), supposes that the city was reduced by a Carizmian general to the obedience of the caliph of Bagdad, A.H. 463, A.D. 1070. These early dates are not very compatible with the general history of Asia; and I am sure, that as late as A.D. 1064, the regnum Babylonicum (of Cairo) still prevailed in Palestine. (Baronius, A.D. 1064, No. 56.) [According to Kruse's Survey, Tab. xvi. (a work of great research and general accuracy) Jerusalem was held by the Egyptian Fatimites till 1084, when they were expelled by Ortok; he was succeeded by his son, in 1091, from whom this city was recovered 1096 or 98 by Al Mostaali, the caliph of Cairo.—ED.]

* De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 249—252.

† Willerm. Tyr. l. 1, c. 8. p. 634, who strives hard to magnify the Christian grievances. The Turks extracted an aureus from each pil-

under the standard of the cross to the relief of the Holy Land; and yet how trifling is the sum of these accumulated evils, if compared with the single act of the sacrilege of Hakem, which had been so patiently endured by the Latin Christians! A slighter provocation inflamed the more irascible temper of their descendants; a new spirit had arisen of religious chivalry and Papal dominion; a nerve was touched of exquisite feeling; and the sensation vibrated to the heart of Europe.

CHAPTER LVIII.—ORIGIN AND NUMBERS OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.—CHARACTERS OF LATIN PRINCES.—THEIR MARCH TO CONSTANTINOPLE.—POLICY OF THE GREEK EMPEROR ALEXIUS.—CONQUEST OF NICÆ, ANTIOCH, AND JERUSALEM, BY THE FRANKS.—DELIVERANCE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.—GODFREY OF BOUILLON, FIRST KING OF JERUSALEM.—INSTITUTIONS OF THE FRENCH OR LATIN KINGDOM.

ABOUT twenty years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Turks, the holy sepulchre was visited by a hermit of the name of Peter, a native of Amiens, in the province of Picardy* in France. His resentment and sympathy were excited by his own injuries and the oppression of the Christian name; he mingled his tears with those of the patriarch, and earnestly inquired, if no hopes of relief could be entertained from the Greek emperors of the East. The patriarch exposed the vices and weakness of the successors of Constantine. "I will rouse," exclaimed the hermit, "the martial nations of Europe in your cause;" and Europe was obedient to the call of the hermit. The astonished patriarch dismissed him with epistles of credit and complaint; and no sooner did he land at Bari, than Peter hastened to kiss the feet of the Roman pontiff. His stature was small, his appearance contemptible; but his eye was keen and lively; and he possessed that vehemence of speech, which seldom fails to impart the persuasion of grim. The *capfar* of the Franks is now fourteen dollars; and Europe does not complain of this voluntary tax.

* Whimsical enough is the origin of the name of *Picards*, and from thence of *Picardie*, which does not date earlier than A.D. 1200. It was an academical joke, an epithet first applied to the quarrelsome humour of those students in the university of Paris, who came from the frontier of France and Flanders. (Valesii Notitia Galliarum, p. 447. Longuerue, Description de la France, p. 54.)

the soul.* He was born of a gentleman's family (for we must now adopt a modern idiom), and his military service was under the neighbouring counts of Boulogne, the heroes of the first crusade. But he soon relinquished the sword and the world; and if it be true, that his wife, however noble, was aged and ugly, he might withdraw, with the less reluctance, from her bed to a convent, and at length to a hermitage. In this austere solitude, his body was emaciated, his fancy was inflamed; whatever he wished he believed; whatever he believed, he *saw* in dreams and revelations. From Jerusalem, the pilgrim returned an accomplished fanatic; but as he excelled in the popular madness of the times, pope Urban the Second received him as a prophet, applauded his glorious design, promised to support it in a general council, and encouraged him to proclaim the deliverance of the Holy Land. Invigorated by the approbation of the pontiff, his zealous missionary traversed, with speed and success, the provinces of Italy and France. His diet was abstemious, his prayers long and fervent, and the alms which he received with one hand, he distributed with the other; his head was bare, his feet naked, his meagre body was wrapped in a coarse garment; he bore and displayed a weighty crucifix; and the ass on which he rode was sanctified in the public eye by the service of the man of God. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways; the hermit entered with equal confidence the palace and the cottage; and the people, for all were people, were impetuously moved by his call to repentance and arms.† When he painted the sufferings of the natives and pilgrims of Palestine, every heart was melted to compassion; every breast glowed with indignation when he challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour; his ignorance of art and language was compensated by sighs, and tears, and

* William of Tyre (l. 1, c. 11, p. 637, 638) thus describes the hermit: *Pusillus, persona contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii, et oculum habens perspicacem gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium.* See Albert Aquensis, p. 185. Guibert, p. 482. Anna Comnena in *Alexiad.* l. 10, p. 284, &c. with Ducange's notes, p. 349.

† [Never has there been a popular delusion that was not got up to serve some special purpose of its artful contriver. That of the crusades, the most wide-spread and permanent of its kind, had no

ejaculations; and Peter supplied the deficiency of reason by loud and frequent appeals to Christ and his mother, to the saints and angels of paradise, with whom he had personally conversed. The most perfect orator of Athens might have envied the success of his eloquence; the rustic enthusiast inspired the passions which he felt, and Christendom expected with impatience the councils and decrees of the supreme pontiff.

The magnanimous spirit of Gregory the Seventh had already embraced the design of arming Europe against Asia, the ardour of his zeal and ambition still breathes in his epistles; from either side of the Alps, fifty thousand Catholics had enlisted under the banner of St. Peter,* and his successor reveals *his* intention of marching at their head against the impious sectaries of Mahomet. But the glory

mean author or common object. The one and the other will disclose themselves as we proceed.—Ed.]

* *Ultra quinquaginta millia, si me possunt in expeditione pro duce et pontifice habere, armatâ manu volunt in inimicos Dei insurgere et ad sepulchrum Domini ipso ducente pervenire.* (Gregor. VII. epist. 2. 31, in tom. xii p. 322, concil.) [This letter, and others to the same effect, were written in 1074 (Muratori, Annal. xiv. p. 329. Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge, i. p. 42, note), two years before the Turks entered Syria, which was in 1076 (see Gibbon's note, ch. 57, p. 394). It was not, therefore, the cruelties inflicted on Christian pilgrims by that people, after their capture of Jerusalem, that originated the first project of a crusade. This was evidently a preconceived notion and deliberately matured plan. The motive for it is clearly indicated by the state of Europe, the designs of the Vatican, and the character of Gregory. For a century and a half the growing intelligence of the Gothic communities had been wrestling with the hierarchy, and panting to get free. Successive popes, on the other hand, had been arrogating to themselves a more absolute and extensive dominion over mind and means. Gregory (or Hildebrand) had, for twenty years before his elevation to the papal throne, watched and shared in this struggle. He saw that the spiritual ascendancy could not be maintained, if the expansion of the secular element in European organization were not checked; to exhaust and waste this in an attempt to recover Palestine from the Mahometans, was, therefore, his aim. In this, the initiative came unquestionably from him. (See Muratori, *ut supra*.) Having turned the excitement of devotion and chivalry in this direction, he ventured boldly on an open rupture with Henry IV., and a more decided assertion of his supremacy over all earthly power. These were objects far dearer to him than the rescue of the Holy Land. (Wilken, i. p. 42. They so occupied him, that his subordinate scheme was deferred and left to the care of his successors.—Ed.)

or reproach of executing, though not in person, this holy enterprise, was reserved for Urban the Second,* the most faithful of his disciples. He undertook the conquest of the East, whilst the larger portion of Rome was possessed and fortified by his rival Guibert of Ravenna, who contended with Urban for the name and honours of the pontificate. He attempted to unite the powers of the West, at a time when the princes were separated from the church, and the people from their princes, by the excommunication which himself and his predecessors had thundered against the emperor and the king of France. Philip the First, of France, supported with patience the censures which he had provoked by his scandalous life and adulterous marriage. Henry the Fourth of Germany asserted the right of investitures, the prerogative of confirming his bishops by the delivery of the ring and crosier. But the emperor's party was crushed in Italy by the arms of the Normans and the countess Matilda; and the long quarrel had been recently envenomed by the revolt of his son Conrad and the shame of his wife,† who, in the synods of Constance and Placentia, confessed the manifold prostitutions to which she had been exposed by a husband regardless of her honour and his own.‡ So popular

* See the original lives of Urban II. by Pandulphus Pisanus and Bernardus Guido, in Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. iii. pars 1, p. 352, 353. [The short papacy and supine character of Victor III., allayed for a time the ferment of popular infatuation. His immediate successor, Urban II., inherited the spirit of Gregory, and was vigorously alive to the same objects. All circumstances warrant the inference that he employed Peter the Hermit and sent him out to Palestine, that he might return as an accredited envoy from the patriarch of Jerusalem, appealing to all the potentates of Europe for protection and relief. An obscure pilgrim would not otherwise have been at once welcomed in that capacity and commissioned so readily to preach among the nations of the West. With this clue we may penetrate into the secret machinations of a dark conspiracy to arrest the natural course of social improvement.—Ed.]

† She is known by the different names of Præxas, Eupræcia, Eufrasia, and Adalais; and was the daughter of a Russian prince, and the widow of a margrave of Brandenburg. Struv. *Corpus Hist. Germanicæ*, p. 340.

‡ *Henricus odio eam cepit habere: ideo incarcerationem, et concessit ut plerique vim ei inferrent; immo filium hortans ut eam subagitaret.* (Dodechin, *Continuat. Marian. Scot.* apud Baron. A.D. 1093, No. 4.) In the synod of Constance, she is described by Bertholdus, *rerum inspector: quæ se tantas et tam inauditas fornicationum spurcicias, et a tantis passam fuisse conquesta est, &c.* And again at

was the cause of Urban, so weighty was his influence, that the council which he summoned at Placentia,* was composed of two hundred bishops of Italy, France, Burgundy, Swabia, and Bavaria. Four thousand of the clergy, and thirty-thousand of the laity, attended this important meeting; and, as the most spacious cathedral would have been inadequate to the multitude, the session of seven days was held in a plain adjacent to the city. The ambassadors of the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, were introduced to plead the distress of their sovereign and the danger of Constantinople, which was divided only by a narrow sea from the victorious Turks, the common enemies of the Christian name.† In their suppliant address they flattered the pride of the Latin princes; and, appealing at once to their policy and religion, exhorted them to repel the Barbarians on the confines of Asia, rather than to expect them in the heart of Europe. At the sad tale of the misery and perils of their Eastern brethren the assembly burst into tears; the most eager champions declared their readiness to march; and the Greek ambassadors were dismissed with the assurance of a speedy and powerful succour. The relief of Constantinople was included in the larger and most distant project of the deliverance of Jerusalem; but the prudent Urban adjourned

Placentia: satis misericorditer suscepit, eo quod ipsam tantas spurcitias non tam commisisse quam invitam pertulisse pro certo cognoverit papa cum sancta synodo. Apud Baron. A.D. 1093, No. 4; 1094, No. 3. A rare subject for the infallible decision of a pope and council. These abominations are repugnant to every principle of human nature, which is not altered by a dispute about rings and crosiers. Yet it should seem, that the wretched woman was tempted by the priests to relate or subscribe some infamous stories of herself and her husband.

* See the narrative and acts of the

synod of Placentia, Concil. tom. xii. p. 821, &c.

† [The artful caution with which Urban made his way to his secret object is most apparent in this council. It was summoned avowedly for other purposes (Wilken, l. p. 50). In these the emperor Alexius had not only no interest, but he would never, of his own accord, have sent representatives to an assembly of heretics with whom his empire held no church communion. In his subsequent conduct, we see that the enthusiasts, whom he had been made an instrument in exciting, were very unwelcome and distrusted allies. It can then only have been by the contrivance of Urban, that ambassadors from the Eastern empire made their appearance at Placentia; they must have been privately invited by him, and instructed how to forward his scheme.—ED.]

the final decision to a second synod, which he proposed to celebrate in some city of France in the autumn of the same year. The short delay would propagate the flame of enthusiasm; and his firmest hope was in a nation of soldiers,* still proud of the pre-eminence of their name, and ambitious to emulate their hero Charlemagne,† who, in the popular romance of Turpin,‡ had achieved the conquest of the Holy Land. A latent motive of affection or vanity might influence the choice of Urban; he was himself a native of France, a monk of Clugny, and the first of his countrymen who ascended the throne of St. Peter. The pope had illustrated his family and province; nor is there perhaps a more exquisite gratification than to revisit, in a conspicuous dignity, the humble and laborious scenes of our youth.

It may occasion some surprise that the Roman pontiff should erect, in the heart of France, the tribunal from whence he hurled his anathemas against the king; but our surprise will vanish so soon as we form a just estimate of a king of France of the eleventh century.§ Philip the

* Guibert, himself a Frenchman, praises the piety and valour of the French nation, the author and example of the crusades: *Gens nobilis, prudens, bellicosa, dapsilis et nitida*. . . . Quos enim Britones, *Anglos, Ligures*, si bonis eos moribus videamus, non illico *Francos homines* appellemus (p. 478)? He owns, however, that the vivacity of the French degenerates into petulance among foreigners (p. 483), and vain loquaciousness (p. 502).

† Per viam quam jamdudum Carolus magnus mirificus rex Francorum aptari fecit usque C. P. (*Gesta Francorum*, p. 1. Robert. Monach. Hist. Hieros. l. 1, p. 33, &c.)

‡ John Tilpinus, or Turpinus, was archbishop of Rheims, A.D. 773. After the year 1000, this romance was composed in his name, by a monk of the borders of France and Spain; and such was the idea of ecclesiastical merit, that he describes himself as a fighting and drinking priest! Yet the book of lies was pronounced authentic by pope Calixtus II. (A.D. 1122), and is respectfully quoted by the abbot Suger, in the great Chronicles of St. Denys. Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, edit. Mansi, tom. iv. p. 161.)

§ See *Etat de la France*, by the Count de Boulainvilliers, tom. i. p. 180—182, and the second volume of the *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, by the Abbé de Mably. [Urban's chief motive for holding this assembly in France is said by Wilken (l. 51) to have been, that he could there most effectually inveigle Philip's faithful adherents, and deprive him of their support, by engaging them in the projected enterprise. This final and decisive scene was prepared with consummate art. Previous meetings of ecclesiastics were held at Vercelli, Puy, and other places. The clergy were not only threatened to be deprived of their preferments if they did not themselves attend the council, but they were instructed

First was the great grandson of Hugh Capet, the founder of the present race, who in the decline of Charlemagne's posterity, added the regal title to his patrimonial estates of Paris and Orleans. In this narrow compass, he was possessed of wealth and jurisdiction; but in the rest of France, Hugh and his first descendants were no more than the feudal lords of about sixty dukes and counts, of independent and hereditary power,* who disdained the control of laws and legal assemblies, and whose disregard of their sovereign was revenged by the disobedience of their inferior vassals. At Clermont, in the territories of the count of Auvergne,† the pope might brave with impunity the resentment of Philip; and the council which he convened in that city was not less numerous or respectable than the synod of Placentia.‡ Besides his court and council of Roman cardinals, he was supported by thirteen archbishops and two hundred and twenty-five bishops; the number of mitred prelates was computed at four hundred; and the fathers of the church were blessed by the saints and enlightened by the doctors of the age. From the adjacent kingdoms, a martial train of lords and knights of power and renown attended the council.§ in high expectation of its resolves; and such was the ardour of zeal and curiosity, that the city was filled, and many thousands, in the month of November, erected their tents or huts in the open field. A session of eight days produced some useful or edifying canons for the reformation of manners; a severe censure was pronounced against the licence of private war; the truce of God¶ was confirmed, a suspen-

to urge the laity of their dioceses and parishes, especially the great territorial lords, to be present.—Ed.]

* In the provinces to the south of the Loire, the first *Capetians* were scarcely allowed a feudal supremacy. On all sides, Normandy, Bretagne, Aquitaine, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Flanders, contracted the name and limits of the *proper* France. See Hadrian. Vales. *Notitia Galliarum*.

† These counts, a younger branch of the dukes of Aquitaine, were at length despoiled of the greatest part of their country by Philip Augustus. The bishops of Clermont gradually became princes of the city. *Melanges tirés d'une grande Bibliothèque*, tom. xxxvi. p. 288, &c.

‡ See the acts of the council of Clermont. *Concil.* tom. xii. p. 829, &c.

§ *Confluxerunt ad concilium e multis regionibus, viri potentes et honorati, innumeri quamvis cingulo laicalis militis superbi.* (Baldric, an eye-witness, p. 86—88. Robert. Mon. p. 31, 32. Will. Tyr. 1. 14, 15, p. 639—641. Guibert, p. 478—480. Fulcher. Carnot. p. 382.)

¶ The truce of God (*Treva*, or *Treuga*)

sion of hostilities during four days of the week; women and priests were placed under the safeguard of the church; and a protection of three years was extended to husbandmen and merchants, the defenceless victims of military rapine. But a law, however venerable be the sanction, cannot suddenly transform the temper of the times; and the benevolent efforts of Urban deserve the less praise since he laboured to appease some domestic quarrels, that he might spread the flames of war from the Atlantic to the Euphrates. From the synod of Placentia, the rumour of his great design had gone forth among the nations; the clergy on their return had preached in every diocese the merit and glory of the deliverance of the Holy Land; and when the pope ascended a lofty scaffold in the market-place of Clermont, his eloquence was addressed to a well-prepared and impatient audience. His topics were obvious, his exhortation was vehement, his success inevitable. The orator was interrupted by the shout of thousands, who, with one voice, and in their rustic idiom, exclaimed aloud, "God wills it, God wills it.*"—"It is indeed the will of God," replied the pope,

Dei) was first invented in Aquitain, A.D. 1032; blamed by some bishops as an occasion of perjury, and rejected by the Normans as contrary to their privileges. (Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. vi. p. 682—685.)

* *Deus vult, Deus vult!* was the pure acclamation of the clergy who understood Latin. (Robert. Mon. l. 1, p. 32). By the illiterate laity, who spoke the *Provincial* or *Limousin* idiom, it was corrupted to *Deus lo volt*, or *Dieu el volt*. See Chron. Casinense, l. 4, c. 11, p. 497, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iv. and Ducange (Dissertat. 11, p. 207, sur Joinville, and Gloss. Latin. tom. ii. p. 690) who, in his preface, produces a very difficult specimen of the dialect of Rovertgue, A.D. 1100, very near, both in time and place, to the council of Clermont (p. 15, 16). [Where thousands are assembled in the open air, few can hear the speaker's voice, or be moved by his eloquence. The excitement of the multitude at Clermont was the effect, not of Urban's studied oration, but of previously roused feelings, contagious example, and opportunely circulated watch-words. The Latin cry of *Deus vult* was not the spontaneous outburst of unlettered Franks; it was the cue given by their priestly prompters. From first to last it is obvious that the principal actors did not follow, but awakened, the spirit of the times; did not give a voice to the popular will, but themselves dictated the words and inflamed the enthusiasm of the many. Urban, in his speech, forbade the ecclesiastics of every order to quit their spiritual charge at home. He did not want to disperse his own forces. Yet as soon as he had concluded, bishops were on their knees around him, imploring permission to join the holy league. (Wilken, l. 55.)

"and let this memorable word, the inspiration surely of the Holy Spirit, be for ever adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the devotion and courage of the champions of Christ. His cross is the symbol of your salvation: wear it, a red, a bloody cross, as an external mark on your breasts or shoulders, as a pledge of your sacred and irrevocable engagement." The proposal was joyfully accepted; great numbers both of the clergy and laity impressed on their garments the sign of the cross,* and solicited the pope to march at their head. This dangerous honour was declined by the more prudent successor of Gregory, who alleged the schism of the church, and the duties of his pastoral office, recommending to the faithful, who were disqualified by sex or profession, by age or infirmity, to aid, with their prayers and alms, the personal service of their robust brethren. The name and powers of his legate he devolved on Adhemar, bishop of Puy, the first who had received the cross at his hands. The foremost of the temporal chiefs was Raymond count of Toulouse, whose ambassadors in the council excused the absence, and pledged the honour, of their master. After the confession and absolution of their sins, the champions of the cross were dismissed with a superfluous admonition to invite their countrymen and friends; and their departure for the Holy Land was fixed to the festival of the Assumption, the 15th of August, of the ensuing year.†

Few of them seriously intended this, but it was a signal for the whole meeting. The prostrate crowd fervently uttered the solemn vow. One of the cardinals made in their name a public confession of their sins, and the pope gave a universal absolution to the deluded masses. —Ed.]

* Most commonly on their shoulders, in gold, or silk, or cloth, sewed on their garments. In the first crusade all were red; in the third, the French alone preserved that colour, while green crosses were adopted by the Flemings, and white by the English. (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 651.) Yet in England the red ever appears the favourite, and, as it were, the national colour of our military ensigns and uniforms.

† Bongarsius, who has published the original writers of the crusades, adopts with much complacency, the fanatic title of Guibertus, *Gesta DEI per Francos*; though some critics propose to read *Gesta Diaboli per Francos*. (Hanovise, 1611, two vols. in folio.) I shall briefly enumerate, as they stand in this collection, the authors whom I have used for the first crusade. 1. *Gesta Francorum*. 2. Robertus Monachus. 3. Baldricus. 4. Raimundus de Agiles. 5. Albertus Aquensis. 6. Fulcherius Carnotensis. 7. Guibertus. 8. Willielmus Tyriensis. Muratori has

So familiar, and, as it were, so natural to man, is the practice of violence, that our indulgence allows the slightest provocation, the most disputable right, as a sufficient ground of national hostility. But the name and nature of a *holy war* demands a more rigorous scrutiny; nor can we hastily believe that the servants of the Prince of Peace would unsheathe the sword of destruction, unless the motive were pure, the quarrel legitimate, and the necessity inevitable. The policy of an action may be determined from the tardy lessons of experience; but, before we act, our conscience should be satisfied of the justice and propriety of our enterprise. In the age of the crusades, the Christians, both of the East and West, were persuaded of their lawfulness and merit: their arguments are clouded by the perpetual abuse of Scripture and rhetoric; but they seem to insist on the right of natural and religious defence, their peculiar title to the Holy Land, and the impiety of their Pagan and Mahometan foes.* I. The right of a just defence may fairly include our civil and spiritual allies; it depends on the existence of danger; and that danger must be estimated by the twofold consideration of the malice and the power of our enemies. A pernicious tenet has been imputed to the Mahometans, the duty of *extirpating* all other religions by the sword. This charge of ignorance and bigotry is refuted by the Koran, by the history of the Mussulman conquerors, and by their public and legal toleration of the Christian worship. But it cannot be denied, that the Oriental

given us, 9. Radolphus Cadomensis de Gestis Tancredi (Script. Rer. Ital. tom. v. p. 285—333), and, 10. Bernardus Thesaurarius de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ (tom. vii. p. 664—848). The last of these was unknown to a late French historian, who has given a large and critical list of the writers of the crusades (Esprit des Croisades, tom. i. p. 13—141), and most of whose judgments my own experience will allow me to ratify. It was late before I could obtain a sight of the French historians, collected by Duchesne. 1. Petri Tudebodi Sacerdotis Sivracensis Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere (tom. iv. p. 773—815), has been transfused into the first anonymous writer of Bongarsius. 2. The Metrical History of the First Crusade, in seven books (p. 890—912), is of small value or account. * If the reader will turn to the first scene of the first part of Henry the Fourth, he will see in the text of Shakspeare the natural feelings of enthusiasm; and in the notes of Dr. Johnson, the workings of a bigoted, though vigorous mind, greedy of every pretence to hate and persecute those who dissent from his creed.

churches are depressed under their iron yoke ; that in peace and war, they assert a divine and indefeasible claim of universal empire ; and that, in their orthodox creed, the unbelieving nations are continually threatened with the loss of religion or liberty. In the eleventh century, the victorious arms of the Turks presented a real and urgent apprehension of these losses. They had subdued, in less than thirty years, the kingdoms of Asia, as far as Jerusalem and the Hellespont ; and the Greek empire tottered on the verge of destruction. Besides an honest sympathy for their brethren, the Latins had a right and interest in the support of Constantinople, the most important barrier of the West ; and the privilege of defence must reach to prevent, as well as to repel, an impending assault. But this salutary purpose might have been accomplished by a moderate succour ; and our calmer reason must disclaim the innumerable hosts and remote operations, which overwhelmed Asia and depopulated Europe. II. Palestine could add nothing to the strength or safety of the Latins ; and fanaticism alone could pretend to justify the conquest of that distant and narrow province. The Christians affirmed that their inalienable title to the promised land had been sealed by the blood of their divine Saviour ; it was their right and duty to rescue their inheritance from the unjust possessors, who profaned his sepulchre, and oppressed the pilgrimage of his disciples. Vainly would it be alleged that the pre-eminence of Jerusalem, and the sanctity of Palestine, have been abolished with the Mosaic law ; that the God of the Christians is not a local deity, and that the recovery of Bethlem or Calvary, his cradle or his tomb, will not atone for the violation of the moral precepts of the gospel. Such arguments glance aside from the leaden shield of superstition ; and the religious mind will not easily relinquish its hold on the sacred ground of mystery and miracle. III. But the holy wars which have been waged in every climate of the globe, from Egypt to Livonia, and from Peru to Hindostan, require the support of some more general and flexible tenet. It has been often supposed, and sometimes affirmed, that a difference of religion is a worthy cause of hostility ; that obstinate unbelievers may be slain or subdued by the champions of the cross ; and that grace is the sole fountain of dominion as well as of mercy. Above four hundred years

before the first crusade, the Eastern and Western provinces of the Roman empire had been acquired about the same time, and in the same manner, by the Barbarians of Germany and Arabia. Time and treaties had legitimated the conquests of the *Christian* Franks; but in the eyes of their subjects and neighbours, the Mahometan princes were still tyrants and usurpers, who, by the arms of war or rebellion, might be lawfully driven from their unlawful possession.*

As the manners of the Christians were relaxed, their discipline of penance† was enforced; and with the multiplication of sins, the remedies were multiplied. In the primitive church, a voluntary and open confession prepared the work of atonement. In the middle ages, the bishops and priests interrogated the criminal, compelled him to account for his thoughts, words, and actions, and prescribed the terms of his reconciliation with God. But as this discretionary power might alternately be abused by indulgence and tyranny, a rule of discipline was framed, to inform and regulate the spiritual judges. This mode of legislation was invented by the Greeks; their *penitentials*‡ were translated, or imitated, in the Latin church; and in the time of Charlemagne, the clergy of every diocese were provided with a code, which they prudently concealed from the knowledge of the vulgar. In this dangerous estimate of crimes and punishments, each case was supposed, each difference was remarked, by the experience or penetration of the monks; some sins are enumerated which innocence could not have suspected, and others which reason cannot believe; and the more ordinary offences of fornication and adultery, of perjury and sacrilege, of rapine and murder, were expiated by a penance, which, according to the various circumstances,

* The sixth discourse of Fleury on ecclesiastical history (p. 223 – 261), contains an accurate and rational view of the causes and effects of the crusades.

† The penance, indulgences, &c. of the middle ages, are amply discussed by Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italicæ mediæ ævi*, tom. v. dissert. 68, p. 709–768), and by M. Chais (*Lettres sur les Jubilés et les Indulgences*, tom. ii. lettres 21 and 22, p. 478–556), with this difference, that the abuses of superstition are mildly, perhaps faintly, exposed by the learned Italian, and peevishly magnified by the Dutch minister.

‡ Schmidt (*Histoire des Allemands*, tom. ii. p. 211–220. 452–462) gives an abstract of the *Penitential* of Regino in the ninth, and of Burchard in the tenth,

was prolonged from forty days to seven years. During this term of mortification, the patient was healed, the criminal was absolved, by a salutary regimen of fasts and prayers; the disorder of his dress was expressive of grief and remorse; and he humbly abstained from all the business and pleasure of social life. But the rigid execution of these laws would have depopulated the palace, the camp, and the city; the Barbarians of the West believed and trembled; but nature often rebelled against principle; and the magistrate laboured without effect to enforce the jurisdiction of the priest. A literal accomplishment of penance was indeed impracticable; the guilt of adultery was multiplied by daily repetition; that of homicide might involve the massacre of a whole people; each act was separately numbered; and, in those times of anarchy and vice, a modest sinner might easily incur a debt of three hundred years. His insolvency was relieved by a commutation, or *indulgence*: a year of penance was appreciated at twenty-six *solidi** of silver, about four pounds sterling, for the rich; at three *solidi*, or nine shillings, for the indigent; and these alms were soon appropriated to the use of the church, which derived, from the redemption of sins, an inexhaustible source of opulence and dominion. A debt of three hundred years, or twelve hundred pounds, was enough to impoverish a plentiful fortune; the scarcity of gold and silver was supplied by the alienation of land; and the princely donations of Pepin and Charlemagne are expressly given for the *remedy* of their soul. It is a maxim of the civil law, that whosoever cannot pay with his purse, must pay with his body; and the practice of flagellation was adopted by the monks, a cheap, though painful equivalent. By a fantastic arithmetic, a year of penance was taxed at three thousand lashes;† and such was the skill and patience of a famous hermit, St. Dominic of the iron cuirass,‡ that in six days he could discharge an entire cen-

century. In one year, five-and-thirty murders were perpetrated at Worms.

* Till the twelfth century, we may support the clear account of twelve *denarii*, or pence, to the *solidus*, or shilling; and twenty *solidi* to the pound weight of silver, about the pound sterling. Our money is diminished to a third, and the French to a fiftieth, of this primitive standard.

† Each century of lashes was sanctified with the recital of a psalm; and the whole psalter, with the accompaniment of fifteen thousand stripes, was equivalent to five years.

‡ The Life and Achievements

tury, by a whipping of three hundred thousand stripes. His example was followed by many penitents of both sexes; and as a vicarious sacrifice was accepted, a sturdy disciplinarian might expiate on his own back the sins of his benefactors.* These compensations of the purse and the person introduced, in the eleventh century, a more honourable mode of satisfaction. The merit of military service against the Saracens of Africa and Spain had been allowed by the predecessors of Urban the Second. In the council of Clermont, that pope proclaimed a *plenary indulgence* to those who should enlist under the banner of the cross; the absolution of *all* their sins, and a full receipt for *all* that might be due of canonical penance.† The cold philosophy of modern times is incapable of feeling the impression that was made on a sinful and fanatic world. At the voice of their pastor, the robber, the incendiary, the homicide, arose by thousands to redeem their souls, by repeating on the infidels the same deeds which they had exercised against their Christian brethren; and the terms of atonement were eagerly embraced by offenders of every rank and denomination. None were pure; none were exempt from the guilt and penalty of sin; and those who were the least amenable to the justice of God and the church, were the best entitled to the temporal and eternal recompense of their

of St. Dominic Loricatus was composed by his friend and admirer, Peter Damianus. See Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 96—104. Baronius, A.D. 1056, No. 7, who observes from Damianus, how fashionable, even among ladies of quality (*sublimis generis*), this expiation (*purgatorii genus*) was grown. [The Flagellants, whose history is very curious, originated in Italy and spread through neighbouring countries. A party of one hundred and twenty reached London in the reign of Edward III., and exhibited their fooleries for some time in public, exciting the pity of our citizens, but made no proselytes. Stowe's Annals, p. 246. Boileau's History of the Flagellants.—Ed.]

* At a quarter, or even half a rial a lash, Sancho Panza was a cheaper, and possibly not a more dishonest, workman. I remember in Père Labat (*Voyages en Italie*, tom. vii. p. 16—29), a very lively picture of the *dexterity* of one of these artists.

† Quicumque pro solâ devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adaptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni penitentia reputetur. Canon. Concil. Claromont. 2. p. 829. Guibert styles it *novum salutis genus* (p. 471), and is almost philosophical on the subject.

pious courage. If they fell, the spirit of the Latin clergy did not hesitate to adorn their tomb with the crown of martyrdom;* and should they survive, they could expect without impatience the delay and increase of their heavenly reward. They offered their blood to the Son of God, who had laid down his life for their salvation; they took up the cross, and entered with confidence into the way of the Lord. His providence would watch over their safety; perhaps his visible and miraculous power would smooth the difficulties of their holy enterprise. The cloud and pillar of Jehovah had marched before the Israelites into the promised land. Might not the Christians more reasonably hope that the rivers would open for their passage; that the walls of the strongest cities would fall at the sound of their trumpets; and that the sun would be arrested in his mid-career, to allow them time for the destruction of the infidels?

Of the chiefs and soldiers who marched to the holy sepulchre, I will dare to affirm, that *all* were prompted by the spirit of enthusiasm; the belief of merit, the hope of reward, and the assurance of divine aid. But I am equally persuaded, that in *many* it was not the sole, that in *some* it was not the leading, principle of action. The use and abuse of religion are feeble to stem, they are strong and irresistible to impel, the stream of national manners. Against the private wars of the Barbarians, their bloody tournaments, licentious loves, and judicial duels, the popes and synods might ineffectually thunder. It is a more easy task to provoke the metaphysical disputes of the Greeks, to drive into the cloister the victims of anarchy or despotism, to sanctify the patience of slaves and cowards, or to assume the merit of the humanity and benevolence of modern Christians. War and exercise were the reigning passions of the Franks or Latins; they were enjoined, as a penance, to gratify those passions, to visit distant lands, and to draw their swords against the nations of the East. Their victory, or even their attempt, would immortalize the names of the intrepid heroes of the cross; and the purest piety could not

* Such at least was the belief of the crusaders, and such is the uniform style of the historians (*Esprit des Croisades*, tom. iii. p. 477); but the prayers for the repose of their souls is inconsistent in orthodox theology with the merits of martyrdom.

be insensible to the most splendid prospect of military glory. In the petty quarrels of Europe they shed the blood of their friends and countrymen, for the acquisition perhaps of a castle or a village. They could march with alacrity against the distant and hostile nations who were devoted to their arms; their fancy already grasped the golden sceptres of Asia; and the conquest of Apulia and Sicily by the Normans might exalt to royalty the hopes of the most private adventurer. Christendom, in her rudest state, must have yielded to the climate and cultivation of the Mahometan countries; and their natural and artificial wealth had been magnified by the tales of pilgrims, and the gifts of an imperfect commerce. The vulgar, both the great and small, were taught to believe every wonder, of lands flowing with milk and honey, of mines and treasures, of gold and diamonds, of palaces of marble and jasper, and of odoriferous groves of cinnamon and frankincense. In this earthly paradise, each warrior depended on his sword to carve a plenteous and honourable establishment, which he measured only by the extent of his wishes.* Their vassals and soldiers trusted their fortunes to God and their master; the spoils of a Turkish emir might enrich the meanest follower of the camp; and the flavour of the wines, the beauty of the Grecian women,† were temptations more adapted to the nature, than to the profession, of the champions of the cross. The love of freedom was a powerful incitement to the multitudes who were oppressed by feudal or ecclesiastical tyranny. Under this holy sign, the peasants and burghers, who were attached to the servitude of the glebe, might escape from a haughty lord, and transplant themselves and their families to a land of liberty. The monk might release himself from the discipline of his convent: the debtor might suspend the accumulation of usury, and the pursuit of his creditors; and outlaws

* The same hopes were displayed in the letters of the adventurers *ad animandos qui in Francia residerent*. Hugh de Reiteste could boast, that his share amounted to one abbey and ten castles, of the yearly value of one thousand five hundred marks, and that he should acquire a hundred castles by the conquest of Aleppo. (Guibert, p. 554, 555.)

† In his genuine or fictitious letter to the count of Flanders, Alexius mingles with the danger of the church, and the relics of saints, the *auri et argenti amor*, and *pulcherrimarum foeminarum voluptas* (p. 476); as if, says the indignant Guibert, the Greek women were handsomer than those of France.

and malefactors of every cast might continue to brave the laws and elude the punishment of their crimes.*

These motives were potent and numerous; when we have singly computed their weight on the mind of each individual, we must add the infinite series, the multiplying powers, of example and fashion. The first proselytes became the warmest and most effectual missionaries of the cross; among their friends and countrymen they preached the duty, the merit, and the recompense of their holy vow; and the most reluctant hearers were insensibly drawn within the whirlpool of persuasion and authority. The martial youths were fired by the reproach or suspicion of cowardice; the opportunity of visiting with an army the sepulchre of Christ, was embraced by the old and infirm, by women and children, who consulted rather their zeal than their strength; and those who in the evening had derided the folly of their companions, were the most eager, the ensuing day, to tread in their footsteps. The ignorance which magnified the hopes, diminished the perils, of the enterprise. Since the Turkish conquest, the paths of pilgrimage were obliterated; the chiefs themselves had an imperfect notion of the length of the way and the state of their enemies; and such was the stupidity of the people, that, at the sight of the first city or castle beyond the limits of their knowledge, they were ready to ask whether that was not the Jerusalem, the term and object of their labours. Yet the more prudent of the crusaders, who were not sure that they should be fed from heaven with a shower of quails or manna, provided themselves with those precious metals, which, in every country, are the representatives of every commodity. To defray, according to their rank, the expenses of the road, princes alienated their provinces, nobles their lands and castles, peasants their cattle and the instruments of husbandry. The value of property was depreciated by the eager competition of multitudes; while the price of

* See the privileges of the *Crucesignati*, freedom from debt, usury, injury, secular justice, &c. The pope was their perpetual guardian. (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 651, 652.) [All the tempting inducements which swelled the ranks of the crusaders, prove that this was no spontaneous movement; and attest equally Urban's earnest desire to weaken the States of Europe, by turning their population adrift in Asia. Whether the thronging zealots perished or conquered, mattered not; his end would in either case be accomplished; at the same time he established precedents for new extensions of papal power, and disclosed the source

arms and horses was raised to an exorbitant height, by the wants and impatience of the buyers.* Those who remained at home, with sense and money, were enriched by the epidemical disease; the sovereigns acquired at a cheap rate the domains of their vassals; and the ecclesiastical purchasers completed the payment by the assurance of their prayers. The cross, which was commonly sewed on the garment, in cloth or silk, was inscribed by some zealots on their skin; a hot iron, or indelible liquor, was applied to perpetuate the mark; and a crafty monk, who shewed the miraculous impression on his breast, was repaid with the popular veneration, and the richest benefices of Palestine.†

The 15th of August had been fixed in the council of Clermont for the departure of the pilgrims; but the day was anticipated by the thoughtless and needy crowd of plebeians; and I shall briefly dispatch the calamities which they inflicted and suffered, before I enter on the more serious and successful enterprise of the chiefs. Early in the spring, from the confines of France and Lorraine, above sixty thousand of the populace of both sexes flocked round the first missionary of the crusade, and pressed him with clamorous importunity to lead them to the holy sepulchre.‡ The

of wealth, which was afterwards improved by the sale of indulgences.—ED.]

* Guibert (p. 481) paints in lively colours this general emotion. He was one of the few contemporaries who had genius enough to feel the astonishing scenes that were passing before their eyes. *Erat itaque videre miraculum caro omnes emere, atque vili vendere, &c.*

† Some instances of these *stigmata* are given in the *Esprit des Croisades* (tom. iii. p. 169, &c.) from authors whom I have not seen. [Wilken (i. 59) cites, from Guibert Abbas, the instance of an abbot, who, having branded on his forehead the sign of the cross, pretended that it was stamped there by an angel. The credulous world believed, worshipped, and enriched the saint.—ED.]

‡ [Urban understood the excitable character of his countrymen, and sagaciously directed his first machinations, as we have seen, against them, trusting that their example would operate to the same end in other lands. His plan was well conceived, and succeeded, perhaps, beyond his expectations. Wilken says (l. p. 74), "France exhibited through the whole of that winter a singular spectacle. Warlike preparations and martial trainings were seen everywhere; and the highways were crowded with armed men hastening to join the leader under whom they were to fight for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre." The Spaniards (*Ib.* p. 65), were too much engaged at home in extricating themselves from the dominion of the Moors, to take any part in distant expeditions. In Germany, both prince and people were

hermit, assuming the character, without the talents or authority, of a general, impelled or obeyed the forward impulse of his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate, and his lieutenant, Walter the Pennyless, a valiant though needy soldier, conducted a vanguard of pilgrims, whose condition may be determined from the proportion of eight horsemen to fifteen thousand foot.* The example and footsteps of Peter were closely pursued by another fanatic, the monk Godescal, whose sermons had swept away fifteen or twenty thousand peasants from the villages of Germany. Their rear was again pressed by a herd of two hundred thousand, the most stupid and savage refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution, and drunkenness. Some counts and gentlemen, at the head of three thousand

indisposed to concur in the projects of that power against which they had long been striving; instinctively they hung back from being accessories to their own undoing. To conquer their reluctance, other means were applied; more miracles were wrought, and more wonders heard of, in Germany, than in any other part of Europe. (Ib. p. 64. 76).—Ed.]

* [This was an addition to Peter's host, brought by Walter de Pexejo, whose nephew, Walter the Pennyless, is confounded with him by most writers. Their patience was worn out by the hermit's frequent stoppages to preach and recruit; and they separated from him at Cologne. This first division passed safely through Germany and Hungary, but was roughly treated, and almost dispersed, by the Bulgarians. De Pexejo died among that people, and his nephew, collecting the remnant of his forces, made his way to Constantinople. Being the first to arrive there, and his numbers not formidable, he was cordially welcomed by Alexius. Peter, who had mustered 40,000 men, followed and nearly reached the eastern confines of Hungary without meeting any impediment. At Semlin, sixteen stragglers of the first division had been seized by the inhabitants. The men themselves escaped, and rejoined Walter, but they had been stripped of all, even of their clothes, which were suspended on poles along the ramparts, as trophies or as warnings. Peter's followers believing them to be impaled bodies of their brethren, stormed the place to avenge their supposed fate. This was the prelude to a series of disasters, in the course of which, the undisciplined troops were slaughtered or scattered in all directions, and lost all their stores and baggage-wagons. Ten thousand of the original number were thus destroyed. After some days, the remaining 30,000 were again collected. These joined Walter the Pennyless at Constantinople, and the united forces having crossed the Bosphorus, encamped at Kibotus near Helenopolis. This was the opening of the crusades as

horse, attended the motions of the multitude to partake in the spoil; but their genuine leaders (may we credit such folly?) were a goose and a goat, who were carried in the front, and to whom these worthy Christians ascribed an infusion of the divine Spirit.* Of these, and of other bands of enthusiasts, the first and most easy warfare was against the Jews, the murderers of the Son of God. In the trading cities of the Moselle and the Rhine their colonies were numerous and rich; and they enjoyed, under the protection of the emperor and the bishops, the free exercise of their religion.† At Verdun, Treves, Mentz, Spire, Worms, many thousands

related by Wilken (l. p. 78—89), and for which he cites the original authorities.—ED.]

* *Fuit et aliud scelus detestabile in hac congregatione pedestris populi stulti et vesanæ levitatis, anserem quendam divino spiritu asserebant afflatum, et capellam non minus eodem repletam, et has sibi duces secundæ viæ fecerant, &c.* (Albert. Aquensis, l. 1, c. 31, p. 196.) Had these peasants founded an empire, they might have introduced, as in Egypt, the worship of animals, which their philosophic descendants would have glossed over with some specious and subtle allegory. [Gibbon has not clearly distinguished the four bodies of crusaders, who did not proceed together or act in concert. The fortunes of the two first are seen in the last note. The third, consisting of about 15,000 horse and foot, was led by Gottschalk, a priest from the Rhine country, and completely annihilated by the Hungarians at Merseburg. The fourth was the horde of 200,000 lawless savages on foot, the very lowest and most brutal of the commonalty, and 3000 horsemen, the most depraved and licentious of a higher order. They had no regular leader; but the chief man among them was William the Carpenter, a so-called knight from the banks of the Seine, who had obtained his means of outfit by plundering his neighbours. These were the stupid fanatics, at whose head were borne the goose and goat, an absurdity unworthy of notice, but which has strangely been supposed to indicate the prevalence of Paulician doctrines among the multitude, as if such ignorant savages could have had any knowledge of "Egyptian symbols or Manichee standards." These too were the rapacious robbers and murderers of the unfortunate Jews. Pillage and violence marked their course through Germany. When they reached Hungary, they were encountered by the king and a numerous army, who denied them a passage. Endeavouring to force their way, they were either put to the sword or drowned in the neighbourhood of Merseburg. Some who escaped, returned to their homes, and others joined the forces that were assembling in Italy. (Wilken, l. p. 94—100.)—ED.]

† Benjamin of Tudela describes the state of his Jewish brethren from Cologne along the Rhine: they were rich, generous, learned, hospitable, and lived in the eager hope of the Messiah. (Voyage, tom. i. p. 243—245, par Baratier.) In seventy years (he wrote about A.D. 1170) they had recovered from these

of that unhappy people were pillaged and massacred;* nor had they felt a more bloody stroke since the persecution of Hadrian. A remnant was saved by the firmness of their bishops, who accepted a feigned and transient conversion; but the more obstinate Jews opposed their fanaticism to the fanaticism of the Christians, barricaded their houses, and precipitating themselves, their families, and their wealth, into the rivers or the flames, disappointed the malice, or at least the avarice, of their implacable foes.

Between the frontiers of Austria and the seat of the Byzantine monarchy, the crusaders were compelled to traverse an interval of six hundred miles; the wild and desolate countries of Hungary† and Bulgaria. The soil is fruitful, and intersected with rivers; but it was then covered with morasses and forests, which spread to a boundless extent, whenever man has ceased to exercise his dominion over the earth. Both nations had imbibed the rudiments of Christianity; the Hungarians were ruled by their native princes; the Bulgarians by a lieutenant of the Greek emperor; but, on the slightest provocation, their ferocious nature was rekindled, and ample provocation was afforded by the disorders of the first pilgrims. Agriculture must have been unskilful and languid among a people, whose cities were built of reeds and timber, which were deserted in the summer season for the tents of hunters and shepherds. A scanty supply of provisions was rudely demanded, forcibly seized, and greedily consumed; and on the first quarrel, the crusaders gave a loose to indignation and revenge. But their ignorance of the country, of war, and of discipline, exposed them to every snare. The Greek prefect of Bulgaria commanded a regular force; at the trumpet of the Hungarian king, the eighth or the tenth of his martial subjects bent their bows and mounted on horseback; their policy was insidious, and their retaliation on these pious robbers was unrelenting and bloody.‡ About a third of the naked fugi-

massacres.

* These massacres and depredations on the Jews, which were renewed at each crusade, are *coolly* related. It is true, that St. Bernard (epist. 363, tom. i. p. 329) admonishes the Oriental Franks, non sunt persequendi Judæi, non sunt trucidandi. The contrary doctrine had been preached by a *rival* monk.

† See the contemporary description of Hungary in Otho of Frisingen, l. 2, c. 31, in Muratori, *Scrip. Rerum Italicarum*, tom. vi. p. 665, 666.

‡ The old Hungarians, without excepting Turotzius, are ill-informed

tives, and the hermit Peter was of the number, escaped to the Thracian mountains; and the emperor, who respected the pilgrimage and succour of the Latins, conducted them by secure and easy journeys to Constantinople, and advised them to await the arrival of their brethren. For awhile they remembered their faults and losses; but no sooner were they revived by the hospitable entertainment, than their venom was again inflamed; they stung their benefactor, and neither gardens, nor palaces, nor churches, were safe from their depredations. For his own safety, Alexius allured them to pass over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; but their blind impetuosity soon urged them to desert the station which he had assigned, and to rush headlong against the Turks who occupied the road of Jerusalem. The hermit, conscious of his shame, had withdrawn from the camp to Constantinople; and his lieutenant, Walter the Penniless, who was worthy of a better command, attempted without success to introduce some order and prudence among the herd of savages. They separated in quest of prey, and themselves fell an easy prey to the arts of the sultan. By a rumour that their foremost companions were rioting in the spoils of his capital, Soliman tempted the main body to descend into the plain of Nice; they were overwhelmed by the Turkish arrows; and a pyramid of bones* informed their

of the first crusade, which they involve in a single passage. Katona, like ourselves, can only quote the writers of France; but he compares, with local science, the ancient and modern geography. *Ante portam Cyperon*, is Supron or Posen; *Malevilla*, Zemlin; *Fluvius Maroe*, Savus; *Lintax*, the Laytha; *Mesebroch*, or *Merseburg*, Ouar or Moson; *Tollenburg*, Praag (de Regibus, Hungariæ, tom. iii. p. 19—58).

* Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. 10, p. 287), describes this *ὄρη* *κολωνός* as a mountain *ὄψηλόν καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ἀξιολογώτατον*. In the siege of Nice, such were used by the Franks themselves as the materials of a wall. [These were the survivors of the two first divisions. But the sultan, by whom they were destroyed, was not Soliman. He had fallen in battle eleven years before, and had been succeeded by his son, Kilidsch Arslan. (Wilken, i. p. 90. 139, and Appendix 8.) The four bodies of crusaders, whose deplorable adventures we have been perusing, comprised 273,000 men, of whom few, except Peter the Hermit, lived to join the martial bands that followed. Is it possible that those who gave the first impulse to the movement, did not foresee the inevitable doom of this promiscuous and infatuated rabble? To suppose them blind to the consequences, is to deny them common sense. They could, too, have stopped the impetuous current; but they let it take its course. Is it malignant or unjust to accuse

companions of the place of their defeat. Of the first crusaders, three hundred thousand had already perished, before a single city was rescued from the infidels, before their graver and more noble brethren had completed the preparations of their enterprise.*

None of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked their persons in the first crusade. The emperor Henry the Fourth was not disposed to obey the summons of the pope; Philip the First of France was occupied by his pleasures; William Rufus of England by a recent conquest; the kings of Spain were engaged in a domestic war against the Moors; and the northern monarchs of Scotland, Denmark,† Sweden, and Poland, were yet strangers to the passions and interests of the south. The religious ardour was more strongly felt by the princes of the second order, who held an important place in the feudal system. Their situation will naturally cast under four distinct heads the review of their names and characters; but I may escape some needless repetition, by observing at once, that courage and the exercise of arms are the common attribute of these Christian adventurers.—I. The first rank both in war and council is justly due to Godfrey of Bouillon; and happy would it have been for the crusaders, if they had trusted themselves to the sole conduct of that accomplished hero, a worthy representative of Charlemagne, from whom he was descended in the female line. His father was of the noble race of the counts of Boulogne: Brabant, the lower province of Lorraine,‡ was the inheritance of his mother; and by the

them of thus rolling away into the jaws of perdition the living materials out of which armies might have been formed, or industrious artisans trained, to obstruct the pontifical road to greatness? Wilken (p. 101) reckons the slain to have been half a million; but his own numbers do not bear out such a computation.—Ed.]

* For note, see following page.

† The author of the *Esprit des Croisades* has doubted, and might have disbelieved, the crusade and tragic death of prince Sueno, with fifteen hundred or fifteen thousand Danes, who was cut off by sultan Soliman in Cappadocia, but who still lives in the poem of Tasso (tom. iv. p. 111—115).

‡ The fragments of the kingdoms of Lotharingia, or Lorraine, were broken into the two duchies of the Moselle, and of the Meuse: the first has preserved its name, which in the latter has been changed into that of Brabant. (Vales. *Notit. Gall.* p. 283—288.)

* To save time and space, I shall represent, in a short table, the particular references to the great events of the first crusade.

	The Crowd.	The Chiefs.	The Road to Constantinople.	Alexius.	Nice and Asia Minor.	Edessa.	Antioch.	The Battle.	The Holy Lance.	Conquest of Jerusalem.
I. Gesta Francorum	p. 1. 2.	p. 2.	p. 2, 8.	p. 4, 5.	p. 5-7.	—	p. 9-15.	p. 15-22.	p. 18-20.	p. 26-29.
II. Robertus Monachus	p. 33, 34.	p. 35, 36.	p. 36, 37.	p. 37, 38.	p. 39-45.	—	p. 45-55.	p. 56-66.	p. 61, 62.	p. 74-81.
III. Baldricus	p. 89.	—	p. 91-93.	p. 91-94.	p. 94-101.	—	p. 101, 111.	p. 111-123.	p. 116-119.	p. 130-138.
IV. Raimundus de Agiles	—	—	p. 139, 140.	p. 140, 141.	p. 149.	—	p. 149-149.	p. 149-155.	{ p. 150. 152, 156. }	p. 173-183.
V. Albertus Aquensis	l. 1. c. 7-31.	—	l. 2. c. 1-8.	{ l. 2. c. 9-19. }	{ l. 2. c. 20-48. l. 3, c. 1-4. }	{ l. 3, c. 5-32. l. 4, 9, 12. l. 5, 16-22. }	{ l. 3, c. 33 -66. 4. }	{ l. 4. c. 7-56. }	{ l. 4. c. 43. 1. 4. c. 43. }	{ l. 5. c. 45, 46. l. 6. c. 1, 50. }
VI. Fulcherius Carnotensis	p. 384.	—	p. 385, 386.	p. 386.	p. 387-389.	p. 389, 390.	p. 390-393.	p. 392-395.	p. 392.	p. 396-400.
VII. Guilbertus	p. 483, 485.	—	p. 485, 489.	p. 485-490.	{ p. 491-493. 498. }	p. 496, 497.	{ p. 498. 506, 512. }	p. 512-523.	{ p. 520. 530, 53. }	p. 523-537.
VIII. Willermus Tyrensis	l. 1. c. 18-30.	l. 1. c. 17.	{ l. 2. c. 1-4 18, 17, 22. }	l. 2. c. 5-23.	{ l. 3. c. 1-12. l. 4. c. 13-25. }	l. 4. c. 1-6.	{ l. 4. 9, 24. l. 5, 1, 23. }	l. 6. c. 1-23.	l. 6. c. 1, 6. c. 14.	{ l. 7. c. 1-25. l. 8. c. 1-24. }
IX. Radulphus Cadomensis	—	c. 1-3, 15.	c. 4-7, 17.	{ c. 8-13 18, 19. }	{ c. 14-16. 21-47. }	—	c. 48-71.	c. 72-91.	c. 100-109.	c. 111-138.
X. Bernardus Thesaurarius	c. 7-11.	—	c. 11-20.	c. 11-20.	c. 21-25.	c. 24.	c. 27-38.	c. 39-52.	c. 45.	c. 54-77.

emperor's bounty, he was himself invested with that ducal title, which has been improperly transferred to his lordship of Bouillon in the Ardennes.* In the service of Henry the Fourth, he bore the great standard of the empire, and pierced with his lance the breast of Rodolph the rebel king; Godfrey was the first who ascended the walls of Rome; and his sickness, his vow, perhaps his remorse for bearing arms against the pope, confirmed an early resolution of visiting the holy sepulchre, not as a pilgrim, but a deliverer. His valour was matured by prudence and moderation; his piety, though blind, was sincere; and, in the tumult of a camp, he practised the real and fictitious virtues of a convent. Superior to the private factions of the chiefs, he reserved his enmity for the enemies of Christ; and though he gained a kingdom by the attempt, his pure and disinterested zeal was acknowledged by his rivals. Godfrey of Bouillon † was accompanied by his two brothers, by Eustace the elder, who had succeeded to the county of Boulogne, and by the younger, Baldwin, a character of more ambiguous virtue. The duke of Lorraine was alike celebrated on either side of the Rhine; from his birth and education he was equally conversant with the French and Teutonic languages; the barons of France, Germany, and Lorraine, assembled their vassals; and the confederate force that marched under his banner was composed of fourscore thousand foot, and about ten thousand horse. II. In the parliament that was held at Paris, in the king's presence, about two months after the council of Clermont, Hugh count of Vermandois was the most conspicuous of the princes who assumed the cross. But the appellation of

* See, in the description of France, by the Abbé de Longuerue, the articles of *Boulogne*, part 1, p. 54. *Brabant*, part 2, p. 47, 48. *Bouillon*, p. 134. On his departure, Godfrey sold or pawned Bouillon to the church for thirteen hundred marks.

† See the family character of Godfrey, in William of Tyre, l. 9, a. 5—8: his previous design in Guibert (p. 485), his sickness and vow, in Bernard, *Thesaur.* (c. 78). [From these writers, together with the *Chronicles of Albericus* and *Lambertus Schafnaburgensis de Rebus Gestis Germanorum*, Wilken has collected more particulars respecting Godfrey, and anecdotes which prove his intrepid courage, his skill in the use of arms, his high sense of honour, and the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries (i. p. 66—70). He appears to have been the most sincere of all the crusaders.—Ed.]

the great was applied, not so much to his merit or possessions (though neither were contemptible), as to the royal birth of the brother of the king of France.* Robert duke of Normandy was the eldest son of William the Conqueror; but on his father's death he was deprived of the kingdom of England by his own indolence and the activity of his brother Rufus. The worth of Robert was degraded by an excessive levity and easiness of temper; his cheerfulness seduced him to the indulgence of pleasure; his profuse liberality impoverished the prince and people; his indiscriminate clemency multiplied the number of offenders; and the amiable qualities of a private man became the essential defects of a sovereign. For the trifling sum of ten thousand marks he mortgaged Normandy during his absence to the English usurper;† but his engagement and behaviour in the holy war, announced in Robert a reformation of manners, and restored him in some degree to the public esteem. Another Robert was count of Flanders, a royal province, which, in this century, gave three queens to the thrones of France, England, and Denmark; he was surnamed the Sword and Lance of the Christians; but in the exploits of a soldier, he sometimes forgot the duties of a general. Stephen, count of Chartres, of Blois, and of Troyes, was one of the richest princes of the age; and the number of his castles has been compared to the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year. His mind was improved by literature; and in the council of the chiefs, the eloquent Stephen‡ was chosen to discharge the office of their president. These four were the principal leaders of the French, the Normans, and the pilgrims of the British isles; but the list of the barons who were possessed of

* Anna Comnena supposes that Hugh was proud of his nobility, riches, and power (l. 10, p. 288): the two last articles appear more equivocal; but an *εὐγενεία*, which seven hundred years ago was famous in the palace of Constantinople, attests the ancient dignity of the Capetian family of France.

† Will. Gemeticensis, l. 7, c. 7, p. 672, 673, in Camden. Normanicia. He pawned the duchy for one-hundredth part of the present yearly revenue. Ten thousand marks may be equal to five hundred thousand livres, and Normandy annually yields fifty-seven millions to the king. (Necker, Administration des Finances, tom. i. p. 287.)

‡ His original letter to his wife is inserted in the Spicilegium of Dom Luc. d'Acheri, tom. iv. and quoted in the Esprit des Croisades, tom. i. p. 63.

three or four towns, would exceed, says a contemporary, the catalogue of the Trojan war.* III. In the south of France, the command was assumed by Adhemar, bishop of Puy, the pope's legate, and by Raymond, count of St. Giles and Thoulouse, who added the prouder titles of duke of Narbonne and marquis of Provence. The former was a respectable prelate, alike qualified for this world and the next. The latter was a veteran warrior, who had fought against the Saracens of Spain, and who consecrated his declining age, not only to the deliverance, but to the perpetual service, of the holy sepulchre. His experience and riches gave him a strong ascendant in the Christian camp, whose distress he was often able, and sometimes willing, to relieve. But it was easier for him to extort the praise of the infidels, than to preserve the love of his subjects and associates. His eminent qualities were clouded by a temper, haughty, envious, and obstinate; and though he resigned an ample patrimony for the cause of God, his piety, in the public opinion, was not exempt from avarice and ambition.† A mercantile, rather than a martial spirit prevailed among his *provincials*,‡ a common name which included the natives of Auvergne and Languedoc,§ the vassals of the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. From the adjacent frontier of Spain, he drew a band of hardy adventurers; as he marched through Lombardy, a crowd of Italians flocked to his standard, and his united force consisted of one hundred thousand horse and foot. If Raymond was the first to enlist and the last to depart, the

* Unius enim, duum, trium seu quatuor oppidorum dominos quis numeret? quorum tanta fuit copia, ut non vix totidem Trojana obsidio coegisse putetur. (Ever the lively and interesting Guibert, p. 486.)

† It is singular enough that Raymond of St. Giles, a second character in the genuine history of the crusades, should shine as the first of heroes in the writings of the Greeks (Anna Comnen. Alexiad. l. 10, 11) and the Arabians (Longueruana, p. 129).

‡ Omnes de Burgundiâ, et Alverniâ, et Vasconiâ, et Gothi (of *Languedoc*), Provinciales appellabantur, cæteri vero Francigenæ et hoc in exercitu; inter hostes autem Franci dicebantur. Raymond de Agiles, p. 144.

§ The town of his birth, or first appanage, was consecrated to St. Ægidius, whose name, as early as the first crusade, was corrupted by the French into St. Gilles or St. Giles. It is situated in the Lower Languedoc, between Nîmes and the Rhone, and still boasts a collegiate church of the foundation of Raymond (Melanges tirés d'une Grande Bibliothèque, tom. xxxvii. p. 51.)

delay may be excused by the greatness of his preparation and the promise of an everlasting farewell. IV. The name of Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, was already famous by his double victory over the Greek emperor; but his father's will had reduced him to the principality of Tarentum, and the remembrance of his Eastern trophies, till he was awakened by the rumour and passage of the French pilgrims. It is in the person of this Norman chief that we may seek for the coolest policy and ambition, with a small alloy of religious fanaticism. His conduct may justify a belief that he had secretly directed the design of the pope, which he affected to second with astonishment and zeal; at the siege of Amalphi, his example and discourse inflamed the passions of a confederate army; he instantly tore his garment to supply crosses for the numerous candidates, and prepared to visit Constantinople and Asia at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Several princes of the Norman race accompanied this veteran general; and his cousin Tancred* was the partner, rather than the servant, of the war. In the accomplished character of Tancred, we discover all the virtues of a perfect knight,† the true spirit of chivalry, which

* The mother of Tancred was Emma, sister of the great Robert Guiscard; his father, the marquis Odo the Good. It is singular enough that the family and country of so illustrious a person should be unknown; but Muratori reasonably conjectures that he was an Italian, and perhaps of the race of the marquesses of Montferrat in Piedmont. (Script. tom. v. p. 281, 282.) [Apparently following the *Gesta Tancredi* of Radulfus Cadomensis, Wilken (p. 123, and again, p. 128) makes Tancred the nephew of Bohemond; yet he afterwards (p. 162) calls him the cousin (*Vetter*), which has, however, a somewhat indefinite meaning. Bohemond was the son of Robert Guiscard by his first wife Alberada, whom he divorced in 1058, to marry Sigelgaita, a Salernitan princess (Muratori, *Annal.* xiv. p. 214). It is scarcely possible, therefore, that Bohemond should have had a *nephew* in 1096, old enough for the post assigned to Tancred. Gibbon's more circumstantial details concur with the asserted partnership of command and equality of relationship. Some parts of Tancred's subsequent conduct do not sustain the high character which all writers give him. His eagerness to erect his own standard on the walls of conquered towns, his appropriation of territories, and his strife with Baldwin, do not show him so devoid of personal ambition as he is represented.—ED.]

† To gratify the childish vanity of the house of Este, Tasso has inserted in his poem, and in the first crusade, a fabulous hero, the brave and amorous Rinaldo (10. 75. 17. 66—94). He might borrow

inspired the generous sentiments and social offices of man, far better than the base philosophy, or the baser religion, of the times.

Between the age of Charlemagne and that of the crusades, a revolution had taken place among the Spaniards, the Normans, and the French, which was gradually extended to the rest of Europe. The service of the infantry was degraded to the plebeians; the cavalry formed the strength of the armies, and the honourable name *miles*, or soldier, was confined to the gentlemen* who served on horseback, and were invested with the character of knighthood. The dukes and counts, who had usurped the rights of sovereignty, divided the provinces among their faithful barons; the barons distributed among their vassals the fiefs or benefices of their jurisdiction; and these military tenants, the peers of each other and of their lord, composed the

his name from a Rinaldo, with the Aquila bianca Estense, who vanquished, as the standard-bearer of the Roman church, the emperor Frederic I. (*Storia Imperiale di Ricobaldo*, in Muratori, *Script. Ital.* tom. ix. p. 360. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, 3. 30.) But, 1. The distance of sixty years between the youth of the two Rinaldos, destroys their identity. 2. The *Storia Imperiale* is a forgery of the conte Boyardo, at the end of the fifteenth century. (Muratori, p. 281—289.) 3. This Rinaldo, and his exploits, are not less chimerical than the hero of Tasso. (Muratori, *Antichità Estense*, tom. i. p. 350.)

* Of the words, *gentilis*, *gentilhomme*, *gentleman*, two etymologies are produced: 1. From the Barbarians of the fifth century, the soldiers, and at length the conquerors of the Roman empire, who were vain of their foreign nobility; and, 2. From the sense of the civilians, who consider *gentilis* as synonymous with *ingenuus*. Selden inclines to the first, but the latter is more pure, as well as probable. [The derivatives of *gentilis* are found only in the Latin element of modern language; they were never adopted in the Gothic, and must, therefore, be taken only in their Latin sense. Our *people of family*, represent, perhaps, most nearly the ancient members of a *gens*. Though derived from the same root, *ingenuus* was not synonymous with *gentilis*. The former marked the *free-born*, the latter the *well-born*. Cicero's definition (*Topica*, 6. 29), shows that the one formed only a part of the idea expressed by the other. Their different significations may be collected also from his *Tusc. Quæst.* 1. 16. *De Claris Orat.* c. 28, and in Verrem, 1. 58; also from Aulus Gellius, 5. 19, from Pliny H. N. 7. 11 and 33, 3, and from Hor. *Sat.* 1. 6. Our term *gentle* denotes impressively the proper influence of education and station, in softening the manners of the *genteel*. The Roman law recognized the *Ingenui* (Hallifax's *Analysis*, p. 9. 113, edit. Geldart); the *Gentiles* could not be included in its provisions.—Ed.]

noble or equestrian order, which disdained to conceive the peasant or burgher as of the same species with themselves. The dignity of their birth was preserved by pure and equal alliances; their sons alone, who could produce four quarters or lines of ancestry, without spot or reproach, might legally pretend to the honour of knighthood; but a valiant plebeian was sometimes enriched and ennobled by the sword, and became the father of a new race. A single knight could impart, according to his judgment, the character which he received; and the warlike sovereigns of Europe derived more glory from this personal distinction, than from the lustre of their diadem. This ceremony, of which some traces may be found in Tacitus and the woods of Germany,* was in its origin simple and profane; the candidate, after some previous trial, was invested with his sword and spurs; and his cheek or shoulder was touched with a slight blow, as an emblem of the last affront which it was lawful for him to endure. But superstition mingled in every public and private action of life; in the holy wars, it sanctified the profession of arms; and the order of chivalry was assimilated in its rights and privileges to the sacred orders of priesthood. The bath and white garment of the novice were an indecent copy of the regeneration of baptism; his sword, which he offered on the altar, was blessed by the ministers of religion; his solemn reception was preceded by fasts and vigils; and he was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the archangel. He swore to accomplish the duties of his profession; and education, example, and the public opinion, were the inviolable guardians of his oath. As the champion of God and the ladies (I blush to unite such discordant names), he devoted himself to speak the truth; to maintain the right; to protect the distressed; to practise *courtesy*, a virtue less familiar to the ancients; to pursue the infidels; to despise the allurements of ease and safety; and to vindicate in every perilous adventure the honour of his character. The abuse of the same spirit provoked the illiterate knight to disdain the arts of industry and peace; to esteem himself the sole judge and avenger of his own injuries; and proudly to neglect the laws of civil society and military discipline. Yet the

* *Framea scutoque juvenem ornant.* Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 13.

benefits of this institution, to refine the temper of Barbarians, and to infuse some principles of faith, justice, and humanity, were strongly felt, and have been often observed. The asperity of national prejudice was softened; and the community of religion and arms spread a similar colour and generous emulation over the face of Christendom. Abroad, in enterprise and pilgrimage, at home in martial exercise, the warriors of every country were perpetually associated; and impartial taste must prefer a Gothic tournament to the Olympic games of classic antiquity.* Instead of the naked spectacles which corrupted the manners of the Greeks, and banished from the stadium the virgins and matrons, the pompous decoration of the lists was crowned with the presence of chaste and high-born beauty, from whose hands the conqueror received the prize of his dexterity and courage. The skill and strength that were exerted in wrestling and boxing bear a distant and doubtful relation to the merit of a soldier; but the tournaments, as they were invented in France, and eagerly adopted both in the East and West, presented a lively image of the business of the field. The single combats, the general skirmish, the defence of a pass or castle, were rehearsed as in actual service; and the contest, both in real and mimic war, was decided by the superior management of the horse and lance. The lance was the proper and peculiar weapon of the knight; his horse was of a large and heavy breed; but this charger, till he was roused by the approaching danger, was usually led by an attendant, and he quietly rode a pad or palfrey of a more easy pace. His helmet and sword, his greaves and buckler, it would be superfluous to describe; but I may remark, that at the period of the crusades, the armour was less ponderous than in later times; and that instead of a massy cuirass, his breast was defended by a hauberk or coat of mail. When their long lances were fixed in the rest, the warriors furiously spurred their horses against the foe; and the light cavalry of the Turks and

* The athletic exercises, particularly the *coestus* and *panoratiun*, were conderuned by Lycurgus, Philopœmen, and Galen, a lawgiver, a general, and a physician. Against their authority and reasons, the reader may weigh the apology of Lucian, in the character of Solon. See West on the Olympic Games, in his *Pindar*, vol. ii. p. 86—96. 245—248.

Arabs could seldom stand against the direct and impetuous weight of their charge. Each knight was attended to the field by his faithful squire, a youth of equal birth and similar hopes; he was followed by his archers and men at arms, and four, or five, or six soldiers, were computed as the furniture of a complete *lance*. In the expeditions to the neighbouring kingdoms or the Holy Land, the duties of the feudal tenure no longer subsisted; the voluntary service of the knights and their followers was either prompted by zeal or attachment, or purchased with rewards and promises; and the numbers of each squadron were measured by the power, the wealth, and the fame, of each independent chieftain. They were distinguished by his banner, his armorial coat, and his cry of war; and the most ancient families of Europe must seek in these achievements the origin and proof of their nobility. In this rapid portrait of chivalry, I have been urged to anticipate on the story of the crusades, at once an effect, and a cause, of this memorable institution.*

Such were the troops, and such the leaders, who assumed the cross for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. As soon as they were relieved by the absence of the plebeian multitude, they encouraged each other, by interviews and messages, to accomplish their vow, and hasten their departure. Their wives and sisters were desirous of partaking the danger and merit of the pilgrimage; their portable treasures were conveyed in bars of silver and gold; and the princes and barons were attended by their equipage of hounds and hawks to amuse their leisure and to supply their table. The difficulty of procuring subsistence for so many myriads of men and horses, engaged them to separate their forces; their choice or situation determined the road; and it was agreed to meet in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and from thence to begin their operations against the Turks. From the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, Godfrey of Bouillon followed the direct way of Germany,

* On the curious subjects of knighthood, knights' service, nobility, arms, cry of war, banners, and tournaments, an ample fund of information may be sought in Selden (*Opera*, tom. iii. part 1. Titles of Honour, part 2, c. 1. 3. 5. 8), Ducange (*Gloss. Latin.* tom. iv. p. 398—412, &c.), *Dissertations sur Joinville* (i. 6—12, p. 127—142, p. 165—222), and M. de St. Palaye (*Mémoires sur la Chevalerie*).

Hungary, and Bulgaria; and, as long as he exercised the sole command, every step afforded some proof of his prudence and virtue. On the confines of Hungary he was stopped three weeks by a Christian people, to whom the name, or at least the abuse, of the cross was justly odious. The Hungarians still smarted with the wounds which they had received from the first pilgrims; in their turn they had abused the right of defence and retaliation; and they had reason to apprehend a severe revenge from a hero of the same nation, and who was engaged in the same cause. But after weighing the motives and the events, the virtuous duke was content to pity the crimes and misfortunes of his worthless brethren; and his twelve deputies, the messengers of peace, requested in his name a free passage and an equal market. To remove their suspicions, Godfrey trusted himself, and afterwards his brother, to the faith of Carloman king of Hungary, who treated them with a simple but hospitable entertainment; the treaty was sanctified by their common gospel; and a proclamation, under pain of death, restrained the animosity and licence of the Latin soldiers. From Austria to Belgrade, they traversed the plains of Hungary, without enduring or offering an injury; and the proximity of Carloman, who hovered on their flanks with his numerous cavalry, was a precaution not less useful for their safety than for his own. They reached the banks of the Save; and no sooner had they passed the river than the king of Hungary restored the hostages, and saluted their departure with the fairest wishes for the success of their enterprise. With the same conduct and discipline, Godfrey pervaded the woods of Bulgaria and the frontiers of Thrace; and might congratulate himself, that he had almost reached the first term of his pilgrimage, without drawing his sword against a Christian adversary. After an easy and pleasant journey through Lombardy, from Turin to Aquileia, Raymond and his provincials marched forty days through the savage country of Dalmatia * and Sclavonia. The weather

* The *Familie Dalmaticæ* of Ducange are meagre and imperfect; the national historians are recent and fabulous, the Greeks remote and careless. In the year 1104, Coloman reduced the maritime country as far as Trau and Salona. (Katona, *Hist. Crit.* tom. iii. p. 195—207.) [This is evidently the before-mentioned Carloman, king of Hungary. Wilken names him Kalmeny, and adds that the Latin writers

was a perpetual fog ; the land was mountainous and desolate, the natives were either fugitive or hostile ; loose in their religion and government, they refused to furnish provisions or guides ; murdered the stragglers ; and exercised by night and day the vigilance of the count, who derived more security from the punishment of some captive robbers than from his interview and treaty with the prince of Scodra.* His march between Durazzo and Constantinople was harassed, without being stopped, by the peasants and soldiers of the Greek emperor ; and the same faint and ambiguous hostility was prepared for the remaining chiefs, who passed the Adriatic from the coast of Italy. Bohemond had arms and vessels, and foresight and discipline ; and his name was not forgotten in the provinces of Epirus and Thessaly. Whatever obstacles he encountered were surmounted by his military conduct and the valour of Tancred ; and if the Norman prince affected to spare the Greeks, he gorged his soldiers with the full plunder of an heretical castle.† The nobles of France pressed forwards with the vain and thoughtless ardour of which their nation has been sometimes accused. From the Alps to Apulia the march of Hugh the Great, of the two Roberts, and of Stephen of Chartres, through a wealthy country, and amidst the applauding Catholics, was

call him *Colemannus* and *Kalomannus*. Kruse (*Uebersicht der Geschichte*, Halle, 1834. Tab. xvi.) gives Coloman a reign of nineteen years, 1095—1114, and dates his victories in Croatia and Dalmatia between 1098 and 1102. (Tab. xviii.)—Ed.]

* Scodras appears in Livy as the capital and fortress of Gentius king of the Illyrians, *arx munitissima*, afterwards a Roman colony. (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 393, 394.) "It is now called Iscodar or Scutari. (D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 164.) The sanjak (now a pasha) of Scutari, or Schendeire, was the eighth under the Beglerbeg of Romania, and furnished six hundred soldiers on a revenue of seventy-eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven rix-dollars. (Marsigli, *Stato Militare del Imperio Ottomano*, p. 128.)

† In Pelagonia *castrum hæreticorum . . . spoliatum cum suis habitatoribus igne combussere. Nec id eis injuria contigit: quia illorum detestabilis sermo ut cancer serpebat, jamque circumjacentes regiones suo pravo dogmate fœdaverat.* (Robert Mon. p. 36, 37.) After coolly relating the fact, the archbishop Baldric adds, as a praise, *Omnes siquidem illi viatores, Judeos, hæreticos, Saracenos æqualiter habent exosos; quos omnes appellant inimicos Dei* (p. 92). [Pelagonia was the ancient Heraclea Lyncestis in Macedonia, on a branch of the river Erigon or Osphagus. Its modern name is Perlepe or Pirlipa. Reichard, *Orbis Terr. Ant.*, Tab. vi, Thracia et Illyricum.—Ed.]

a devout or triumphant progress; they kissed the feet of the Roman pontiff; and the golden standard of St. Peter was delivered to the brother of the French monarch.* But in this visit of piety and pleasure, they neglected to secure the season, and the means of their embarkation; the winter was insensibly lost; their troops were scattered and corrupted in the towns of Italy. They separately accomplished their passage, regardless of safety or dignity; and within nine months from the feast of the Assumption, the day appointed by Urban, all the Latin princes had reached Constantinople. But the count of Vermandois was produced as a captive; his foremost vessels were scattered by a tempest; and his person, against the law of nations, was detained by the lieutenants of Alexius. Yet the arrival of Hugh had been announced by four-and-twenty knights in golden armour, who commanded the emperor to revere the general of the Latin Christians, the brother of the king of kings.†

In some Oriental tale I have read the fable of a shepherd, who was ruined by the accomplishment of his own wishes: he had prayed for water; the Ganges was turned into his grounds, and his flock and cottage were swept away by the inundation. Such was the fortune, or at least the apprehension, of the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus, whose name has already appeared in this history, and whose conduct is so differently represented by his daughter Anna.‡

* 'Αναλαβόμενος ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης τὴν χρυσὴν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πέτρου σημαίαν. (Alexiad. l. 10, p. 288.) † Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλείων, καὶ ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ φραγγίκου στρατεύματος ἀπαντος. This

Oriental pomp is extravagant in a count of Vermandois; but the patriot Ducange repeats with much complacency (Not. ad Alexiad. p. 352, 353. Dissert. 27. Sur Joinville, p. 315), the passages of Matthew Paris (A.D. 1254) and Froissard (vol. iv. p. 201), which style the king of France, rex regum, and chef de tous les rois Chrétiens.

‡ Anna Comnena was born the 1st of December, A.D. 1083, indiction 7. (Alexiad. l. 6, p. 166, 167.) At thirteen, the time of the first crusade, she was nubile, and perhaps married to the younger Nicephorus Bryennius, whom she fondly styles τὸν ἑμὸν Καίσαρα (l. 10, p. 295, 296). Some moderns have imagined that her enmity to Bohemond was the fruit of disappointed love. In the transactions of Constantinople and Nice, her partial accounts (Alex. l. 10, 11, p. 283—317) may be opposed to the partiality of the Latins; but in their subsequent exploits she is brief and ignorant.

and by the Latin writers.* In the council of Placentia, his ambassadors had solicited a moderate succour, perhaps of ten thousand soldiers; but he was astonished by the approach of so many potent chiefs and fanatic nations. The emperor fluctuated between hope and fear, between timidity and courage; but in the crooked policy which he mistook for wisdom, I cannot believe, I cannot discern, that he maliciously conspired against the life or honour of the French heroes. The promiscuous multitudes of Peter the Hermit were savage beasts, alike destitute of humanity and reason; nor was it possible for Alexius to prevent or deplore their destruction. The troops of Godfrey and his peers were less contemptible, but not less suspicious, to the Greek emperor. Their motives *might* be pure and pious; but he was equally alarmed by his knowledge of the ambitious Bohemond, and his ignorance of the Transalpine chiefs; the courage of the French was blind and headstrong; they might be tempted by the luxury and wealth of Greece, and elated by the view and opinion of their invincible strength; and Jerusalem might be forgotten in the prospect of Constantinople. After a long march and painful abstinence, the troops of Godfrey encamped in the plains of Thrace; they heard with indignation, that their brother, the count of Vermandois, was imprisoned by the Greeks; and their reluctant duke was compelled to indulge them in some freedom of retaliation and rapine. They were appeased by the submission of Alexius; he promised to supply their camp; and as they refused, in the midst of winter, to pass the Bosphorus, their quarters were assigned among the gardens and palaces on the shores of that narrow sea. But an incurable jealousy still rankled in the minds of the two nations, who despised each other as slaves and Barbarians. Ignorance is the ground of suspicion, and suspicion was inflamed into daily provocations; prejudice is blind, hunger is deaf; and Alexius is accused of a design to starve or assault the Latins in a dangerous post, on all sides encompassed with the waters.†

* In their views of the character and conduct of Alexius, Maimbourg has favoured the *Catholic* Franks, and Voltaire has been partial to the *schismatic* Greeks. The prejudice of a philosopher is less excusable than that of a Jesuit.

† Between the Black sea, the Bosphorus, and the river Barbyssa which is deep in summer, and runs fifteen miles through a flat

Godfrey sounded his trumpets, burst the net, overspread the plain, and insulted the suburbs; but the gates of Constantinople were strongly fortified; the ramparts were lined with archers; and after a doubtful conflict, both parties listened to the voice of peace and religion. The gifts and promises of the emperor insensibly soothed the fierce spirit of the Western strangers; as a Christian warrior, he rekindled their zeal for the prosecution of their holy enterprise, which he engaged to second with his troops and treasures. On the return of spring, Godfrey was persuaded to occupy a pleasant and plentiful camp in Asia; and no sooner had he passed the Bosphorus, than the Greek vessels were suddenly recalled to the opposite shore. The same policy was repeated with the succeeding chiefs, who were swayed by the example, and weakened by the departure, of their foremost companions. By his skill and diligence, Alexius prevented the union of any two of the confederate armies at the same moment under the walls of Constantinople; and before the feast of the Pentecost not a Latin pilgrim was left on the coast of Europe.

The same arms which threatened Europe might deliver Asia, and repel the Turks from the neighbouring shores of the Bosphorus and Hellespont. The fair provinces from Nice to Antioch were the recent patrimony of the Roman emperor; and his ancient and perpetual claim still embraced the kingdoms of Syria and Egypt. In his enthusiasm, Alexius indulged, or affected, the ambitious hope of leading his new allies to subvert the thrones of the East; but the calmer dictates of reason and temper dissuaded him from exposing his royal person to the faith of unknown and lawless Barbarians. His prudence, or his pride, was content with extorting from the French princes an oath of homage and fidelity, and a solemn promise that they would either restore, or hold, their Asiatic conquests, as the humble and loyal vassals of the Roman empire. Their independent spirit was fired at the mention of this foreign and voluntary servitude; they successively yielded to the dexterous appli-

meadow. Its communication with Europe and Constantinople is by the stone bridge of the *Blachernæ*, which in successive ages was restored by Justinian and Basil. (Gyllius de Bosphoro Thracico, l. 2. §; Ducange, C. P. Christiana, l. 4, c. 2, 179.)

eration of gifts and flattery; and the first profytes became the most eloquent and effectual missionaries to multiply the companions of their shame. The pride of Hugh of Vermandois was soothed by the honours of his captivity; and in the brother of the French king, the example of submission was prevalent and weighty. In the mind of Godfrey of Bouillon every human consideration was subordinate to the glory of God and the success of the crusade. He had firmly resisted the temptations of Bohemond and Raymond, who urged the attack and conquest of Constantinople. Alexius esteemed his virtues, and deservedly named him the champion of the empire, and dignified his homage with the filial name and the rites of adoption.* The hateful Bohemond was received as a true and ancient ally; and if the emperor reminded him of former hostilities, it was only to praise the valour that he had displayed, and the glory that he had acquired, in the fields of Durazzo and Larissa. The son of Guiscard was lodged and entertained, and served with imperial pomp; one day as he passed through the gallery of the palace, a door was carelessly left open to expose a pile of gold and silver, of silk and gems, of curious and costly furniture, that was heaped in seeming disorder, from the floor to the roof of the chamber. "What conquests," exclaimed the ambitious miser, "might not be achieved by the possession of such a treasure!"—"It is your own," replied a Greek attendant, who watched the motions of his soul; and Bohemond, after some hesitation, condescended to accept this magnificent present. The Norman was flattered by the assurance of an independent principality; and Alexius eluded, rather than denied, his daring demand of the office of great domestic, or general of the

* There were two sorts of adoption, the one by arms, the other by introducing the son between the shirt and skin of his father. Ducange (sur Joinville, diss. 22, p. 270) supposes Godfrey's adoption to have been of the latter sort. [When Baldwin was accepted as the future prince of Edessa, "the legal ceremony of adoption was gone through in the presence of his soldiers and of the people; and, according to Oriental custom, the Greek passed the Latin between his shirt and his skin, and kissed him in sign of his being his child. The aged wife of the prince did the same, and so Baldwin was ever after considered as their son and heir." (Taaffe, Hist. of the Order of St. John, i. 113.) As Godfrey obtained no such advantages from Alexius, he did not acquire the *rights* of adoption (as some editions of Gibbon read) but only its *rites*, which merely betokened alliance.—ED.

East. The two Roberts, the son of the conqueror of England, and the kinsman of three queens,* bowed in their turn before the Byzantine throne. A private letter of Stephen of Chartres attests his admiration of the emperor, the most excellent and liberal of men, who taught him to believe that he was a favourite, and promised to educate and establish his youngest son. In his southern province, the count of St. Giles and Thoulouse faintly recognised the supremacy of the king of France, a prince of a foreign nation and language. At the head of a hundred thousand men, he declared that he was the soldier and servant of Christ alone, and that the Greek might be satisfied with an equal treaty of alliance and friendship. His obstinate resistance enhanced the value and the price of his submission; and he shone, says the princess Anna, among the Barbarians, as the sun amidst the stars of heaven. His disgust of the noise and insolence of the French, his suspicions of the designs of Bohemond, the emperor imparted to his faithful Raymond; and that aged statesman might clearly discern, that, however false in friendship, he was sincere in his enmity.† The spirit of chivalry was last subdued in the person of Tancred; and none could deem themselves dishonoured by the imitation of that gallant knight. He disdained the gold and flattery of the Greek monarch; assaulted in his presence an insolent patrician; escaped to Asia in the habit of a private soldier; and yielded with a sigh to the authority of Bohemond and the interest of the Christian cause. The best and most ostensible reason was the impossibility of passing the sea and accomplishing their vow, without the licence and the vessels of Alexius; but they cherished a secret hope, that as soon as they trod the continent of Asia, their swords would obliterate their shame, and dissolve the engagement, which, on his side, might not be very faithfully performed. The ceremony of their homage was grateful to a people who had long since considered pride as the substitute of power. High on his throne, the emperor sat mute and immoveable; his majesty was adored by the Latin princes; and they submitted to kiss either his feet or his

* After his return, Robert of Flanders became the *man* of the king of England, for a pension of four hundred marks. See the first act in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

† *Sensit vetus regnandi, falsos in amore, odia non fingere.* Tacit. 6, 44

knees, an indignity which their own writers are ashamed to confess, and unable to deny.*

Private or public interest suppressed the murmurs of the dukes and counts; but a French baron (he is supposed to be Robert of Paris)† presumed to ascend the throne, and to place himself by the side of Alexius. The sage reproof of Baldwin provoked him to exclaim in his Barbarous idiom, "Who is this rustic, that keeps his seat while so many valiant captains are standing round him?" The emperor maintained his silence, dissembled his indignation, and questioned his interpreter concerning the meaning of the words, which he partly suspected from the universal language of gesture and countenance. Before the departure of the pilgrims, he endeavoured to learn the name and condition of the audacious baron. "I am a Frenchman," replied Robert, "of the purest and most ancient nobility of my country. All that I know is, that there is a church in my neighbourhood,‡ the resort of those who are desirous of approving their valour in single combat. Till an enemy appears, they address their prayers to God and his saints. That church I have frequently visited, but never have I found an antagonist who dared to accept my defiance." Alexius dismissed

* The proud historians of the crusades slide and stumble over this humiliating step. Yet, since the heroes knelt to salute the emperor as he sat motionless on his throne, it is clear that they must have kissed either his feet or knees. It is only singular that Anna should not have amply supplied the silence or ambiguity of the Latins. The abasement of their princes would have added a fine chapter to the *Ceremoniale Aulæ Byzantinæ*. [The ceremony was not made so humiliating. While pronouncing the vow of fealty, the knights only placed their hands in those of the emperor. "*Junctis manibus*," is the expression which Wilken (p. 119) quotes from Albertus Aquensis. —ED.]

† He called himself *Φραγγός κάθαρος τῶν εὐγένων*. (Alexias, l. 10, p. 301.) What a title of *noblesse* of the eleventh century, if any one could now prove his inheritance! Anna relates, with visible pleasure, that the swelling Barbarian, *Λατινός τετυφώμενος*, was killed or wounded, after fighting in the front of the battle of Dorylæum (l. 11, p. 317). This circumstance may justify the suspicion of Ducange (Not. p. 362), that he was no other than Robert of Paris, of the district most peculiarly styled the duchy or island of France (*L'Isle de France*).

‡ With the same penetration, Ducange discovers his church to be that of St. Drausus, or Drosin, of Soissons, quem duello dimicaturi solent invocare: pugiles qui ad memoriam ejus (*his tomb*) pernoctant invictos reddit, ut et de Burgundiâ et Italiâ tali necessitate confugiatur ad eum. Joan. Sariberiensis, epist. 139.

the challenger with some prudent advice for his conduct in the Turkish warfare; and history repeats with pleasure this lively example of the manners of his age and country.

The conquest of Asia was undertaken and achieved by Alexander, with thirty-five thousand Macedonians and Greeks;* and his best hope was in the strength and discipline of his phalanx of infantry. The principal force of the crusaders consisted in their cavalry; and when that force was mustered in the plains of Bithynia, the knights and their martial attendants on horseback amounted to one hundred thousand fighting men, completely armed with the helmet and coat of mail. The value of these soldiers deserved a strict and authentic account; and the flower of European chivalry might furnish, in a first effort, this formidable body of heavy horse. A part of the infantry might be enrolled for the service of scouts, pioneers, and archers; but the promiscuous crowd were lost in their own disorder; and we depend not on the eyes or knowledge, but on the belief and fancy, of a chaplain of count Baldwin,† in the estimate of six hundred thousand pilgrims able to bear arms, besides the priests and monks, the women and children, of the Latin camp. The reader starts; and before he is recovered from his surprise, I shall add, on the same testimony, that if all who took the cross had accomplished their vow, above SIX MILLIONS would have migrated from Europe to Asia. Under this oppression of faith I derive some relief from a more sagacious and thinking writer,‡ who, after the same review of the cavalry, accuses the credulity of the priest of Chartres, and even doubts whether

* There is some diversity on the numbers of his army; but no authority can be compared with that of Ptolemy, who states it at five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. (See Usher's *Annales*, p. 152.)

† Fulcher. Carnotensis, p. 387. He enumerates nineteen nations of different names and languages (p. 389); but I do not clearly apprehend his difference between the *Franci* and *Galli*, *Itali* and *Apuli*. Elsewhere (p. 385) he contemptuously brands the deserters. [Provinces were magnified into nations, and dialects taken for distinct languages, by Fulcherius, who confessed his inability to understand them, and consequently to perceive their affinities. Not the least curious amplification of this list is the revival of the name of *Allobroges*, dormant for a thousand years, to make the followers of the count of Toulouse a separate people.—En.]

‡ Guibert, p. 556. Yet even his gentle opposition implies an immense multitude. By Urban II. in the fervour of his zeal, it is

the *Cisalpine* regions (in the geography of a Frenchman) were sufficient to produce and pour forth such incredible multitudes. The coolest scepticism will remember, that of these religious volunteers great numbers never beheld Constantinople and Nice. Of enthusiasm the influence is irregular and transient; many were detained at home by reason or cowardice, by poverty or weakness; and many were repulsed by the obstacles of the way, the more insuperable as they were unforeseen to these ignorant fanatics. The savage countries of Hungary and Bulgaria were whitened with their bones; their vanguard was cut in pieces by the Turkish sultan; and the loss of the first adventure, by the sword, or climate, or fatigue, has already been stated at three hundred thousand men. Yet the myriads that survived, that marched, that pressed forwards on the holy pilgrimage, were a subject of astonishment to themselves and to the Greeks. The copious energy of her language sinks under the efforts of the princess Anna;* the images of locusts, of leaves and flowers, of the sands of the sea, or the stars of heaven, imperfectly represent what she had seen and heard; and the daughter of Alexius exclaims, that Europe was loosened from its foundations and hurled against Asia. The ancient hosts of Darius and Xerxes labour under the same doubt of a vague and indefinite magnitude; but I am inclined to believe, that a larger number has never been contained within the lines of a single camp, than at the siege of Nice, the first operation of the Latin princes. Their motives, their characters, and their arms, have been already displayed. Of their troops the most numerous portion were natives of France; the Low Countries, the banks of the Rhine, and Apulia, sent a powerful reinforcement; some bands of adventurers were drawn from Spain, Lombardy, and England;† and from

only rated at three hundred thousand pilgrims (epist. 16, Concil. tom. xii. p. 731).

* Alexias, l. 10, p. 283. 305. Her fastidious delicacy complains of their strange and inarticulate names; and indeed there is scarcely one that she has not contrived to disfigure with the proud ignorance so dear and familiar to a polished people. I shall select only one example, *Sangeles* for the count of St. Giles.

† William of Malmesbury (who wrote about the year 1130) has inserted in his history (l. 4, p. 130—154), a narrative of the first crusade; but I wish that, instead of listening to the tenue murmur which had passed the British ocean (p. 143), he had confined himself to the numbers, families, and adventures, of his countrymen. I find

the distant bogs and mountains of Ireland or Scotland* issued some naked and savage fanatics, ferocious at home, but unwarlike abroad. Had not superstition condemned the sacrilegious prudence of depriving the poorest or weakest Christian of the merit of a pilgrimage, the useless crowd, with mouths, but without hands, might have been stationed in the Greek empire, till their companions had opened and secured the way of the Lord. A small remnant of the pilgrims, who passed the Bosphorus, was permitted to visit the holy sepulchre. Their northern constitution was scorched by the rays, and infected by the vapours, of a Syrian sun. They consumed, with heedless prodigality, their stores of water and provision; their numbers exhausted the inland country; the sea was remote, the Greeks were unfriendly, and the Christians of every sect fled before the voracious and cruel rapine of their brethren. In the dire necessity of famine, they sometimes roasted and devoured the flesh of their infant or adult captives. Among the Turks and Saracens, the idolaters of Europe were rendered more odious by the name and reputation of cannibals; the spies who introduced themselves into the kitchen of Bohemond, were shewn several human bodies turning on the spit; and the artful Norman encouraged a report, which increased at the same time the abhorrence and the terror of the infidels.†

I have expatiated with pleasure on the first steps of the crusaders, as they paint the manners and character of Europe; but I shall abridge the tedious and uniform narrative of their blind achievements, which were performed in Dugdale, that an English Norman, Stephen earl of Albemarle and Holderness, led the rear-guard with duke Robert, at the battle of Antioch. (Baronage, part 1, 61.) [William of Malmesbury (p. 356, Bohn), makes Bohemond Urban's secret adviser and the real author of the crusades, for the purpose of obtaining possession of Illyria and Macedonia, which he claimed in virtue of his father's transient conquest. This does not accord either with the preliminary steps that led to the crusades, or with Bohemond's subsequent conduct; yet Gibbon appears to allude to it (p. 423), and Wilken has given it a place in his History (vol. ii. p. 313).—Ed.]

* *Videres Scotorum apud se ferocium alias imbellium cuneos* (Guibert, p. 471); the *crus intectum* and *hispida chlamys* may suit the Highlanders; but the *finibus uliginosis* may rather apply to the Irish bogs. William of Malmesbury expressly mentions the Welsh and Scots, &c. (l. 4, p. 133) who quitted, the former *venationem saltuum*, the latter *familiaritatem pulicum*.

† This cannibal hunger, sometimes real, more frequently an artifice

by strength, and are described by ignorance. From their first station in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, they advanced in successive divisions; passed the contracted limit of the Greek empire; opened a road through the hills, and commenced, by the siege of his capital, their pious warfare against the Turkish sultan. His kingdom of Roum extended from the Hellespont to the confines of Syria, and barred the pilgrimage of Jerusalem; his name was Kilidge-Arslan, or Soliman,* of the race of Seljuk, and son of the first conqueror; and in the defence of a land which the Turks considered as their own, he deserved the praise of his enemies, by whom alone he is known to posterity. Yielding to the first impulse of the torrent, he deposited his family and treasure in Nice; retired to the mountains with fifty thousand horse; and twice descended to assault the camps or quarters of the Christian besiegers, which formed an imperfect circle of above six miles. The lofty and solid walls of Nice were covered by a deep ditch, and flanked by three hundred and seventy towers; and on the verge of Christendom, the Moslems were trained in arms, and inflamed by religion. Before this city, the French princes occupied their stations, and prosecuted their attacks without correspondence or subordination; emulation prompted their valour; but their valour was sullied by cruelty, and their emulation degenerated into envy and civil discord. In the siege of Nice, the arts and engines of antiquity were employed by the Latins; the mine and the battering-ram, the tortoise, and the belfrey or moveable turret, artificial fire, and the *catapult* and *balist*, the sling,

or a lie, may be found in Anna Comnena (Alexias, l. 10, p. 288), Guibert (p. 546), Radulph. Cadom. (c. 97). The stratagem is related by the author of the Gesta Francorum, the monk Robert Baldric, and Raymond de Agiles, in the siege and famine of Antioch.

* His Mussulman appellation of Soliman is used by the Latins, and his character is highly embellished by Tasso. His Turkish name of Kilidge-Arslan (A.H. 485—500, A.D. 1192—1206. See De Guignes's Tables, tom. i. p. 245), is employed by the Orientals, and, with some corruption, by the Greeks; but little more than his name can be found in the Mahometan writers, who are dry and sulky on the subject of the first crusade. (De Guignes, tom. iii. p. 2. p. 10—30.) [Wilken, in a separate dissertation (Appendix to vol. i. p. 6—16), has corrected by the aid of Arabian writers, the errors of Byzantines and Latins respecting the Seljukians of Iconium. His conclusions are, that Soliman conquered Asia Minor about the year 1079, was appointed its ruler or sultan by Malek Shah, and killed in 1086, by falling from his horse

and the cross-bow, for the casting of stones and darts.* In the space of seven weeks, much labour and blood were expended, and some progress, especially by count Raymond, was made on the side of the besiegers. But the Turks could protract their resistance and secure their escape, as long as they were masters of the lake† Ascanius, which stretches several miles to the westward of the city. The means of conquest were supplied by the prudence and industry of Alexius; a great number of boats was transported on sledges from the sea to the lake;‡ they were filled with the most dexterous of his archers; the flight

during a battle against Thuthusch, prince of Damascus. His son and successor, Kilidsch-Arslan, as already stated (p. 417), was sultan at the time of the first crusade. Soliman was of course not mentioned when he was dead.—Ed.]

* On the fortifications, engines, and sieges of the middle ages, see Muratori (*Antiquitat. Italix*, tom. ii. dissert. 26, p. 452—524). The *belfredus*, from whence our belfrey, was the moveable tower of the ancients. (Ducange, tom. i. p. 638.) [During its transition into other languages, corrupted Latin took so many various forms, that the original was often concealed. Those which Ducange enumerates for the *belfredus* are truly puzzling; yet they all point to *bellifer*, an adjective used by Claudian (in *Eutropium*, l. 429). *Turris bellifera*, the war-bearing tower, that lifted the assailing battle to a level with the vantage ground of the besieged, accurately describes the machine, and explains its name. It had no Gothic source. Wilken (7. 136) renders Joinville's *beffroi* by *katzenthurm*, and makes it rather a protection to those who were sapping, mining, or battering the walls, than a means of scaling the battlements. The true meaning of the *katze* is shown by Vegetius, who says (4. 15), that the barbarous word *cattus* was used in Latin, instead of the ancient *vinen*. The *belfredus* denoted much more than this. Our *bell* is akin to the German *bellen* (Adelung, *Wörterbuch*, l. 754), and derived from the Gothic *l'ja*, to bellow or bark, which was Latinized into *baulare* (Ducange, l. 1078).—Ed.]

† I cannot forbear remarking the resemblance between the siege and lake of Nice, with the operations of Hernan Cortez before Mexico. See Dr. Robertson's *History of America*, l. 5.

‡ [The light ships of ancient times were easily transported overland. This was not so wonderful an exploit as it appeared to Albert Aquensis. Wilken (l. 147) refers to two occasions on which the Normans, who in 868 and 890, had sailed up the Seine to attack Paris, being intercepted on their return, landed their ships and dragged them to a point, where they launched them again and escaped. Those which Alexander ordered to be brought from Phœnicia to Thapsacus on the Euphrates (Arrian, 7. 19), were not conveyed entire. But ships were sometimes dragged across the Isthmus of Corinth. (See ch. 53, p. 215.) The same was practised by the mariners of the Borysthenes at the falls of that river (ch. 54, p. 281), and they had recourse to this "usual expedient" in the Bosphorus in 904. (Ib. p. 284).—Ed.]

of the sultana was intercepted; Nice was invested by land and water; and a Greek emissary persuaded the inhabitants to accept his master's protection, and to save themselves, by a timely surrender, from the rage of the savages of Europe. In the moment of victory, or at least of hope, the crusaders, thirsting for blood and plunder, were awed by the imperial banner that streamed from the citadel; and Alexius guarded with jealous vigilance this important conquest. The murmurs of the chiefs were stifled by honour or interest; and after a halt of nine days, they directed their march towards Phrygia, under the guidance of a Greek general, whom they suspected of a secret connivance with the sultan. The consort and the principal servants of Soliman had been honourably restored without ransom; and the emperor's generosity to the *miscreants* * was interpreted as treason to the Christian cause.

Soliman was rather provoked than dismayed by the loss of his capital; he admonished his subjects and allies of this strange invasion of the Western Barbarians; the Turkish emirs obeyed the call of loyalty or religion; the Turkman hordes encamped round his standard; and his whole force is loosely stated by the Christians at two hundred, or even three hundred and sixty thousand horse. Yet he patiently waited till they had left behind them the sea and the Greek frontier; and hovering on the flanks, observed their careless and confident progress in two columns beyond the view of each other. Some miles before they could reach Dorylæum in Phrygia, the left, and least numerous, division was surprised, and attacked, and almost oppressed, by the Turkish cavalry.† The heat of the weather, the clouds of arrows, and the barbarous onset, overwhelmed the crusaders; they lost their order and confidence; and the fainting fight was sustained by the personal valour, rather than by the military conduct, of Bohemond, Tancred, and Robert of Normandy.

* *Mécréant*, a word invented by the French crusaders, and confined in that language to its primitive sense. It should seem that the zeal of our ancestors boiled higher, and that they branded every unbeliever as a rascal. A similar prejudice still lurks in the minds of many who think themselves Christians.

† Baronius has produced a very doubtful letter to his brother Roger (A.D. 1098, No. 15). The enemies consisted of Medes, Persians, Chaldeans: be it so. The first attack was cum nostro incommodo; true and tender. But why Godfrey of Bouillon and Hugh brothers? Tancred is styled *filius*: of whom? certainly not of Roger, nor of Bohemond.

They were revived by the welcome banners of duke Godfrey, who flew to their succour, with the count of Vermandois, and sixty thousand horse; and was followed by Raymond of Thoulouse, the bishop of Puy, and the remainder of the sacred army. Without a moment's pause, they formed in new order, and advanced to a second battle. They were received with equal resolution; and, in their common disdain for the unwarlike people of Greece and Asia, it was confessed on both sides, that the Turks and the Franks were the only nations entitled to the appellation of soldiers.* Their encounter was varied and balanced by the contrast of arms and discipline; of the direct charge, and wheeling evolutions; of the couched lance, and the brandished javelin; of a weighty broad-sword, and a crooked sabre; of cumbrous armour, and thin flowing robes; and of the long Tartar bow, and the *arbalist* or crossbow, a deadly weapon, yet unknown to the Orientals.† As long as the horses were fresh and the quivers full, Soliman maintained the advantage of the day; and four thousand Christians were pierced by the Turkish arrows. In the evening, swiftness yielded to strength; on either side, the numbers were equal, or at least as great as any ground could hold, or any generals could manage; but in turning the hills, the last division of Raymond and his *provincials* was led, perhaps without design, on the rear of an exhausted enemy, and the long contest was determined. Besides a nameless and unaccounted multitude, three thousand *pagan* knights were slain in the battle and pursuit; the camp of Soliman was pillaged; and in the variety of precious spoil, the curiosity of the Latins was amused with foreign arms and apparel, and the new aspect of dromedaries and camels. The importance of the victory was proved by the hasty retreat of the sultan. Reserving ten thousand guards of the relics of his army, Soliman evacuated the kingdom of Roum, and hastened to implore the aid, and kindle the resentment, of his Eastern

* Verumtamen dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione; et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Franci et Turci. (Gesta Francorum, p. 7.) The same community of blood and valour is attested by archbishop Baldric (p. 99). † *Balista, Balestra, Arbalestre*. See Muratori, Antiquit. tom. ii. p. 517—524. Ducange, Gloss. Latin. tom. i. p. 531, 532. In the time of Anna Comnena, this weapon, which she describes under the name *tzangra*, was unknown in the East (l. 40, p. 291). By a humane inconsistency, the pope strove to prohibit it in Christian wars. [*Arbalista* was a contraction of *Arce-*

brethren. In a march of five hundred miles, the crusaders traversed the Lesser Asia, through a wasted land and deserted towns, without either finding a friend or an enemy. The geographer * may trace the position of Dorylæum, Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Archelais, and Germanicia, and may compare those classic appellations with the modern names of Eskishehr the old city, Akshehr the white city, Cogni, Erekli, and Marash. As the pilgrims passed over a desert, where a draught of water is exchanged for silver, they were tormented by intolerable thirst; and on the banks of the first rivulet, their haste and intemperance were still more pernicious to the disorderly throng. They climbed with toil and danger the steep and slippery sides of Mount Taurus; many of the soldiers cast away their arms to secure their footsteps; and had not terror preceded their

balista (Ducange, l. 628). It combined the properties of the bow and hurling-engine.—ED.]

* The curious reader may compare the classic learning of Cellarius, and the geographical science of D'Anville. William of Tyre is the only historian of the crusades who has any knowledge of antiquity; and M. Otter trod almost in the footsteps of the Franks from Constantinople to Antioch. (*Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, tom. i. p. 35—88.) [Writers vary in their accounts of the Crusaders' line of march from Dorylæum, and in the names and situations of the towns mentioned. Antioch in *Pisidia*, is placed by Wilken (i. 159) in *Phrygia*. The earliest traveller who assists us in fixing its site, is Bertrandon de la Brocquière. (Bohn's *Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 328.) In 1432, he found Achsaray (Akshehr), three days' march on his road towards Constantinople from Couhongue (his form of Konieh or Cogni, the ancient Iconium). Malte Brun and Balbi (p. 648) place Akshehr seventy-two miles W.N.W. from Konieh. D'Herbelot, through some mistake, makes Acsarai the former Anizarbus Ciliciæ, and Reichard (tab. v.) fixes the Acseroj of Abulfeda at Archelais. This last mentioned city cannot have been visited by the Crusaders, as it was too far to the northward of their route, nor does it now bear the name of Eregli, which denotes an ancient Heraclea (Wilken, i. p. 159), situated eighty-five miles E. by S. of Iconium (Malte Brun and Balbi), and four days' journey from Tarsus (Brocquière, p. 320). The situation of Marasch, eighty-five miles N.E. of Adana (M. and B., p. 650), does not accord with that of Germanicia, which was between Aleppo and Scanderoon, and corresponds with the Aintab of the present day (Ib. 652). See also Maundrell's *Journey* (Bohn's edition, p. 510), who erroneously supposed Aintab to be the ancient Antiochia ad Taurum. Malmistra was formerly often named in ecclesiastical history as Mopsuestia; it is now obscurely known as Messia. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited it during the crusades (A.D. 1163), mistook it for its neighbour Thersos (Tarsus). Some illustration of the route of the Crusaders may be found in Kinneir's *Journey through Asia Minor*.—ED.]

van, the long and trembling file might have been driven down the precipice by a handful of resolute enemies. Two of their most respectable chiefs, the duke of Lorraine and the count of Thoulouse, were carried in litters; Raymond was raised, as it is said, by miracle, from a hopeless malady; and Godfrey had been torn by a bear, as he pursued that rough and perilous chase in the mountains of Pisidia.*

To improve the general consternation, the cousin of Bohemond and the brother of Godfrey were detached from the main army with their respective squadrons of five, and of seven, hundred knights. They overran in a rapid career the hills and sea-coast of Cilicia, from Cogni to the Syrian gates; the Norman standard was first planted on the walls of Tarsus and Malmistra; but the proud injustice of Baldwin at length provoked the patient and generous Italian; and they turned their consecrated swords against each other in a private and profane quarrel. Honour was the motive, and fame the reward, of Tancred; but fortune smiled on the more selfish enterprise of his rival.† He was called to the assistance of a Greek or Armenian tyrant, who had been suffered under the Turkish yoke to reign over the Christians of Edessa. Baldwin accepted the character of his son and champion; but no sooner was he introduced into the city, than he inflamed the people to the massacre of his father, occupied the throne and treasure, extended his conquests over the hills of Armenia and the plain of Mesopotamia, and founded the first principality of the

* [Wilken (1. 159) quoting Alb. Aq. (3, 4), states that Godfrey received this injury by magnanimously rescuing a poor pilgrim from a furious bear that attacked him while collecting fire-wood in a forest.—ED.]

† This detached conquest of Edessa is best represented by Fulcherius Carnotensis, or of Chartres (in the collections of Bongarsius, Duchesne, and Martenne), the valiant chaplain of count Baldwin. (*Esprit des Croisades*, tom. i. p. 13, 14.) In the disputes of that prince with Tancred, his partiality is encountered by the partiality of Radulphus Cadomensis, the soldier and historian of the gallant marquis. [Baldwin's adventures are represented in a much more favourable light by Taaffe (*History of the Order of St. John*, i. p. 114), who says that "when the death of the aged prince made him sovereign, he acquired in a signal degree the respect and love of his subjects." No authority is cited for this; but it appears to be copied from some Eastern writer, since Edessa is called by its modern Turkish name of Orfa; where Latin chronicles are quoted in this work (as at p. 167), Edessa bears its ancient name.—ED.]

Franks or Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years beyond the Euphrates.*

Before the Franks could enter Syria, the summer, and even the autumn, were completely wasted. The siege of Antioch, or the separation and repose of the army during the winter season, was strongly debated in their council; the love of arms and the holy sepulchre urged them to advance; and reason, perhaps, was on the side of resolution, since every hour of delay abates the fame and force of the invader, and multiplies the resources of defensive war. The capital of Syria was protected by the river Orontes; and the *iron bridge*, of nine arches, derives its name from the massy gates of the two towers which are constructed at either end.† They were opened by the sword of the duke of Normandy; his victory gave entrance to three hundred thousand crusaders, an account which may allow some scope for losses and desertion, but which clearly detects much exaggeration in the review of Nice. In the description of Antioch,‡ it is not easy to define a middle term between her ancient magnificence, under the successors of Alexander and Augustus, and the modern aspect of Turkish desolation. The Tetrapolis, or four cities, if they retained their name and position, must have left a large vacuity in a circumference of twelve miles; and that measure, as well as the number of four hundred towers, are not perfectly consistent with the five gates, so often mentioned in the history of the siege. Yet Antioch must have still flourished as a great and populous capital. At the head of the Turkish emirs, Baghisian, a veteran chief, commanded in the place; his garrison was composed of six or seven thousand horse, and fifteen or twenty thousand foot; one hundred thousand Moslems are said to have fallen by the sword; and their numbers were probably inferior to the Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, who had been no more than fourteen years the

* See de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. i. p. 456.

† [Gibbon has here followed the mistakes of other writers. The crusaders did not force the *pons ferreus* of the Orontes, but another bridge over the river Ifrin, three leagues from Antioch, now called Morad Pascha. Büsching, *Description of Asia*, p. 299.—WILKEN.]

‡ For Antioch, see Pococke, *Description of the East*, vol. ii. p. 1, p. 188—193, Otter (*Voyage en Turquie*, &c. tom. i. p. 81, &c.), the Turkish geographer (in Otter's notes), the *Index Geographicus* of Schultens (ad calcem Bohadin. Vit. Saladin.), and Abulfeda (*Tabula Syriae*, p. 115, 116, vers. Reiske).

slaves of the house of Seljuk. From the remains of a solid and stately wall, it appears to have risen to the height of threescore feet in the valleys; and wherever less art and labour had been applied, the ground was supposed to be defended by the river, the morass, and the mountains. Notwithstanding these fortifications, the city had been repeatedly taken by the Persians, the Arabs, the Greeks, and the Turks; so large a circuit must have yielded many previous points of attack; and in a siege that was formed about the middle of October, the vigour of the execution could alone justify the boldness of the attempt. Whatever strength and valour could perform in the field was abundantly discharged by the champions of the cross; in the frequent occasions of sallies, of forage, of the attack and defence of convoys, they were often victorious; and we can only complain, that their exploits are sometimes enlarged beyond the scale of probability and truth. The sword of Godfrey * divided a Turk from the shoulder to the haunch; and one half of the infidel fell to the ground, while the other was transported by his horse to the city gate. As Robert of Normandy rode against his antagonist, "I devote thy head," he piously exclaimed, "to the demons of hell;" and that head was instantly cloven to the breast by the resistless stroke of his descending falchion. But the reality or report of such gigantic prowess† must have taught the Moslems to keep within their walls; and against those walls of earth or stone, the sword and the lance were unavailing weapons. In the slow and successive labours of a siege, the crusaders were supine and ignorant, without skill to contrive, or money to purchase, or industry to use, the artificial engines and implements of assault. In the conquest of Nice, they had been powerfully assisted by the

* *Ensem elevat, eumque à sinistra parte scapularum, tantâ virtute intorsit, ut quod pectus medium disjunxit spinam et vitalia interrupt; et sic lubricus ensis super crus dextrum integer exivit; sicque caput integrum cum dextra parte corporis immersit gurgite, partemque quam equo præsidebat remisit civitati.* (Robert. Mon. p. 50.) *Cujus ense trajectus, Turcus duo factus est Turci: ut inferior alter in urbem equitaret, alter arcitenens in flumine nataret.* (Radulph. Cadom. c. 53, p. 304.) Yet he justifies the deed by the *stupendis* viribus of Godfrey; and William of Tyre covers it by, *obstupuit populus facti novitate . . . mirabilis* (l. 5, c. 6, p. 701). Yet it must not have appeared incredible to the knights of that age.

† See the exploits of Robert, Raymond, and the modest Tancred, who imposed silence on his squire. (Radulph. Cadom. c. 53.)

wealth and knowledge of the Greek emperor; his absence was poorly supplied by some Genoese and Pisan vessels, that were attracted by religion or trade to the coast of Syria; the stores were scanty, the return precarious, and the communication difficult and dangerous. Indolence or weakness had prevented the Franks from investing the entire circuit; and the perpetual freedom of two gates relieved the wants and recruited the garrison of the city. At the end of seven months, after the ruin of their cavalry, and an enormous loss by famine, desertion, and fatigue, the progress of the crusaders was imperceptible, and their success remote, if the Latin Ulysses, the artful and ambitious Bohemond, had not employed the arms of cunning and deceit. The Christians of Antioch were numerous and discontented; Phirouz, a Syrian renegade, had acquired the favour of the emir and the command of three towers; and the merit of his repentance disguised to the Latins, and perhaps to himself, the foul design of perfidy and treason. A secret correspondence, for their mutual interest, was soon established between Phirouz and the prince of Tarento; and Bohemond declared in the council of the chiefs, that he could deliver the city into their hands. But he claimed the sovereignty of Antioch as the reward of his service; and the proposal which had been rejected by the envy, was at length extorted from the distress of his equals. The nocturnal surprise was executed by the French and Norman princes who ascended in person the scaling-ladders that were thrown from the walls; their new proselyte, after the murder of his too scrupulous brother, embraced and introduced the servants of Christ; the army rushed through the gates; and the Moslems soon found, that although mercy was hopeless, resistance was impotent. But the citadel still refused to surrender, and the victors themselves were speedily encompassed and besieged by the innumerable forces of Kerboga, prince of Mosul, who, with twenty-eight Turkish emirs, advanced to the deliverance of Antioch. Five-and-twenty days the Christians spent on the verge of destruction; and the proud lieutenant of the caliph and the sultan left them only the choice of servitude or death.* In this extremity they collected the relics of their strength,

* After mentioning the distress and humble petition of the Franks Abulpharagius adds the haughty reply of Codbuka, or Kerboga: "*Non evasuri estis nisi per gladium.*" (Dynast. p. 242.)

sallied from the town, and in a single memorable day annihilated or dispersed the host of Turks and Arabians, which they might safely report to have consisted of six hundred thousand men.* Their supernatural allies I shall proceed to consider; the human causes of the victory of Antioch were the fearless despair of the Franks; and the surprise, the discord, perhaps the errors, of their unskilful and presumptuous adversaries. The battle is described with as much disorder as it was fought; but we may observe the tent of Kerboga, a moveable and spacious palace, enriched with the luxury of Asia, and capable of holding above two thousand persons; we may distinguish his three thousand guards, who were cased, the horses as well as the men, in complete steel.

In the eventful period of the siege and defence of Antioch, the crusaders were, alternately, exalted by victory or sunk in despair; either swelled with plenty or emaciated with hunger. A speculative reasoner might suppose, that their faith had a strong and serious influence on their practice; and that the soldiers of the cross, the deliverers of the holy sepulchre, prepared themselves by a sober and virtuous life for the daily contemplation of martyrdom. Experience blows away this charitable illusion; and seldom does the history of profane war display such scenes of intemperance and prostitution as were exhibited under the walls of Antioch. The grove of Daphne no longer flourished; but the Syrian air was still impregnated with the same vices; the Christians were seduced by every temptation† that nature either prompts or reprobates; the authority of the chiefs was despised; and sermons and edicts were alike fruitless against those scandalous disorders, not less pernicious to military discipline, than

* In describing the host of Kerboga, most of the Latin historians, the author of the *Gesta* (p. 17), Robert Monachus (p. 56), Baldric (p. 111), Fulcherius Carnotensis (p. 392), Guibert (p. 512), William of Tyre (l. 6, c. 3, p. 714), Bernard Thesaurarius (c. 39, p. 695), are content with the vague expressions of *infinita multitudo*, *immensum agmen*, *innumeræ copiæ*, or *gentes*, which correspond with the *μεγάλη ἀναριθμήτων χιλιάδων* of Anna Comnena. (Alexias, l. 11, p. 318—320.) The numbers of the Turks are fixed by Albert Aquensis at two hundred thousand (l. 4, c. 10, p. 242), and by Radulphus Cadomensis at four hundred thousand horse (c. 72, p. 309).

† See the tragic and scandalous fate of an archdeacon of royal birth, who was slain by the Turks as he reposed in an orchard, playing at dice with a Syrian concubine

repugnant to evangelic purity. In the first days of the siege and the possession of Antioch, the Franks consumed with wanton and thoughtless prodigality the frugal subsistence of weeks and months; the desolate country no longer yielded a supply; and from that country they were at length excluded by the arms of the besieging Turks. Disease, the faithful companion of want, was envenomed by the rains of the winter, the summer heats, unwholesome food, and the close imprisonment of multitudes. The pictures of famine and pestilence are always the same, and always disgusting; and our imagination may suggest the nature of their sufferings and their resources. The remains of treasure or spoil were eagerly lavished in the purchase of the vilest nourishment; and dreadful must have been the calamities of the poor, since, after paying three marks of silver for a goat, and fifteen for a lean camel,* the count of Flanders was reduced to beg a dinner, and duke Godfrey to borrow a horse. Sixty thousand horses had been reviewed in the camp: before the end of the siege they were diminished to two thousand, and scarcely two hundred fit for service could be mustered on the day of battle. Weakness of body and terror of mind extinguished the ardent enthusiasm of the pilgrims; and every motive of honour and religion was subdued by the desire of life.† Among the chiefs, three heroes may be found without fear or reproach: Godfrey of Bouillon was supported by his magnanimous piety; Bohemond by ambition and interest; and Tancred declared, in the true spirit of chivalry, that as long as he was at the head of forty knights, he would never relinquish the enterprise of Palestine. But the count of Thoulouse and Provence was suspected of a voluntary indisposition; the duke of Normandy was recalled from the sea-shore by the censures of

* The value of an ox rose from five solidi (fifteen shillings) at Christmas to two marks (four pounds), and afterwards much higher. a kid or lamb, from one shilling to eighteen of our present money: in the second famine, a loaf of bread, or the head of an animal, sold for a piece of gold. More examples might be produced, but it is the ordinary, not the extraordinary, prices, that deserve the notice of the philosopher.

† Alii multi quorum nomina non tenemus; quia, deleta de libro vitæ, præsentis operi non sunt inferenda. (Will. Tyr. l. 6, c. 5, p. 715.) Guibert (p. 518. 523) attempts to excuse Hugh the Great, and even Stephen of Chartres.

the church; Hugh the Great, though he led the vanguard of the battle, embraced an ambiguous opportunity of returning to France; and Stephen, count of Chartres, basely deserted the standard which he bore, and the council in which he presided. The soldiers were discouraged by the flight of William, viscount of Melun, surnamed the *Carpenter* from the weighty strokes of his axe; and the saints were scandalized by the fall of Peter the Hermit, who, after arming Europe against Asia, attempted to escape from the penance of a necessary fast.* Of the multitude of recreant warriors, the names (says an historian) are blotted from the book of life; and the opprobrious epithet of the rope-dancers was applied to the deserters who dropped in the night from the walls of Antioch. The emperor Alexius,† who seemed to advance to the succour of the Latins, was dismayed by the assurance of their hopeless condition. They expected their fate in silent despair; oaths and punishments were tried without effect; and to rouse the soldiers to the defence of the walls, it was found necessary to set fire to their quarters.

For their salvation and victory, they were indebted to the same fanaticism which had led them to the brink of ruin. In such a cause, and in such an army, visions, prophecies, and miracles, were frequent and familiar. In the distress of Antioch, they were repeated with unusual energy and success; St. Ambrose had assured a pious ecclesiastic, that two years of trial must precede the season of deliverance and grace; the deserters were stopped by the presence and reproaches of Christ himself; the dead had promised to arise and combat with their brethren; the Virgin had obtained the pardon of their sins; and their confidence was revived by a visible sign, the seasonable and splendid discovery of the HOLY LANCE. The policy of their chiefs has on this occasion been admired, and

* [Peter and William fled, during the night, from the distress which prevailed in the camp of the crusaders before the capture of Antioch. In the morning they were pursued by Tancred, brought back, and obliged to swear publicly that they would never again desert the army. (Wilken, i. p. 184.—Ed.)]

† See the progress of the crusade, the retreat of Alexius, the victory of Antioch, and the conquest of Jerusalem, in the *Alexiad*, l. 11, p. 317—327. Anna was so prone to exaggeration, that she magnifies the exploits of the Latins.

might surely be excused; but a pious fraud is seldom produced by the cool conspiracy of many persons; and a voluntary impostor might depend on the support of the wise and the credulity of the people. Of the diocese of Marseilles, there was a priest of low cunning and loose manners, and his name was Peter Bartholemy. He presented himself at the door of the council-chamber, to disclose an apparition of St. Andrew, which had been thrice reiterated in his sleep, with a dreadful menace, if he presumed to suppress the commands of Heaven. "At Antioch," said the apostle, "in the church of my brother St. Peter, near the high altar, is concealed the steel head of the lance that pierced the side of our Redeemer. In three days, that instrument of eternal, and now of temporal, salvation, will be manifested to his disciples. Search and ye shall find: bear it aloft in battle; and that mystic weapon shall penetrate the souls of the miscreants." The pope's legate, the bishop of Puy, affected to listen with coldness and distrust; but the revelation was eagerly accepted by count Raymond, whom his faithful subject, in the name of the apostle, had chosen for the guardian of the holy lance. The experiment was resolved; and on the third day, after a due preparation of prayer and fasting, the priest of Marseilles introduced twelve trusty spectators, among whom were the count and his chaplain; and the church doors were barred against the impetuous multitude. The ground was opened in the appointed place; but the workmen, who relieved each other, dug to the depth of twelve feet without discovering the object of their search. In the evening, when count Raymond had withdrawn to his post, and the weary assistants began to murmur, Bartholemy in his shirt, and without his shoes, boldly descended into the pit; the darkness of the hour and of the place enabled him to secrete and deposit the head of a Saracen lance; and the first sound, the first gleam of the steel, was saluted with a devout rapture. The holy lance was drawn from its recess, wrapped in a veil of silk and gold, and exposed to the veneration of the crusaders; their anxious suspense burst forth in a general shout of joy and hope, and the desponding troops were again inflamed with the enthusiasm of valour. Whatever had been the arts, and whatever might be the sentiments, of the chiefs, they

skilfully improved this fortunate revelation by every aid that discipline and devotion could afford. The soldiers were dismissed to their quarters with an injunction to fortify their minds and bodies for the approaching conflict, freely to bestow their last pittance on themselves and their horses, and to expect with the dawn of day the signal of victory. On the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul, the gates of Antioch were thrown open; a martial psalm, "Let the Lord arise, and let his enemies be scattered!" was chanted by a procession of priests and monks; the battle-array was marshalled in twelve divisions, in honour of the twelve apostles; and the holy lance, in the absence of Raymond, was intrusted to the hands of his chaplain. The influence of this relic or trophy was felt by the servants, and perhaps by the enemies, of Christ;* and its potent energy was heightened by an accident, a stratagem, or a rumour, of a miraculous complexion. Three knights, in white garments and resplendent arms, either issued or seemed to issue from the hills; the voice of Adhemar, the pope's legate, proclaimed them as the martyrs St. George, St. Theodore, and St. Maurice; the tumult of battle allowed no time for doubt or scrutiny; and the welcome apparition dazzled the eyes or the imagination of a fanatic army. In the season of danger and triumph, the revelation of Bartholemey of Marseilles was unanimously asserted; but as soon as the temporary service was accomplished, the personal dignity and liberal alms which the count of Thoulouse derived from the custody of the holy lance provoked the envy, and awakened the reason, of his rivals. A Norman clerk† presumed to sift, with a philosophic spirit, the truth of the legend, the circumstances of the discovery, and the character of the prophet; and the pious Bohemond ascribed their deliverance to the merits and intercession of Christ alone. For a while, the Provincials defended their national palladium with clamours and arms;

* The Mahometan Aboulmahasen (apud de Guignes, tom. ii. p. 2, p. 95) is more correct in his account of the holy lance than the Christians, Anna Comnena and Abulpharagius; the Greek princess confounds it with the nail of the cross (l. 11, p. 326); the Jacobite primate, with St. Peter's staff (p. 242).

† [This was Arnulfus, the chaplain of Robert duke of Normandy: he will be more conspicuous in a future page.—ED.]

and new visions condemned to death and hell the profane sceptics, who presumed to scrutinize the truth and merit of the discovery. The prevalence of incredulity compelled the author to submit his life and veracity to the judgment of God. A pile of dry fagots, four feet high, and fourteen long, was erected in the midst of the camp; the flames burnt fiercely to the elevation of thirty cubits; and a narrow path of twelve inches was left for the perilous trial. The unfortunate priest of Marseilles traversed the fire with dexterity and speed; but his thighs and belly were scorched by the intense heat; he expired the next day; and the logic of believing minds will pay some regard to his dying protestations of innocence and truth. Some efforts were made by the Provincials to substitute a cross, a ring, or a tabernacle, in the place of the holy lance, which soon vanished in contempt and oblivion.* Yet the revelation of Antioch is gravely asserted by succeeding historians; and such is the progress of credulity, that miracles, most doubtful on the spot and at the moment, will be received with implicit faith at a convenient distance of time and space.

The prudence or fortune of the Franks had delayed their invasion till the decline of the Turkish empire.† Under the manly government of the three first sultans, the kingdoms of Asia were united in peace and justice; and the innumerable armies which they led in person were equal in courage, and superior in discipline, to the Barbarians of the West. But at the time of the crusade, the inheritance of Malek Shah was disputed by his four sons; their private ambition was insensible of the public danger; and, in the vicissitudes of their fortune, the royal vassals were ignorant, or regardless, of the true objects of their allegiance. The twenty-eight emirs, who marched with the standard of Kerboga, were his rivals or enemies; their hasty levies were drawn from the towns and tents of Mesopotamia and Syria; and the Turkish veterans were employed or consumed in the

* The two antagonists who express the most intimate knowledge and the strongest conviction of the *miracle*, and of the *fraud*, are Raymond de Agiles and Radulphus Cadomensis, the one attached to the count of Thoulouse, the other to the Norman prince. Fulcherius Carnotensis presumes to say: Audite fraudem et non fraudem! and afterwards, Invenit lanceam, fallaciter occultatam forsitan. The rest of the herd are loud and strenuous.

† See M. de Guignes,

civil wars beyond the Tigris. The caliph of Egypt embraced this opportunity of weakness and discord, to recover his ancient possessions; and his sultan Aphdal besieged Jerusalem and Tyre, expelled the children of Ortok, and restored in Palestine the civil and ecclesiastical authority of the Fatimites.* They heard with astonishment of the vast armies of Christians that had passed from Europe to Asia, and rejoiced in the sieges and battles which broke the power of the Turks, the adversaries of their sect and monarchy. But the same Christians were the enemies of the prophet; and from the overthrow of Nice and Antioch, the motive of their enterprise, which was gradually understood, would urge them forwards to the banks of the Jordan, or perhaps of the Nile. An intercourse of epistles and embassies, which rose and fell with the events of war, was maintained between the throne of Cairo and the camp of the Latins; and their adverse pride was the result of ignorance and enthusiasm. The ministers of Egypt declared in a haughty, or insinuated in a milder, tone, that their sovereign, the true and lawful commander of the faithful, had rescued Jerusalem from the Turkish yoke; and that the pilgrims, if they would divide their numbers, and lay aside their arms, should find a safe and hospitable reception at the sepulchre of Jesus. In the belief of their lost condition, the caliph Mostali despised their arms, and imprisoned their deputies; the conquest and victory of Antioch prompted him to solicit those formidable champions with gifts of horses and silk robes, of vases, and purses of gold and silver; and in his estimate of their merit or power, the first place was assigned to Bohemond, and the second to Godfrey. In either fortune the answer of the crusaders was firm and uniform; they disdained to inquire into the private claims or possessions of the followers of Mahomet; whatsoever was his name or nation, the usurper of Jerusalem was their enemy; and instead of prescribing the mode and terms of their pilgrimage, it was only by a timely surrender of the city and pro-

tom. ii. p. 2, p. 223, &c.; and the articles of *Barkiarok, Mohammed, Sangiar*, in D'Herbelot.

* The emir, or sultan Aphdal, recovered Jerusalem and Tyre, A.H. 489 (Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 478. De Guignes, tom. i. p. 249, from Abulfeda and Ben Schounah). Jerusalem ante adventum vestrum recuperavimus, Turcos ejecimus, say the Fatimite ambassadors.

vince, their sacred right, that he could deserve their alliance, or deprecate their impending and irresistible attack.*

Yet this attack, when they were within the view and reach of their glorious prize, was suspended above ten months after the defeat of Kerboga. The zeal and courage of the crusaders were chilled in the moment of victory; and, instead of marching to improve the consternation, they hastily dispersed to enjoy the luxury, of Syria. The causes of this strange delay may be found in the want of strength and subordination. In the painful and various service of Antioch, the cavalry was annihilated; many thousands of every rank had been lost by famine, sickness, and desertion; the same abuse of plenty had been productive of a third famine; and the alternation of intemperance and distress had generated a pestilence, which swept away above fifty thousand of the pilgrims. Few were able to command, and none were willing to obey; the domestic feuds, which had been stifled by common fear, were again renewed in acts, or at least in sentiments, of hostility; the fortune of Baldwin and Bohemond excited the envy of their companions; the bravest knights were enlisted for the defence of their new principalities; and count Raymond exhausted his troops and treasures in an idle expedition into the heart of Syria. The winter was consumed in discord and disorder; a sense of honour and religion was rekindled in the spring; and the private soldiers, less susceptible of ambition and jealousy, awakened with angry clamours the indolence of their chiefs. In the month of May, the relics of this mighty host proceeded from Antioch to Laodicea: about forty thousand Latins, of whom no more than fifteen hundred horse, and twenty thousand foot, were capable of immediate service. Their easy march was continued between mount Libanus and the sea-shore; their wants were liberally supplied by the coasting traders of Genoa and Pisa; and they drew large contributions from the emirs of Tripoli, Tyre, Sidon, Acre, and Cæsarea, who granted a free passage, and promised to follow the example of Jerusalem. From Cæsarea they advanced into the midland country; their clerks recog-

* See the transactions between the caliph of Egypt and the crusaders, in William of Tyre (l. 4, c. 24; l. 6, c. 19), and Albert Aquensis (l. 3, c. 59), who are more sensible of their importance than the contemporary writers.

nised the sacred geography of Lydda, Ramla, Emmaus, and Bethlem, and as soon as they descried the holy city, the crusaders forgot their toils and claimed their reward.*

Jerusalem has derived some reputation from the number and importance of her memorable sieges. It was not till after a long and obstinate contest that Babylon and Rome could prevail against the obstinacy of the people, the craggy ground that might supersede the necessity of fortifications, and the walls and towers that would have fortified the most accessible plain.† These obstacles were diminished in the age of the crusades. The bulwarks had been completely destroyed and imperfectly restored; the Jews, their nation, and worship, were for ever banished; but nature is less changeable than man, and the site of Jerusalem, though somewhat softened, and somewhat removed, was still strong against the assaults of an enemy. By the experience of a recent siege, and a three years' possession, the Saracens of Egypt had been taught to discern, and in some degree to remedy, the defects of a place, which religion as well as honour forbade them to resign. Aladin, or Iftikhar, the caliph's lieutenant, was intrusted with the defence; his policy strove to restrain the native Christians by the dread of their own ruin and that of the holy sepulchre; to animate the Moslems by the assurance of temporal and eternal rewards. His garrison is said to have consisted of forty thousand Turks and Arabians; and if he could muster twenty thousand of the inhabitants, it must be confessed, that the besieged were more numerous than the besieging army.‡

* The greatest part of the march of the Franks is traced, and most accurately traced, in Maundrell's *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (p. 11—67); *un des meilleurs morceaux, sans contredit, qu'on ait dans ce genre* (D'Anville, *Mémoire sur Jerusalem*, p. 27). [See *Early Travels in Palestine* (Bohn), p. 383—512. Dean Milman objects to Gibbon's mention of Bethlem here, because it lies to the south of Jerusalem. The distance, however, according to Maundrell (p. 455), is but two hours' travel, and while the crusaders were at Emmaus, the day before they saw Jerusalem, messengers from Bethlem invited a garrison. Tancred was in consequence sent there with a hundred knights. *Wilh. Tyr.* vii. 94. *Alb. Aq.* v. 43. *Wilken*, i. 270.—Ed.]

† See the masterly description of Tacitus (*Hist.* 5. 11—13), who supposes that the Jewish lawgivers had provided for a perpetual state of hostility against the rest of mankind. [The fortifications of Jerusalem, by nature and art, have been described in a note to ch. 23, vol. ii. p. 537.—Ed.]

‡ The lively scepticism of

Had the diminished strength and numbers of the Latins allowed them to grasp the whole circumference of four thousand yards (about two English miles and a half),* to what useful purpose should they have descended into the valley of Ben Himmon and torrent of Cedron† or approach the precipices of the south and east, from whence they had nothing either to hope or fear? Their siege was more reasonably directed against the northern and western sides of the city. Godfrey of Bouillon erected his standard on the first swell of mount Calvary; to the left, as far as St. Stephen's gate, the line of attack was continued by Tancred and the two Roberts; and count Raymond established his quarters from the citadel to the foot of mount Sion, which was no longer included within the precincts of the city. On the fifth day, the crusaders made a general assault, in the fanatic hope of battering down the walls without engines, and of scaling them without ladders. By the dint of brutal force, they burst the first barrier, but they were driven back with shame and slaughter to the camp; the influence of

Voltaire is balanced with sense and erudition by the French author of the *Esprit des Croisades* (tom. iv. p. 386—388), who observes that, according to the Arabians, the inhabitants of Jerusalem must have exceeded two hundred thousand; that in the siege of Titus, Josephus collects one million three hundred thousand Jews; that they are stated by Tacitus himself at six hundred thousand; and that the largest defalcation that his *accepimus* can justify will still leave them more numerous than the Roman army.

* Maundrell, who diligently perambulated the walls, found a circuit of four thousand six hundred and thirty paces, or four thousand one hundred and sixty-seven English yards (p. 109, 110.) [Bohn, p. 475]: from an authentic plan, D'Anville concludes a measure nearly similar, of one thousand nine hundred and sixty French *toises* (p. 23—29), in his scarce and valuable tract. For the topography of Jerusalem, see Reland. (*Palestina*, tom. ii. p. 832—860.)

† Jerusalem was possessed only of the torrent of Kedron, dry in summer, and of the little spring or brook of Siloe. (Reland, tom. i. p. 294. 300.) Both strangers and natives complained of the want of water, which in time of war was studiously aggravated. Within the city, Tacitus mentions a perennial fountain, an aqueduct, and cisterns for rain-water. The aqueduct was conveyed from the rivulet Tekoe, or Etham, which is likewise mentioned by Bohadin (in *Vit. Saladin*, p. 238). [Maundrell found the water-course of Kedron quite dry in the month of April; and a tanner dressed his hides in the pool of Siloam. That of Bethesda also had no water. At the foot of Mount Zion he saw Bathsheba's pool, and about a furlong from that of Siloam, a spring called the Fountain of the Virgin. Bohn, p. 468—473.—ED.]

vision and prophecy was deadened by the too frequent abuse of those pious stratagems; and time and labour were found to be the only means of victory. The time of the siege was indeed fulfilled in forty days, but they were forty days of calamity and anguish. A repetition of the old complaint of famine may be imputed in some degree to the voracious or disorderly appetite of the Franks; but the stony soil of Jerusalem is almost destitute of water; the scanty springs and hasty torrents were dry in the summer season; nor was the thirst of the besiegers relieved, as in the city, by the artificial supply of cisterns and aqueducts. The circumjacent country is equally destitute of trees for the uses of shade or building; but some large beams were discovered in a cave by the crusaders; a wood near Sichein, the enchanted grove of Tasso,* was cut down; the necessary timber was transported to the camp by the vigour and dexterity of Tancred; and the engines were framed by some Genoese artists, who had fortunately landed in the harbour of Jaffa. Two moveable turrets were constructed at the expense, and in the stations, of the duke of Lorraine and the count of Thoulouse, and rolled forwards with devout labour, not to the most accessible, but to the most neglected parts, of the fortification. Raymond's tower was reduced to ashes by the fire of the besieged,† but his colleague was more vigilant and successful; the enemies were driven by his archers from the rampart; the drawbridge was let down; and on a Friday, at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the passion, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem. His example was followed on every side by the emulation of valour; and about four hundred and sixty years after the conquest of Omar, the holy city was rescued from the Mahometan yoke. In the pillage of public and private

* *Gierusalemme Liberata*, canto 13. It is pleasant enough to observe how Tasso has copied and embellished the minutest details of the siege.

† [Raymond's tower was not burnt, but much injured, since it was exposed to the destructive missiles of nine out of the fourteen machines, used in defending the city. On Godfrey's side, some burning arrows set fire to the bags of straw and cotton that protected the wall. The besieged were driven from their posts by the stifling smoke. The fall-bridge at the second story of the tower was let down, and according to Albert. Aq. (6. 19), two brothers, Ludolph and Engelbert, were the first who entered Jerusalem. This honour is claimed for others, but Guibert, who says (p. 595), that he could settle the point,

wealth, the adventurers had agreed to respect the exclusive property of the first occupant; and the spoils of the great mosque, seventy lamps and massy vases of gold and silver, rewarded the diligence, and displayed the generosity, of Tancred. A bloody sacrifice was offered by his mistaken votaries to the God of the Christians; resistance might provoke, but neither age nor sex could mollify, their implacable rage; they indulged themselves three days in a promiscuous massacre;* and the infection of the dead bodies produced an epidemical disease. After seventy thousand Moslems had been put to the sword, and the harmless Jews had been burnt in their synagogue, they could still reserve a multitude of captives, whom interest or lassitude persuaded them to spare. Of these savage heroes of the cross, Tancred alone betrayed some sentiments of compassion; yet we may praise the more selfish lenity of Raymond, who granted a capitulation and safe conduct to the garrison of the citadel.† The holy sepulchre was now free; and the bloody victors prepared to accomplish their vow. Bareheaded and barefoot, with contrite hearts, and in an humble posture, they ascended the hill of Calvary, amidst the loud anthems of the clergy; kissed the stone which had covered the Saviour of the world; and bedewed with tears of joy and penitence the monument of their redemption. This union of the fiercest and most tender passions has been variously considered by two philosophers; by the one,‡ as easy and natural; by the

declines to record names that were afterwards disgraced by deeds of blood. Wilken, 1. 293.—Ed.]

* Besides the Latins, who are not ashamed of the massacre, see Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 363), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 243), and M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. 2, p. 99), from Aboulmahasen.

† The old tower Psephina, in the middle ages Neblosa, was named Castellum Pisanum, from the patriarch Daimbert. It is still the citadel, the residence of the Turkish aga, and commands a prospect of the Dead Sea, Judea, and Arabia. (D'Anville, p. 19—23.) It was likewise called the tower of David, *πύργος παμμεγέθυνταρος*.

‡ Hume, in his History of England, vol. i. p. 311, 312, octavo edition. [The close of Peter the Hermit's career ought not to be overlooked. After his intercepted flight, he remained at his post, and accompanied an embassy to Kerboga. During the public solemnities which followed the delivery of Jerusalem, he received an address of thanks from the assembled priesthood. His mission being completed, he returned to his native land and built a monastery at Huy on the Meuse, where he died, and was buried in 1115. Wilken, i. 217. 299.—Ed.]

other,* as absurd and incredible. Perhaps it is too rigorously applied to the same persons and the same hour; the example of the virtuous Godfrey awakened the piety of his companions; while they cleansed their bodies, they purified their minds; nor shall I believe that the most ardent in slaughter and rapine were the foremost in the procession to the holy sepulchre.

Eight days after this memorable event, which pope Urban did not live to hear, the Latin chiefs proceeded to the election of a king, to guard and govern their conquests in Palestine. Hugh the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, had retired with some loss of reputation, which they strove to regain by a second crusade and an honourable death. Baldwin was established at Edessa, and Bohemond at Antioch; and two Roberts, the duke of Normandy† and the count of Flanders, preferred their fair inheritance in the West to a doubtful competition or a barren sceptre. The jealousy and ambition of Raymond were condemned by his own followers; and the free, the just, the unanimous voice of the army, proclaimed Godfrey of Bouillon the first and most worthy of the champions of Christendom. His magnanimity accepted a trust as full of danger as of glory; but in a city where his Saviour had been crowned with thorns, the devout pilgrim rejected the name and ensigns of royalty; and the founder of the kingdom of Jerusalem contented himself with the modest title of defender and baron of the holy sepulchre. His government of a single year,‡ too short for the public happiness, was interrupted in the first fortnight by a summons to the field by the approach of the vizir or sultan of Egypt, who had been too slow to prevent, but who was impatient to avenge, the loss of Jerusalem. His total overthrow in the battle of Ascalon sealed the establishment of the Latins in Syria, and signalized the valour of the French princes, who in

* Voltaire, in his *Essai sur l'Histoire Générale*, tom. ii. c. 54, p. 345, 346.

† The English ascribe to Robert of Normandy, and the Provincials to Raymond of Thoulouse, the glory of refusing the crown; but the honest voice of tradition has preserved the memory of the ambition and revenge (Villehardouin, No. 136) of the count of St. Giles. He died at the siege of Tripoli, which was possessed by his descendants.

‡ See the election, the battle of Ascalon, &c. in William of Tyre, l. 9, c. 1—12, and in the conclusion of the Latin historians of the first crusade.

this action bade a long farewell to the holy wars. Some glory might be derived from the prodigious inequality of numbers, though I shall not count the myriads of horse and foot on the side of the Fatimites; but, except three thousand *Æthiopians* or Blacks, who were armed with flails, or scourges of iron, the Barbarians of the South fled on the first onset, and afforded a pleasing comparison between the active valour of the Turks and the sloth and effeminacy of the natives of Egypt. After suspending before the holy sepulchre the sword and standard of the sultan, the new king (he deserves the title) embraced his departing companions, and could retain only, with the gallant Tancred, three hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers, for the defence of Palestine. His sovereignty was soon attacked by a new enemy, the only one against whom Godfrey was a coward. Adhemar, bishop of Puy, who excelled both in council and action, had been swept away in the last plague of Antioch; the remaining ecclesiastics preserved only the pride and avarice of their character; and their seditious clamours had required that the choice of a bishop should precede that of a king. The revenue and jurisdiction of the lawful patriarch were usurped by the Latin clergy; the exclusion of the Greeks and Syrians was justified by the reproach of heresy or schism;* and, under the iron yoke of their deliverers, the Oriental Christians regretted the tolerating government of the Arabian caliphs. Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, had long been trained in the secret policy of Rome; he brought a fleet of his countrymen to the succour of the Holy Land, and was installed, without a competitor, the spiritual and temporal head of the church. The new patriarch † immediately grasped the

* Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 479.

† See the claims of the patriarch Daimbert, in William of Tyre (l. 9, c. 15—18. 10. 4. 7. 9), who asserts, with marvellous candour, the independence of the conquerors and kings of Jerusalem. [Even here, forgetful of past, and regardless of surrounding, difficulties, the hierarchy did not scruple to endanger an ill-secured acquisition, by their restless and uncontrollable spirit of aggrandizement. Before it was well in their possession, they began to contend for the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and to grasp its revenues. The first who aspired to the dignity was Arnulf, the chaplain of Robert duke of Normandy, the same "Norman clerk" who had ridiculed the fable of the "holy lance." He had recently inherited great wealth from Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and having some talent, he gained an ascendancy over the

sceptre which had been acquired by the toil and blood of the victorious pilgrims; and both Godfrey and Bohemond submitted to receive at his hands the investiture of their feudal possessions. Nor was this sufficient; Daimbert claimed the immediate property of Jerusalem and Jaffa; instead of a firm and generous refusal, the hero negotiated with the priest; a quarter of either city was ceded to the church; and the modest bishop was satisfied with an eventual reversion of the rest, on the death of Godfrey without children, or on the future acquisition of a new seat at Cairo or Damascus.

Without this indulgence, the conqueror would have almost been stripped of his infant kingdom, which consisted only of Jerusalem and Jaffa, with about twenty villages and towns of the adjacent country.* Within this narrow verge, the Mahometans were still lodged in some impregnable castles; and the husbandman, the trader, and the pilgrim, were exposed to daily and domestic hostility. By the arms of Godfrey himself, and of the two Baldwins, his brother and cousin, who succeeded to the throne, the Latins breathed with more ease and safety; and at length they equalled, in the extent of their dominions, though not in the millions of their subjects, the ancient princes of Judah and Israel.† After the reduction of the maritime

ignorant ecclesiastics who attended the crusade, and among whom Guibert Abbas has recorded the *inopia literatorum*. But he was not less pre-eminent among them for his dissolute indulgence of licentious passion. When he found the princes indisposed to favour his designs, he inflamed the fanatical prejudices of the lower orders to such a degree, that with the support of his patron Robert, he forced himself into the station, and was the first patriarch of Jerusalem (Wilken, l. 302—306). His rivals, however, soon availed themselves of a proper opportunity to displace him, and Daimbert or Dagobert was installed in his room.—ED.] * Willerm. Tyr. l. 10. 19.

The *Historia Hierosolimitana* of Jacobus à Vitriaco (l. 1, c. 21—50), and the *Secreta Fidelium Crucis* of Marinus Sanutus (l. 3, p. 1), describe the state and conquests of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

† An actual muster, not including the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, gave David an army of one million three hundred thousand, or one million five hundred and seventy-four thousand fighting men; which, with the addition of women, children, and slaves, may imply a population of thirteen millions, in a country sixty leagues in length and thirty broad. The honest and rational Le Clerc (*Comment. on 2 Samuel xxiv. 1 Chronicles xxi.*), æstuat angusto in limite, and mutters his suspicion of a false transcript; a dangerous suspicion!

cities of Laodicea, Tripoli, Tyre, and Ascalon,* which were powerfully assisted by the fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, and even of Flanders and Norway,† the range of sea-coast from Scanderoon to the borders of Egypt was possessed by the Christian pilgrims. If the prince of Antioch disclaimed his supremacy, the counts of Edessa and Tripoli owned themselves the vassals of the king of Jerusalem; the Latins reigned beyond the Euphrates; and the four cities of Hems, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo, were the only relics of the Mahometan conquests in Syria.‡ The laws and language, the manners and titles, of the French nation and Latin church, were introduced into these transmarine colonies. According to the feudal jurisprudence, the principal states and subordinate baronies descended in the line of male and female succession;§ but the children of the first conquerors,¶ a motley and degenerate race, were dissolved by the luxury of the climate; the arrival of new crusaders from Europe was a doubtful hope and a casual event. The service of the feudal tenures** was performed by six hundred and sixty-six knights, who might expect the

* These sieges are related, each in its proper place, in the great history of William of Tyre, from the ninth to the eighteenth book, and more briefly told by Bernardus Thesaurarius (*de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*, c. 89-98, p. 732-740). Some domestic facts are celebrated in the *Chronicles of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice*, in the sixth, ninth, and twelfth tomes of Muratori.

† *Quidam populus de insulis occidentis egressus, et maxime de ea parte quæ Norvegia dicitur.* William of Tyre (l. 11, c. 14, p. 804) marks their course per Britannicum mare et Calpen to the siege of Sidon.

‡ Benelathir, apud De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. ii. part 2, p. 150, 151, A.D. 1127. He must speak of the inland country.

§ Sanut very sensibly descants on the mischiefs of female succession, in a land, *hostibus circumdata, ubi cuncta virilia et virtuosa esse debent.* Yet, at the summons, and with the approbation, of her feudal lord, a noble damsel was obliged to choose a husband and champion. (*Assises de Jerusalem*, c. 242, &c.) See in M. de Guignes (tom. i. p. 441-471) the accurate and useful tables of these dynasties, which are chiefly drawn from the *Lignages d'Outremer*.

¶ They were called by derision *Poullains, Pullani*, and their name is never pronounced without contempt. (Ducange, *Gloss. Latin.* tom. v. p. 535, and *Observations sur Joinville*, p. 84, 85. Jacob à Vitriaco, *Hist. Hierosol.* l. 1, c. 67. 72, and Sanut, l. 3, p. 8, c. 2, p. 182.) *Illustrium virorum qui ad Terræ Sanctæ . . . liberationem in ipsa manserunt degeneres filii . . . in deliciis enutriti, molles et effeminati, &c.*

** This authentic detail is extracted from the *Assises de Jerusalem* (c. 324. 326-331). Sanut (l. 3, p. 8,

aid of two hundred more under the banner of the count of Tripoli; and each knight was attended to the field by four squires or archers on horseback.* Five thousand and seventy-five *serjeants*, most probably foot-soldiers, were supplied by the churches and cities; and the whole legal militia of the kingdom could not exceed eleven thousand men, a slender defence against the surrounding myriads of Saracens and Turks.† But the firmest bulwark of Jerusalem was founded on the knights of the Hospital of St. John,‡

c. 1, p. 174) reckons only five hundred and eighteen knights, and five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five followers.

* The sum total, and the division, ascertain the service of the three great baronies at one hundred knights each; and the text of the Assises, which extends the number to five hundred, can only be justified by this supposition.

† Yet on great emergencies (says Sanut) the barons brought a voluntary aid; *decemtem comitivum militum juxta statum suum*.

‡ William of Tyre (l. 18, c. 3—5) relates the ignoble origin, and early insolence, of the Hospitallers, who soon deserted their humble patron, St. John the Eleemosynary, for the more august character of St. John the Baptist. (See the ineffectual struggles of Pagi, *Critica*, A.D. 1099, No. 14—18.) They assumed the profession of arms about the year 1120; the Hospital was *mater*; the Temple, *filia*; the Teutonic order was founded A.D. 1190, at the siege of Acre. (Mosheim, *Institut.* p. 389, 390.) [Four octavo volumes were published in 1852, containing *The History of the Holy, Military, Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, by John Taaffe, Knight Commander of the Order. It is a strange compound of voracious credulity and credible narrative, but contains much useful information. We there find that what William of Tyre says is “totally erroneous,” and that the Order originated soon after the battle of Ascalon (A.D. 1099), in a conference between Godfrey, Tancred, and Gerard of Avesnes. Godfrey’s donation of lands consisted of Monale in Sicily and the castle of Abraham, near Bethlehem, and his deed of gift is dated “in less than a year from the taking of Jerusalem.” Foremost among the rules of the Order stands “Hospitality to all pilgrims and crusaders.” This connected them with the *hospitium* or *hospitale* (hostelry) for the reception of pilgrims, an old establishment at Jerusalem, dedicated to St. John the Baptist. From this the Order had its name. Twelve years after its foundation, a new mansion was built, large enough for two thousand guests, beside an infirmary for the sick and wounded. This is the *Xenodochium* in the bull of pope Paschal II., dated in 1113. Gerard d’Avesnes was the first *propositus*, or provost, and held the office till his death in 1120. A military organization was the second rule of the Order. From its very commencement, its knights sustained the principal military duties in Palestine, and were “the nerve of the Christian army” in every conflict. The Templars were founded in 1118 by Sir Hugh de Pagano,

and of the temple of Solomon;* on the strange association of a monastic and military life, which fanaticism might suggest, but which policy must approve. The flower of the nobility of Europe aspired to wear the cross, and to profess the vows, of these respectable orders; their spirit and discipline were immortal; and the speedy donation of twenty-eight thousand farms, or manors,† enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry for the defence of Palestine. The austerity of the convent soon evaporated in the exercise of arms; the world was scandalized by the pride, avarice, and corruption, of these Christian soldiers; their claims of immunity and jurisdiction disturbed the harmony of the church and state; and the public peace was endangered by their jealous emulation. But in their most dissolute period, the knights of the Hospital and Temple maintained their fearless and fanatic character; they neglected to live, but they were prepared to die, in the service of Christ; and the spirit of chivalry, the parent and offspring of the crusades, has been transplanted by this institution from the holy sepulchre to the isle of Malta.‡

The spirit of freedom which pervades the feudal institutions, was felt in its strongest energy by the volunteers of the cross, who elected for their chief the most deserving of his peers. Amidst the slaves of Asia, unconscious of the

whose brother Roger was Gerard's first master-at-arms. These, which appear to be trustworthy facts, are scattered in the first volume of this history (from chapter 3, p. 147, to chapter 4, p. 218), and are sustained by original documents in the appendix at the close of vol. iv. The origin of the Teutonic Order is related, vol. ii. p. 31. and appendix, p. 54. It was confirmed by a bull of Cœlestin III., 22nd February, 1191 (1192), which is lost.—ED.] * See St. Bernard de Laude Novæ Militiæ Templi, composed A.D. 1132—1136, in Opp. tom. i. p. 2, p. 547—563, edit. Mabillon, Venet. 1750. Such an encomium, which is thrown away on the dead Templars, would be highly valued by the historians of Malta.

† Matthew Paris, Hist. Major. p. 544. He assigns to the Hospitallers nineteen thousand, to the Templars nine thousand *maneria*; a word of much higher import (as Ducange has rightly observed) in the English than in the French idiom. *Manor* is a lordship, *manoir* a dwelling.

‡ In the three first books of the Histoire des Chevaliers de Malthe, par l'Abbé de Vertot, the reader may amuse himself with a fair, and sometimes flattering, picture of the Order, while it was employed for the defence of Palestine. The subsequent books pursue their emigra-

lesson or example, a model of political liberty was introduced; and the laws of the French kingdom are derived from the purest source of equality and justice. Of such laws, the first and indispensable condition is the assent of those whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit they are designed. No sooner had Godfrey of Bouillon accepted the office of supreme magistrate, than he solicited the public and private advice of the Latin pilgrims, who were the best skilled in the statutes and customs of Europe. From these materials, with the counsel and approbation of the patriarchs and barons of the clergy and laity, Godfrey composed the *ASSISE OF JERUSALEM**—a precious monument of feudal jurisprudence. The new code, attested by the seals of the king, the patriarch, and the viscount of Jerusalem, was deposited in the holy sepulchre, enriched with the improvements of succeeding times, and respectfully consulted as often as any doubtful question arose in the tribunals of Palestine. With the kingdom and city, all was lost;† the fragments of the written law were preserved by jealous tradition‡ and variable practice till the middle of the thirteenth century; the code was restored by the pen of John d'Ibelin, count of Jaffa, one of the principal feudatories;§ and the final revision was accomplished in

tions to Rhodes and Malta.

* The *Assises de Jerusalem*, in old law French, were printed with Beaumanoir's *Coutumes de Beauvoisis* (Bourges and Paris, 1690), in folio, and illustrated by Gaspard Thaumas de la Thaumassiere, with a comment and glossary. An Italian version had been published in 1535, at Venice, for the use of the kingdom of Cyprus.

† *A la terre perdue*, tout fut perdu, is the vigorous expression of the *Assise*, (c. 281.). Yet Jerusalem capitulated with Saladin; the queen and the principal Christians departed in peace; and a code so precious and so portable could not provoke the avarice of the conquerors. I have sometimes suspected the existence of this original copy of the holy sepulchre, which might be invented to sanctify and authenticate the traditionary customs of the French in Palestine.

‡ A noble lawyer, Raoul de Tabarie, denied the prayer of king Amauri, (A.D. 1195—1205,) that he would commit his knowledge to writing; and frankly declared que de ce qu'il savoit ne feroit-il ja nul borjois son pareill, ne nul sage homme lettré. (c. 281.)

§ The compiler of this work, Jean d'Ibelin, was count of Jaffa and Ascalon, lord of Baruth (Berytus) and Rames, and died A.D. 1266. (Sanut, l. 3, p. 2, c. 5. 8.) The family of Ibelin, which descended from a younger brother of a count of Chartres in France, long flourished in Palestine and Cyprus. (See the *Lignes de deça Mer*, or d'Outremer, c. 6, at the end of the *Assises de*

the year 1369, for the use of the Latin kingdom of Cyprus.*

The justice and freedom of the constitution were maintained by two tribunals of unequal dignity, which were instituted by Godfrey of Bouillon after the conquest of Jerusalem. The king, in person, presided in the upper court, the court of the barons. Of those the four most conspicuous were, the prince of Galilee, the lord of Sidon and Cæsarea, and the counts of Jaffa and Tripoli, who, perhaps with the constable and marshal,† were in a special manner the compeers and judges of each other. But all the nobles who held their lands immediately of the crown, were entitled and bound to attend the king's court; and each baron exercised a similar jurisdiction in the subordinate assemblies of his own feudatories. The connection of lord and vassal was honourable and voluntary; reverence was due to the benefactor, protection to the dependant; but they mutually pledged their faith to each other; and the obligation on either side might be suspended by neglect, or

Jerusalem, an original book, which records the pedigrees of the French adventurers.) [Taaffe (i. p. 170) says that Ibelin made a very imperfect version of the Assises of Jerusalem, and that the "heavy tome," which was afterwards compiled, and by which alone Gibbon could judge, is so corrupt as to afford food for blame and derision. Godfrey's original code, he adds, was from the "well-springs of freedom," the pure source of Gothic principle. But he adopts the common error of making Scandinavia the fountain-head of this stream.—Ed.]

* By sixteen commissioners chosen in the States of the island. The work was finished the 3d of November, 1369, sealed with four seals, and deposited in the cathedral of Nicosia. (See the preface to the Assises.) [The constitution framed by Godfrey, for his kingdom of Jerusalem, is one of the most interesting juridical monuments of the Middle ages, and is the subject of a lengthened inquiry in Wilken's 13th ch. (l. 207—424,) and in the Appendix (p. 17—40.) Of late years it has called forth considerable attention, and three editions came out almost simultaneously. One by Mons. Beugnot, under the auspices of the Académie des Inscriptions, folio, Paris, 1841; another by Victor Foucher, Rennes, 1839—41; and the third by Kausler, Stutgard, 1839. What might have resulted from the introduction of such institutions into Asia, had they been permanently established, is a curious matter of speculation. But they were beset from the first, as we have seen, by a fatal influence, which checked their growth and brought on premature decay.—Ed.]

† The cautious John d'Ibelin argues, rather than affirms, that Tripoli is the fourth barony, and expresses some doubt concerning the right or pretension of the constable and marshal. (c. 323.)

dissolved by injury. The cognizance of marriages and testaments was blended with religion, and usurped by the clergy; but the civil and criminal causes of the nobles, the inheritance and tenure of their fiefs, formed the proper occupation of the supreme court. Each member was the judge and guardian both of public and private rights. It was his duty to assert with his tongue and sword the lawful claims of the lord; but if an unjust superior presumed to violate the freedom or property of a vassal, the confederate peers stood forth to maintain his quarrel by word and deed. They boldly affirmed his innocence and his wrongs; demanded the restitution of his liberty or his lands; suspended, after a fruitless demand, their own service; rescued their brother from prison; and employed every weapon in his defence, without offering direct violence to the person of their lord, which was ever sacred in their eyes.* In their pleadings, replies, and rejoinders, the advocates of the court were subtle and copious; but the use of argument and evidence was often superseded by judicial combat; and the Assise of Jerusalem admits in many cases this barbarous institution, which has been slowly abolished by the laws and manners of Europe.

The trial by battle was established in all criminal cases which affected the life, or limb, or honour, of any person; and in all civil transactions, of or above the value of one mark of silver. It appears, that in criminal cases the combat was the privilege of the accuser, who, except in a charge of treason, avenged his personal injury, or the death of those persons whom he had a right to represent; but, wherever, from the nature of the charge, testimony could be obtained, it was necessary for him to produce witnesses of the fact. In civil cases, the combat was not allowed as the means of establishing the claim of the demandant; but he was obliged to produce witnesses who had, or assumed to have, knowledge of the fact. The combat was then the privilege of the defendant; because he charged the witness with an

* Entre seignor et homme ne n'a que la foi; . . . mais tant que l'homme doit à son seignor reverence en toutes choses (c. 206.), tous les hommes du dit royaume sont par la dite Assise tenus les uns as autres . . . et en celle maniere que le seignor mette main ou fasse mettre au corps ou fié d'aucun d'yaus sans esgard et sans connoissance de court, que tous les autres doivent venir devant le seignor, &c. (212).

attempt by perjury to take away his right. He came therefore to be in the same situation as the appellant in criminal cases. It was not then as a mode of proof that the combat was received, nor as making negative evidence (according to the supposition of Montesquieu*); but in every case the right to offer battle was founded on the right to pursue by arms the redress of an injury; and the judicial combat was fought on the same principle, and with the same spirit, as a private duel. Champions were only allowed to women, and to men maimed or past the age of sixty. The consequence of a defeat was death to the person accused, or to the champion or witness, as well as to the accuser himself; but in civil cases, the demandant was punished with infamy and the loss of his suit, while his witness and champion suffered an ignominious death. In many cases it was in the option of the judge to award or to refuse the combat; but two are specified, in which it was the inevitable result of the challenge; if a faithful vassal gave the lie to his compeer, who unjustly claimed any portion of their lord's demenses; or if an unsuccessful suitor presumed to impeach the judgment and veracity of the court. He might impeach them, but the terms were severe and perilous; in the same day he successively fought *all* the members of the tribunal, even those who had been absent; a single defeat was followed by death and infamy; and where none could hope for victory, it is highly probable that none would adventure the trial. In the Assise of Jerusalem, the legal subtlety of the count of Jaffa is more laudably employed to elude, than to facilitate, the judicial combat, which he derives from a principle of honour rather than of superstition.†

Among the causes which enfranchised the plebeians from

The form of their remonstrances is conceived with the noble simplicity of freedom.

* See l'Esprit des Loix, l. 28. In the forty years since its publication, no work has been more read and criticised; and the spirit of inquiry which it has excited is not the least of our obligations to the author.

† For the intelligence of this obscure and obsolete jurisprudence, (c. 80—111.) I am deeply indebted to the friendship of a learned lord, who, with an accurate and discerning eye, has surveyed the philosophic history of law. By his studies, posterity might be enriched: the merit of the orator and the judge can be *felt* only by his contemporaries. [This compliment was, no doubt, intended for Lord Loughborough. See Gibbon's Memoirs, p. 285.—Ed.]

the yoke of feudal tyranny, the institution of cities and corporations is one of the most powerful; and if those of Palestine are coeval with the first crusade, they may be ranked with the most ancient of the Latin world. Many of the pilgrims had escaped from their lords under the banner of the cross; and it was the policy of the French princes to tempt their stay by the assurance of the rights and privileges of freemen. It is expressly declared in the Assise of Jerusalem, that after instituting, for his knights and barons, the court of peers, in which he presided himself, Godfrey of Bouillon established a second tribunal, in which his person was represented by his viscount. The jurisdiction of this inferior court extended over the burgesses of the kingdom; and it was composed of a select number of the most discreet and worthy citizens, who were sworn to judge, according to the laws, of the actions and fortunes of their equals.* In the conquest and settlement of new cities, the example of Jerusalem was imitated by the kings and their great vassals; and above thirty similar corporations were founded before the loss of the Holy Land. Another class of subjects, the Syrians,† or Oriental Christians, were oppressed by the zeal of the clergy, and protected by the toleration of the State. Godfrey listened to their reasonable prayer, that they might be judged by their own national laws. A third court was instituted for their use, of limited and domestic jurisdiction; the sworn members were Syrians, in blood, language, and religion; but the office of the president (in Arabic, of the *rais*) was sometimes exercised by the viscount of the city. At an immeasurable distance below the *nobles*, the *burgesses*, and the *strangers*, the Assise of Jerusalem condescends to mention the *villains* and *slaves*, the peasants of the land and the captives of war, who were almost equally considered as the objects of property. The relief or protection of these unhappy men was not esteemed worthy of the care of the legislator; but he diligently pro-

* Louis le Gros, who is considered as the father of this institution in France, did not begin his reign till nine years (A.D. 1108,) after Godfrey of Bouillon. (Assises, c. 2. 324.) For its origin and effects, see the judicious remarks of Dr. Robertson. (History of Charles V. vol. i. p. 30—36. 251—265, quarto edition.)

† Every reader conversant with the historians of the crusades will understand by the *peuple des Suriens*, the Oriental Christians, Melchites, Jacobites, or

vides for the recovery, though not indeed for the punishment, of the fugitives. Like hounds, or hawks, who had strayed from the lawful owner, they might be lost and claimed; the slave and falcon were of the same value; but three slaves, or twelve oxen, were accumulated to equal the price of the war-horse; and a sum of three hundred pieces of gold was fixed, in the age of chivalry, as the equivalent of the more noble animal.*

CHAPTER LIX.—PRESERVATION OF THE GREEK EMPIRE.—NUMBERS, PASSAGE, AND EVENT, OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CRUSADES.—ST. BERNARD.—REIGN OF SALADIN IN EGYPT AND SYRIA.—HIS CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM.—NAVAL CRUSADES.—RICHARD THE FIRST OF ENGLAND.—POPE INNOCENT THE THIRD; AND THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CRUSADES.—THE EMPEROR FREDERIC THE SECOND.—LOUIS THE NINTH OF FRANCE, AND THE TWO LAST CRUSADES.—EXPULSION OF THE LATINS OR FRANKS BY THE MAMALUKES.

IN a style less grave than that of history, I should perhaps compare the emperor Alexius† to the jackall, who is said to follow the steps, and to devour the leavings, of the lion. Whatever had been his fears and toils in the passage of the first crusade, they were amply recompensed by the subsequent benefits which he derived from the exploits of the Franks. His dexterity and vigilance secured their first conquest of Nice; and from this threatening station the Turks were compelled to evacuate the neighbourhood of Constantinople. While the crusaders, with blind valour, advanced into the midland countries of Asia, the crafty Greek improved the favourable occasion when the emirs of the sea-coast were recalled to the standard of the sultan. The Turks were driven from the isles of Rhodes and Chios;

Nestorians, who had all adopted the use of the Arabic language, (vol. v. p. 264.)

* See the Assises de Jerusalem (310-312.) These laws were enacted as late as the year 1350, in the kingdom of Cyprus. In the same century, in the reign of Edward I. I understand, from a late publication (of his Book of Account) that the price of a war-horse was not less exorbitant in England.

† Anna Comnena relates her father's conquests in Asia Minor, Alexiad, l. 11, p. 321-325; l. 14, p. 419: his Cilician war against Tancred and Bohemond, p. 328-342; the war of Epirus, with tedious prolixity, l. 12, 13, p. 345-406; the death of Bohemond, l. 14, p. 419.

the cities of Ephesus and Smyrna, of Sardes, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, were restored to the empire, which Alexius enlarged from the Hellespont to the banks of the Mæander, and the rocky shores of Pamphylia. The churches resumed their splendour; the towns were rebuilt and fortified; and the desert country was peopled with colonies of Christians, who were gently removed from the more distant and dangerous frontier. In these paternal cares, we may forgive Alexius, if he forgot the deliverance of the holy sepulchre; but, by the Latins, he was stigmatized with the foul reproach of treason and desertion. They had sworn fidelity and obedience to his throne; but *he* had promised to assist their enterprise in person, or, at least, with his troops and treasures; his base retreat dissolved their obligations; and the sword, which had been the instrument of their victory, was the pledge and title of their just independence. It does not appear that the emperor attempted to revive his obsolete claims over the kingdom of Jerusalem;* but the borders of Cilicia and Syria were more recent in his possession, and more accessible to his arms. The great army of the crusaders was annihilated or dispersed; the principality of Antioch was left without a head, by the surprise and captivity of Bohemond; his ransom had oppressed him with a heavy debt; and his Norman followers were insufficient to repel the hostilities of the Greeks and Turks. In this distress, Bohemond embraced a magnanimous resolution, of leaving the defence of Antioch to his kinsman, the faithful Tancred; of arming the West against the Byzantine empire, and of executing the design which he inherited from the lessons and example of his father Guiscard. His embarkation was clandestine; and if we may credit a tale of the princess Anne, he passed the hostile sea, closely secreted in a coffin.† But his reception

* The kings of Jerusalem submitted, however, to a nominal dependence, and in the dates of their inscriptions (one is still legible in the church of Bethlem,) they respectfully placed before their own the name of the reigning emperor. (Ducange, *Dissertations sur Joinville*, 27, p. 319.)

† Anna Comnena adds, that to complete the imitation, he was shut up with a dead cock; and condescends to wonder how the Barbarian could endure the confinement and putrefaction. This absurd tale is unknown to the Latins. [In M. Guizot's edition, the translator, having mistaken the original English word, rendered it by *cuisinier*, and embellished the tale, by shut

in France was dignified by the public applause, and his marriage with the king's daughter; his return was glorious, since the bravest spirits of the age enlisted under his veteran command; and he repassed the Adriatic at the head of five thousand horse and forty thousand foot, assembled from the most remote climates of Europe.* The strength of Durazzo, and prudence of Alexius, the progress of famine, and approach of winter, eluded his ambitious hopes; and the venal confederates were seduced from his standard. A treaty of peace † suspended the fears of the Greeks; and they were finally delivered by the death of an adversary, whom neither oaths could bind, nor dangers could appal, nor prosperity could satiate. His children succeeded to the principality of Antioch; but the boundaries were strictly defined, the homage was clearly stipulated, and the cities of Tarsus and Malmistra were restored to the Byzantine emperors. Of the coast of Anatolia, they possessed the entire circuit from Trebizond to the Syrian

ting Bohemond up with the corpse of a *cook*, instead of a dead *cock*. So is it, that errors in history originate and are propagated. Wilken (2. App. p. 14) considers Bohemond's mode of concealment very probable, since such a stratagem was not unfamiliar to Normans; but he abandons the putrescent companion given him by Anna Comnena.—ED.]

* 'Απὸ Θύλης, in the Byzantine Geography, must mean England; yet we are more credibly informed, that our Henry I. would not suffer him to levy any troops in his kingdom. (Ducange, Not. ad Alexiad. p. 41.) [If one of the best educated among the Byzantines knew so little of Western Europe, that her Thule could be mistaken for England, we may judge how little correct information prevailed in Constantinople, respecting the country of the Varangi and the language which they spoke. This affords an admirable commentary on Ordericus Vitalis. Wilken (i. 106) translates Anna Comnena's *Thule* by "*aus dem entferntesten Norden*," (from the farthest North). Yet Muratori (Ann. d'Italia, xv. 89. 99) quoting the Chronicle of Bari, says that Bohemond's army consisted of French crusaders, with the addition of a few Italians from his principality of Tarentum. England participated very coolly in the early crusade-fever. The first of our Norman sovereigns were by no means pleased with the papal assumption of authority or disposed to weaken themselves in the desperate undertakings of the age. They wisely resisted every attempt to beguile them, till Richard's lion-courage was tempted to the field. Then, after he had wasted the energies of his kingdom for a barren glory, his successor submitted to the indignity of acknowledging the imperious Innocent III. as his liege lord, and laid his crown at a haughty legate's feet.—ED.]

† The copy of the treaty (Alexiad. l. 13, p. 406—416,) is an original

gates. The Seljukian dynasty of Roum * was separated on all sides from the sea and their Mussulman brethren; the power of the sultans was shaken by the victories, and even the defeats, of the Franks; and after the loss of Nice they removed their throne to Cogni or Iconium, an obscure and inland town above three hundred miles from Constantinople.† Instead of trembling for their capital, the Comnenian princes waged an offensive war against the Turks, and the first crusade prevented the fall of the declining empire.

In the twelfth century, three great emigrations marched by land from the West to the relief of Palestine. The soldiers and pilgrims of Lombardy, France, and Germany, were excited by the example and success of the first crusade.‡ Forty-eight years after the deliverance of the holy sepulchre, the emperor and the French king, Conrad the Third and Louis the Seventh, undertook the second crusade, to support the falling fortunes of the Latins.§ A grand division of the third crusade was led by the

and curious piece, which would require, and might afford, a good map of the principality of Antioch.

* See in the learned work of M. de Guignes, (tom. ii. part 2,) the history of the Seljukians of Iconium, Aleppo, and Damascus, as far as it may be collected from the Greeks, Latins, and Arabians. The last are ignorant or regardless of the affairs of Roum.

† Iconium is mentioned as a station by Xenophon, and by Strabo, with the ambiguous title of *Κωμόπολις*. (Cellarius, tom. ii. p. 121.) Yet St. Paul found in that place a multitude (*πλήθος*) of Jews and Gentiles. Under the corrupt name of *Kunijah*, it is described as a great city, with a river and gardens, three leagues from the mountains, and decorated (I know not why) with Plato's tomb. (Abulfeda, tabul. 17. p. 303. vers. Reiske; and the Index Geographicus of Schultens from Ibn Said.) [De la Brocquière visited Iconium in 1432. Under the uncouth names of Quohongue and Quohonguopoly (Koniopolis) he speaks of it as a considerable, well-fortified, and commercial town, the residence of an independent Turkish prince, brother in law of Amurad Bey. (Early Travels in Palestine, edit. Bohn, p. 322). Konieh is now an important place, with 30,000 inhabitants. Malte Brun and Balbi, p. 648.—Ed.]

‡ For this supplement to the first crusade, see Anna Comnena. (Alexias, l. 11, p. 331, &c.) and the eighth book of Albert Aquensis.

§ For the second crusade of Conrad III. and Louis VII. see William of Tyre (l. 16, c. 18—29), Otho of Frisingen (l. 1, c. 34—45. 59, 60), Matthew Paris (Hist. Major. p. 68), Struvius (Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, p. 372, 373), Scriptores Rerum Francicarum à Duchesne, tom. iv. Nicetas in Vit. Manuel, l. 1, c. 4—6, p. 41—48. Cinnamus, l. 2, p. 41—49.

emperor Frederic Barbarossa,* who sympathized with his brothers of France and England in the common loss of Jerusalem. These three expeditions may be compared in their resemblance of the greatness of numbers, their passage through the Greek empire, and the nature and event of their Turkish warfare, and a brief parallel may save the repetition of a tedious narrative. However splendid it may seem, a regular story of the crusades would exhibit the perpetual return of the same causes and effects; and the frequent attempts for the defence or recovery of the Holy Land would appear so many faint and unsuccessful copies of the original.

I. Of the swarms that so closely trod in the footsteps of the first pilgrims, the chiefs were equal in rank, though unequal in fame and merit, to Godfrey of Bouillon and his fellow-adventurers. At their head were displayed the banners of the dukes of Burgundy, Bavaria, and Aquitaine; the first a descendant of Hugh Capet, the second a father of the Brunswick line;† the archbishop of Milan, a temporal prince, transported, for the benefit of the Turks, the treasures and ornaments of his church and palace; and the veteran crusaders, Hugh the Great, and Stephen of Chartres, returned to consummate their unfinished vow. The huge and disorderly bodies of their followers moved forwards in two columns; and if the first consisted of two hundred and sixty thousand persons, the second might possibly amount to sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot.‡ The armies of the second crusade might have claimed the conquest of Asia; the nobles of France

* For the third crusade of Frederic Barbarossa, see Nicetas in Isaac. Angel. l. 2, c. 3—8, p. 257—266. Struv. (Corpus. Hist. Germ. 414), and two historians, who probably were spectators, Tagino (in Scriptor. Freher. tom. i. p. 406—416. edit. Struv.), and the Anonymus de Expeditione Asiaticâ Fred. I. (in Canisii. Antiq. Lection. tom. iii. p. 2, p. 498—526. edit. Basnage.)

† [This duke of Bavaria, from whom the Brunswick line descended, was the eldest son of Albert Azzo, marquis of Lombardy, by his marriage with Cunegonda “of the Guelphs.” See Muratori, Annal. d’Ital. xv. 37. Venezia, 1793.—Ed.]

‡ Anne, who states these later swarms at forty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, calls them Normans, and places at their head two brothers of Flanders. The Greeks were strangely ignorant of the names, families, and possessions, of the Latin princes.

and Germany were animated by the presence of their sovereigns; and both the rank and personal characters of Conrad and Louis gave a dignity to their cause, and a discipline to their force, which might be vainly expected from the feudatory chiefs. The cavalry of the emperor, and that of the king, was each composed of seventy thousand knights, and their immediate attendants in the field;* and if the light-armed troops, the peasant infantry, the women and children, the priests and monks, be rigorously excluded, the full account will scarcely be satisfied with four hundred thousand souls. The West, from Rome to Britain, was called into action; the kings of Poland and Bohemia obeyed the summons of Conrad; and it is affirmed by the Greeks and Latins, that in the passage of a strait or river, the Byzantine agents, after a tale of nine hundred thousand, desisted from the endless and formidable computation.† In the third crusade, as the French and English preferred the navigation of the Mediterranean, the host of Frederic Barbarossa was less numerous. Fifteen thousand knights, and as many squires, were the flower of the German chivalry; sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot, were mustered by the emperor in the plains of Hungary; and after such repetitions, we shall no longer be startled at the six hundred thousand pilgrims, which credulity has ascribed to this last emigration.‡ Such extravagant reckonings prove only the astonishment of contemporaries; but their astonishment most strongly bears testimony to the existence of an enormous though inde-

* William of Tyre, and Matthew Paris, reckon seventy thousand loricati in each of the armies.

† The imperfect enumeration is mentioned by Cinnamus (*ἐννεῖηκοντα μυριάδες*), and confirmed by Odo de Diogilo apud Ducange ad Cinnamum, with the more precise sum of nine hundred thousand five hundred and fifty-six. Why must therefore the version and comment suppose the modest and insufficient reckoning of ninety thousand? Does not Godfrey of Viterbo (Pantheon, p. 19, in Muratori, tom. vii. p. 462), exclaim,

— Numerum si poscere quæras,
Millia millena militis agmen erat.

‡ This extravagant account is given by Albert of Stade (apud Struvium, p. 414); my calculation is borrowed from Godfrey of Viterbo, Arnold of Lubeck, apud eundem, and Bernard Thesaur. (c. 169, p. 804). The original writers are silent. The Mahometans gave him two hundred thousand or two hundred and sixty thousand

finite multitude. The Greeks might applaud their superior knowledge of the arts and stratagems of war, but they confessed the strength and courage of the French cavalry and the infantry of the Germans;* and the strangers are described as an iron race, of gigantic stature, who darted fire from their eyes, and spilt blood, like water, on the ground. Under the banners of Conrad, a troop of females rode in the attitude and armour of men; and the chief of these amazons, from her gilt spurs and buskins, obtained the epithet of the golden-footed dame.

II. The numbers and character of the strangers were an object of terror to the effeminate Greeks, and the sentiment of fear is nearly allied to that of hatred. This aversion was suspended or softened by the apprehension of the Turkish power; and the invectives of the Latins will not bias our more candid belief, that the emperor Alexius dissembled their insolence, eluded their hostilities, counselled their rashness, and opened to their ardour the road of pilgrimage and conquest. But when the Turks had been driven from Nice and the sea-coast, when the Byzantine princes no longer dreaded the distant sultans of Cogni, they felt with purer indignation the free and frequent passage of the Western Barbarians, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety, of the empire. The second and third crusades were undertaken under the reign of Manuel Comnenus and Isaac Angelus. Of the former, the passions were always impetuous, and often malevolent; and the natural union of a cowardly and a mischievous temper was exemplified in the latter, who, without merit or mercy, could punish a tyrant, and occupy his throne. It was secretly, and perhaps tacitly, resolved by the prince and

men (Bohadin, in Vit. Saladin. p. 110).

* I must observe, that in the second and third crusades, the subjects of Conrad and Frederic are styled by the Greeks and Orientals *Alamanni*. The Lechi and Tzechi of Cinnamus are the Poles and Bohemians; and it is for the French that he reserves the ancient appellation of Germans. He likewise names the *Bpirrioi* or *Bpiravvoi*. [The Franks have, in all ages, preserved the name of *Allemanni* for the people of Germany, and they, no doubt, made it known in the East. Our island had for three centuries exchanged the name of *Britain* for *England*. The Britons of Cinnamus can have been no others than the inhabitants of Bretagne. He seems, however, to denote two different nations, for he does not use the conjunction *or*; he says *Brittioi* and *Britannoï*. But the

people, to destroy, or at least, to discourage, the pilgrims, by every species of injury and oppression; and their want of prudence and discipline continually afforded the pretence or the opportunity. The western monarchs had stipulated a safe passage and fair market in the country of their Christian brethren; the treaty had been ratified by oaths and hostages; and the poorest soldier of Frederic's army was furnished with three marks of silver to defray his expenses on the road. But every engagement was violated by treachery and injustice; and the complaints of the Latins are attested by the honest confession of a Greek historian, who has dared to prefer truth to his country.* Instead of an hospitable reception, the gates of the cities, both in Europe and Asia, were closely barred against the crusaders; and the scanty pittance of food was let down in baskets from the walls. Experience or foresight might excuse this timid jealousy; but the common duties of humanity prohibited the mixture of chalk, or other poisonous ingredients, in the bread; and should Manuel be acquitted of any foul connivance, he is guilty of coining base money for the purpose of trading with the pilgrims. In every step of their march they were stopped or misled; the governors had private orders to fortify the passes and break down the bridges against them; the stragglers were pillaged and murdered; the soldiers and horses were pierced in the woods by arrows from an invisible hand; the sick were burnt in their beds; and the dead bodies were hung on gibbets along the highways. These injuries exasperated the champions of the cross, who were not endowed with evangelical patience; and the Byzantine princes, who had provoked the unequal conflict, promoted the embarkation and march of these formidable guests. On the verge of the Turkish frontier Barbarossa spared the guilty Philadelphia,† rewarded the hospitable Laodicea, and deplored

loose ethnical designations used by such writers are very unsafe guides.—ED.]

* Nicetas was a child at the second crusade, but in the third he commanded against the Franks the important post of Philippopolis. Cinnamus is infected with national prejudice and pride.

† The conduct of the Philadelphians is blamed by Nicetas, while the anonymous German accuses the rudeness of his countrymen (*culpa nostra*). History would be pleasant, if we were embarrassed only by *such* contradictions. It is likewise from Nicetas, that we learn the pious and humane sorrow of Frederic.

the hard necessity that had stained his sword with any drops of Christian blood. In their intercourse with the monarchs of Germany and France, the pride of the Greeks was exposed to an anxious trial. They might boast that, on the first interview, the seat of Louis was a low stool beside the throne of Manuel;* but no sooner had the French king transported his army beyond the Bosphorus, than he refused the offer of a second conference, unless his brother would meet him on equal terms, either on the sea or land. With Conrad and Frederic, the ceremonial was still nicer and more difficult; like the successors of Constantine, they styled themselves emperors of the Romans;† and firmly maintained the title and purity of their dignity. The first of these representatives of Charlemagne would only converse with Manuel on horseback, in the open field; the second, by passing the Hellespont rather than the Bosphorus, declined the view of Constantinople and its sovereign. An emperor, who had been crowned at Rome, was reduced in the Greek epistles to the humble appellation of *rex*, or prince of the Allemanni; and the vain and feeble Angelus affected to be ignorant of the name of one the greatest men and monarchs of the age. While they viewed with hatred and suspicion the Latin pilgrims, the Greek emperors maintained a strict, though secret, alliance with the Turks and Saracens. Isaac Angelus complained, that by his friendship for the great Saladin he had incurred the enmity of the Franks; and a mosque was founded at Constantinople for the public exercise of the religion of Mahomet.‡

III. The swarms that followed the first crusade were destroyed in Anatolia by famine, pestilence, and the Turkish arrows; and the princes only escaped with some squadrons

* *Χθαμάλη ἔδρα*, which Cinnamus translates into Latin by the word *Σέλλιον*. Ducange works very hard to save his king and country from such ignominy. (Sur Joinville, dissertat. 27, p. 317—320.) Louis afterwards insisted on a meeting in *marî ex æquo*, not *ex equo*, according to the laughable readings of some MSS.

† *Ego Romanorum imperator sum, ille Romaniorum*. (Anonym. Canis. p. 512.) The public and historical style of the Greeks was *Πῆξ ... princeps*. Yet Cinnamus owns, that *Ἰμπεράτορ* is synonymous to *Βασιλεύς*.

‡ In the Epistles of Innocent III. (13, p. 184), and the History of Bohadin (p. 129, 130), see the views of a pope and a *cadhi* on this singular toleration.

of horse to accomplish their lamentable pilgrimage. A just opinion may be formed of their knowledge and humanity; of their knowledge, from the design of subduing Persia and Chorasán in their way to Jerusalem; of their humanity, from the massacre of the Christian people, a friendly city, who came out to meet them with palms and crosses in their hands. The arms of Conrad and Louis were less cruel and imprudent; but the event of the second crusade was still more ruinous to Christendom; and the Greek Manuel is accused by his own subjects of giving seasonable intelligence to the sultan, and treacherous guides to the Latin princes. Instead of crushing the common foe, by a double attack at the same time, but on different sides, the Germans were urged by emulation, and the French were retarded by jealousy. Louis had scarcely passed the Bosphorus when he was met by the returning emperor, who had lost the greatest part of his army in glorious but unsuccessful action on the banks of the Mæander. The contrast of the pomp of his rival hastened the retreat of Conrad; the desertion of his independent vassals reduced him to his hereditary troops; and he borrowed some Greek vessels to execute by sea the pilgrimage of Palestine. Without studying the lessons of experience, or the nature of the war, the king of France advanced through the same country to a similar fate. The vanguard, which bore the royal banner and the oriflamme of St. Denys,* had doubled their march with rash and inconsiderate speed; and the rear, which the king commanded in person, no longer found their companions in the evening

* As counts of Vexin, the kings of France were the vassals and advocates of the monastery of St. Denys. The saint's peculiar banner, which they received from the abbot, was of a square form, and a red or *flaming* colour. The *oriflamme* appeared at the head of the French armies from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. (Ducange sur Joinville, dissert. 18, p. 244—253.) [*Auri flamma* was the original form of this name (Ducange 1, 864). The standards of that period generally narrowed off by degrees to a point (F. Wachter on *Fahnen*, Ersch and Gruber. 41, 121—144), so that when waved by the wind they resembled the flickering of fire, and thence the terms *flamma* and *flammula* were applied to them. (Ducange, 3, 354. *Vexillum in flammæ speciem desinens*.) The oriflamme had three of these points, "*à guise de gonfanon à trois queues*." The first part of its name is supposed by some to be derived from its gold embroidery; while, according to others, its only colour was a rich crimson, with a green fringe; and the gilt lance or staff, "*bâton de cuivre doré*," was the

camp. In darkness and disorder, they were encompassed, assaulted, and overwhelmed, by the innumerable host of Turks, who in the art of war were superior to the Christians of the twelfth century. Louis, who climbed a tree in the general discomfiture, was saved by his own valour and the ignorance of his adversaries; and with the dawn of day he escaped alive, but almost alone, to the camp of the vanguard. But instead of pursuing his expedition by land, he was rejoiced to shelter the relics of his army in the friendly seaport of Satalia. From thence he embarked for Antioch; but so penurious was the supply of Greek vessels, that they could only afford room for his knights and nobles; and the plebeian crowd of infantry was left to perish at the foot of the Pamphylian hills. The emperor and the king embraced and wept at Jerusalem; their martial trains, the remnant of mighty armies, were joined to the Christian powers of Syria, and a fruitless siege of Damascus was the final effort of the second crusade. Conrad and Louis embarked for Europe with the personal fame of piety and courage; but the Orientals had braved these potent monarchs of the Franks, with whose names and military forces they had been so often threatened.* Perhaps they had still more to fear

aurum, from which it was designated. Louis VI. (le Gros) first used it in 1124 as the royal standard. (See Bohn's edit. of Joinville, p. 390. Note.) Agincourt is said to have been the last field in which it appeared (A.D. 1415); W. Martel, the bearer of it, was slain in that battle, and the English soon afterwards possessing Paris and St. Denis, Charles VII. substituted the white flag, which the kings of France have since used. Two inventories of the abbey mention, in 1534 and 1594, "*un étendart en forme de gonfanon*," but it does not appear ever to have headed an army in the sixteenth century. See Note, ch. 69.—Ed.]

* The original French histories of the second crusade are the *Gesta Ludovici VII.* published in the fourth volume of Duchesne's Collection. The same volume contains many original letters of the king, of Suger, his minister, &c., the best documents of authentic history. [There are many variations in the accounts given of the military operations in this crusade. Wilken and Michaud differ from Gibbon, who is said to have followed Nicetas, although he has here quoted his French authorities. Taaffe, who had consulted an Arabian chronicle, generally agrees with him. The unfortunate result is ascribed by this last writer (i. p. 255) to the demoralized state both of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of the Christian army, into which St. Bernard had received the vilest culprits. Division prevailed in their councils. There was "too little of human prudence, too much of leaving all to Providence—more of the cloister than of enthusiasm. Priests and

from the veteran genius of Frederic the First, who in his youth had served in Asia under his uncle Conrad. Forty campaigns in Germany and Italy had taught Barbarossa to command; and his soldiers, even the princes of the empire, were accustomed under his reign to obey. As soon as he lost sight of Philadelphia and Laodicea, the last cities of the Greek frontier, he plunged into the salt and barren desert, a land (says the historian) of horror and tribulation.* During twenty days, every step of his fainting and sickly march was besieged by the innumerable hordes of Turkmans,† whose numbers and fury seemed after each defeat to multiply and inflame. The emperor continued to struggle and to suffer; and such was the measure of his calamities, that when he reached the gates of Iconium, no more than one thousand knights were able to serve on horseback. By a sudden and resolute assault he defeated the guards, and stormed the capital, of the sultan,‡ who humbly sued for pardon and peace. The road was now open, and Frederic advanced in a career of triumph, till he was unfortunately drowned in a petty torrent of Cilicia.§ The remainder of his Germans was consumed by sickness and desertion; and the emperor's son expired, with the greatest part of his Swabian vassals, at the siege of Acre. Among the Latin heroes, Godfrey of Bouillon and Frederic Barbarossa could alone achieve the passage of the Lesser Asia; yet even their success was a warning; and in the last and most experienced monks had too much handling of affairs. Neither monarch had extensive views or the energy requisite for great action. No heroic passions, nor anything of the chivalrous, nor famous captains, were in the second crusade."—Ed.]

* *Terram horroris et salsuginis, terram siccam, sterilem, inamœnam.* Anonym. Canis. p. 517. The emphatic language of a sufferer.

† *Gens innumera, sylvestris, indomita, prædones sine ductore.* The sultan of Cogni might sincerely rejoice in their defeat. Anonym. Canis. p. 517, 518.

‡ See in the anonymous writer in the Collection of Canisius, Tagino, and Bohadin (*Vit. Saladin*, p. 119, 120), the ambiguous conduct of Kilidge Arslan, sultan of Cogni, who hated and feared both Saladin and Frederic. [Kilidsch Arslan II. was sultan of Iconium 1156—1188. It was his son Kutbeddin Malek Shah who resisted the emperor Frederic. Kruse, *Tab.* xviii.—Ed.]

§ The desire of comparing two great men has tempted many writers to drown Frederic in the river Cydnus, in which Alexander so imprudently bathed. (Q. Curt. l. 3, c. 4, 5.) But from the march of the emperor, I rather judge that his Saleph is the Calycadnus, a stream of less fame, but of a longer course. [The name of *Selefkiah*, given by Oliveri

age of the crusades, every nation preferred the sea to the toils and perils of an inland expedition.*

The enthusiasm of the first crusade is a natural and simple event, while hope was fresh, danger untried, and enterprise congenial to the spirit of the times. But the obstinate perseverance of Europe may indeed excite our pity and admiration; that no instruction should have been drawn from constant and adverse experience; that the same confidence should have repeatedly grown from the same failures; that six succeeding generations should have rushed headlong down the precipice that was open before them; and that men of every condition should have staked their public and private fortunes on the desperate adventure of possessing or recovering a tomb-stone two thousand miles from their country. In a period of two centuries after the council of Clermont, each spring and summer produced a new emigration of pilgrim warriors for the defence of the Holy Land; but the seven great armaments or crusades were excited by some impending or recent calamity; the nations were moved by the authority of their pontiffs, and the example of their kings; their zeal was kindled, and their reason was silenced, by the voice of their holy orators; and among these, Bernard,† the monk or the saint, may claim the most honourable place. About eight years before the first conquest of Jerusalem he was born of a noble family in Burgundy; at the age of three-and-twenty he buried himself in the monastery of Cîteaux, then in the primitive fervour of the institution; at the end of two years he led forth her third colony, or

to the Calycadnus, seems to confirm Gibbon's conjecture. Beaufort calls it *Ghiuk-Suyu*: the Cydnus is the *Kararu* of Otter and Pococke. Reichard, *Orbis Terrarum Antiquus*, Tab. V., Asia Minor.—Ed.]

* Marinus Sanutus, A.D. 1321, lays it down as a precept, *Quod stolis ecclesiæ per terram nullatenus est ducenda*. He resolves, by the divine aid, the objection, or rather exception, of the first crusade. (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*, l. 2, pars 2, c. 1. p. 37.)

† The most authentic information of St. Bernard must be drawn from his own writings, published in a correct edition by Père Mabillon, and reprinted at Venice, 1750, in six volumes in folio. Whatever friendship could recollect, or superstition could add, is contained in the two lives, by his disciples, in the sixth volume: whatever learning and criticism could ascertain, may be found in the prefaces of the Benedictine editor. [Enthusiasm, of itself, is always evanescent; it is worn out by its own exertions, and succeeded by lassitude and indifference. It is only by artificial stimulants that it

daughter, to the valley of Clairvaux* in Champagne; and was content, till the hour of his death, with the humble station of abbot of his own community. A philosophic age has abolished, with too liberal and indiscriminate disdain, the honours of these spiritual heroes. The meanest among them are distinguished by some energies of the mind; they were at least superior to their votaries and disciples; and in the race of superstition, they attained the prize for which such numbers contended. In speech, in writing, in action, Bernard stood high above his rivals and contemporaries; his compositions are not devoid of wit and eloquence; and he seems to have preserved as much reason and humanity as may be reconciled with the character of a saint. In a secular life he would have shared the seventh part of a private inheritance; by a vow of poverty and penance, by closing his eyes against the visible world,† by the refusal of all ecclesiastical dignities, the abbot of Clairvaux became the oracle of Europe, and the founder of one hundred and sixty convents. Princes and pontiffs trembled at the freedom of his apostolical censures; France, England, and Milan, consulted and obeyed his judgment in a schism of the church; the debt was repaid by the gratitude of Innocent the Second; and his successor, Eugenius the Third, was the friend and disciple of the holy Bernard. It was in the proclamation of the second crusade that he shone as the missionary and prophet of God, who called the nations to the

can be kept alive for any lengthened period. This may be seen in the crusades. Symptoms of declining zeal soon began to manifest themselves, on which the popes always set to work such emissaries as Bernard or Fulk, to arouse the torpid spirit. See also in ch. 69 a note on Arnold of Brescia.—Ed.]

* Clairvaux, surnamed the valley of absynth, is situated among the woods near Bar-sur-Aube in Champagne. St. Bernard would blush at the pomp of the church and monastery; he would ask for the library, and I know not whether he would be much edified by a tun of eight hundred muids (nine hundred and fourteen and one-seventh hogsheads), which almost rivals that of Heidelberg. (*Mélanges Tirés d'une Grande Bibliothèque*, tom. xvi., p. 15—20.)

† The disciples of the saint (*Vit. lma. l. 3, c. 2, p. 1232; Vit. 2da. c. 16, No. 45, p. 1383*) record a marvellous example of his pious apathy. *Juxta lacum etiam Lamsannensem totius diei itinere pergens, penitus non attendit aut se videre non vidit. Cum enim vespere facto de eodem lacu socii colloquerentur, interrogabat eos ubi lacus ille esset; et mirati sunt universi.* To admire or despise St. Bernard as he ought, the reader, like myself, should have before the windows of his library the beauties of that

defence of his holy sepulchre.* At the parliament of Vezelay he spoke before the king; and Louis the Seventh, with his nobles, received their crosses from his hand. The abbot of Clairvaux then marched to the less easy conquest of the emperor Conrad; a phlegmatic people, ignorant of his language, was transported by the pathetic vehemence of his tone and gestures; and his progress from Constance to Cologne was the triumph of eloquence and zeal. Bernard applauds his own success in the depopulation of Europe; affirms that cities and castles were emptied of their inhabitants; and computes, that only one man was left behind for the consolation of seven widows.† The blind fanatics were desirous of electing him for their general; but the example of the hermit Peter was before his eyes; and while he assured the crusaders of the divine favour, he prudently declined a military command, in which failure and victory would have been almost equally disgraceful to his character.‡ Yet, after the calamitous event, the abbot of Clairvaux was loudly accused as a false prophet, the author of the public and private mourning; his enemies exulted, his friends blushed, and his apology was slow and unsatisfactory. He justifies his obedience to the commands of the pope; expatiates on the mysterious ways of Providence; imputes the misfortunes of the pilgrims to their own sins; and modestly insinuates, that his mission had been approved by signs and

incomparable landscape.

* Otho Frising. l. 1, c. 4.

Bernard. Epist. 363, ad Francos Orientales, Opp. tom. i., p. 328. Vit. lma. l. 3, c. 4, tom. vi. p. 1235. [Dean Milman accuses Gibbon of having "placed the preaching of St. Bernard after the second crusade, to which it led;" and this imputed anachronism, is one in the list of errors inserted in the Rev. Editor's index. He must have quite misunderstood Gibbon's arrangement, and overlooked this passage, in which the proclamation of the *second* crusade is specially ascribed to "the holy Bernard." In the preceding pages, the *three* expeditions of the twelfth century are compared, in order to "save by a brief parallel the repetition of a tedious narrative."—Ed.]

† Mandastis et obedivi multiplicati sunt super numerum; vacantur urbes et castella; et *pene* jam non inveniunt quem apprehendant septem mulieres unum virum; adeo ubique viduæ vivis remanent viris. Bernard. Epist. p. 247. We must be careful not to construe *pene* as a substantive. ‡ Quis ego sum ut disponam

acies, ut egrediar ante facies armorum, aut quid tam remotum professione meâ, si vires, si peritia, &c. epist. 256, tom. i. p. 259. He speaks with contempt of the hermit Peter, vir quidam, epist. 363.

wonders.* Had the fact been certain, the argument would be decisive; and his faithful disciples, who enumerate twenty or thirty miracles in a day, appeal to the public assemblies of France and Germany, in which they were performed.† At the present hour, such prodigies will not obtain credit beyond the precincts of Clairvaux; but in the preternatural cures of the blind, the lame, and the sick, who were presented to the man of God, it is impossible for us to ascertain the separate shares of accident, of fancy, of imposture, and of fiction.

Omnipotence itself cannot escape the murmurs of its discordant votaries; since the same dispensation, which was applauded as a deliverance in Europe, was deplored, and perhaps arraigned, as a calamity in Asia. After the loss of Jerusalem, the Syrian fugitives diffused their consternation and sorrow; Bagdad mourned in the dust, the cadhi Zeineddin of Damascus tore his beard in the caliph's presence, and the whole divan shed tears at his melancholy tale.‡ But the commanders of the faithful could only weep; they were themselves captives in the hands of the Turks; some temporal power was restored to the last age of the Abbassides; but their humble ambition was confined to Bagdad and the adjacent province. Their tyrants, the Seljukian sultans, had followed the common law of the Asiatic dynasties, the unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decay; their spirit and power were unequal to the defence of religion; and, in his distant realm of Persia, the Christians were strangers to the name

* Sic dicunt forsitan isti, unde scimus quòd a Domino sermo egressus sit? Quæ signa tu facis ut credamus tibi? Non est quod ad ista ipse respondeam; parcendum verecundiæ meæ, responde tu pro me, et pro te ipso, secundum quæ vidisti et audisti, et secundum quod te inspiraverit Deus. Consolat. l. 2, c. 1, Opp. tom. ii. p. 421—423.

† See the testimonies in Vita lma. l. 4, c. 5, 6. Opp. tom. vi., p. 1258—1261, l. 6, c. 1—17, p. 1286—1314. [Muratori is wisely silent on the subject of Bernard's miracles, and tells us only of his effective eloquence (Annali, xv. 352); yet he describes in such strong language the pious abbot's devotion to the see of Rome (p. 305), and the interest taken by pope Eugenius in the second crusade (p. 353) that we can see plainly how that eloquence was aroused and directed, even if we had not Bernard's own confession. Otho of Frisingen was called in to assist in appeasing the public indignation, after the failure of the enterprise.—ED.]

‡ Abulmahasen, apud De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 2, p. 99.

and the arms of Sangiar, the last hero of his race.* While the sultans were involved in the silken web of the harem, the pious task was undertaken by their slaves, the Atabeks,† a Turkish name, which, like the Byzantine patricians, may be translated by father of the prince. Ascansar, a valiant Turk, had been the favourite of Malek Shah, from whom he received the privilege of standing on the right hand of the throne; but, in the civil wars that ensued on the monarch's death, he lost his head and the government of Aleppo. His domestic emirs persevered in their attachment to his son Zenghi, who proved his first arms against the Franks in the defeat of Antioch; thirty campaigns in the service of the caliph and sultan established his military fame; and he was invested with the command of Mosul, as the only champion that could avenge the cause of the prophet. The public hope was not disappointed; after a siege of twenty-five days he stormed the city of Edessa, and recovered from the Franks their conquests beyond the Euphrates;‡ the martial tribes of Curdistan were subdued by the independent sovereign of Mosul and Aleppo; his soldiers were taught to behold the camp as their only country; they trusted to his liberality for their rewards;

* See his *article* in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of D'Herbelot, and De Guignes, tom. ii. p. 1, p. 230—261. Such was his valour, that he was styled the second Alexander; and such the extravagant love of his subjects, that they prayed for the sultan, a year after his decease. Yet Sangiar might have been made prisoner by the Franks, as well as by the Uzes. He reigned near fifty years (A.D. 1103—1152), and was a munificent patron of Persian poetry.

† See the *Chronology* of the Atabeks of Irak, and Syria, in De Guignes, tom. i. p. 254; and the reigns of Zenghi and Nouredin in the same writer, (tom. ii. p. 2, p. 147—221,) who uses the Arabic text of Benelathir, Ben Schouna, and Albufeda; the *Bibliothèque Orientale*, under the articles *Atabeks* and *Nouredin*, and the *Dynasties* of Abulpharagius, p. 250—267. vers. Pococke.

‡ William of Tyre (l. 16, c. 4, 5, 7), describes the loss of Edessa and the death of Zenghi. The corruption of his name into *Sanguin* afforded the Latins a comfortable allusion to his *sanguinary* character and end, fit sanguine sanguinolentus. [The fall of Edessa is attributed by Taaffe (l. 249) to Joscelin the Second's enervating dissoluteness. He tells some bitter truths, which he accuses the ecclesiastical writers of concealing or distorting, and is most severe on the fables of William of Tyre, who, he says (p. 266) "had a brother a bishop and became a bishop himself." Zenghi perpetrated great atrocities at Edessa, and was soon afterwards murdered in his tent by his own Mamalukes.—ED.]

and their absent families were protected by the vigilance of Zengbi. At the head of these veterans, his son Nouredin gradually united the Mahometan powers, added the kingdom of Damascus to that of Aleppo, and waged a long and successful war against the Christians of Syria; he spread his ample reign from the Tigris to the Nile, and the Abbassides rewarded their faithful servant with all the titles and prerogatives of royalty. The Latins themselves were compelled to own the wisdom and courage, and even the justice and piety, of this implacable adversary.* In his life and government the holy warrior revived the zeal and simplicity of the first caliphs. Gold and silk were banished from his palace, the use of wine from his dominions, the public revenue was scrupulously applied to the public service, and the frugal household of Nouredin was maintained from his legitimate share of the spoil, which he vested in the purchase of a private estate. His favourite sultana sighed for some female object of expense. "Alas! (replied the king) I fear God, and am no more than the treasurer of the Moslems. Their property I cannot alienate; but I still possess three shops in the city of Hems; these you may take, and these alone can I bestow." His chamber of justice was the terror of the great and the refuge of the poor. Some years after the sultan's death, an oppressed subject called aloud in the streets of Damascus, "O Nouredin, Nouredin, where art thou now? Arise, arise, to pity and protect us!" A tumult was apprehended, and a living tyrant blushed or trembled at the name of a departed monarch.

By the arms of the Turks and Franks the Fatimites had been deprived of Syria. In Egypt the decay of their character and influence was still more essential. Yet they were still revered as the descendants and successors of the prophet; they maintained their invisible state in the palace of Cairo, and their person was seldom violated by the pro-

* Noradinus (says William of Tyre, l. 20. 33), *maximus nominis et fidei Christianæ persecutor; princeps tamen justus, vafer, providus, et secundum gentis suæ traditiones religiosus*. To this Catholic witness we may add the primate of the Jacobites (Abulpharag. p. 267), *quo non alter erat inter reges vitæ ratione magis laudabili, aut quæ pluribus justitiæ experimentis abundaret*. The true praise of kings is after their death, and from the mouth of their enemies.

fane eyes of subjects or strangers. The Latin ambassadors* have described their own introduction through a series of gloomy passages, and glittering porticoes; the scene was enlivened by the warbling of birds and the murmur of fountains; it was enriched by a display of rich furniture and rare animals; of the imperial treasures, something was shown, and much was supposed; and the long order of unfolding doors was guarded by black soldiers and domestic eunuchs. The sanctuary of the presence-chamber was veiled with a curtain; and the vizir, who conducted the ambassadors, laid aside his scimitar, and prostrated himself three times on the ground; the veil was then removed, and they beheld the commander of the faithful, who signified his pleasure to the first slave of the throne. But this slave was his master; the vizirs or sultans had usurped the supreme administration of Egypt; the claims of the rival candidates were decided by arms, and the name of the most worthy, of the strongest, was inserted in the royal patent of command. The factions of Dargham and Shawer alternately expelled each other from the capital and country; and the weaker side implored the dangerous protection of the sultan of Damascus or the king of Jerusalem, the perpetual enemies of the sect and monarchy of the Fatimites. By his arms and religion the Turk was most formidable; but the Frank, in an easy direct march, could advance from Gaza to the Nile; while the intermediate situation of his realm compelled the troops of Nouredin to wheel round the skirts of Arabia, a long and painful circuit, which exposed them to thirst, fatigue, and the burning winds of the desert. The secret zeal and ambition of the Turkish prince aspired to reign in Egypt under the name of the Abbasides; but the restoration of the suppliant Shawer was the ostensible motive of the first expedition; and the success was intrusted to the emir Shiracouh, a valiant and veteran commander. Dargham was oppressed and slain; but the ingratitude, the jealousy, the just apprehensions, of his more fortunate rival, soon provoked him to invite the king

* From the ambassador, William of Tyre (l. 19, c. 17, 18,) describes the palace of Cairo. In the caliph's treasure were found a pearl as large as a pigeon's egg, a ruby weighing seventeen Egyptian drachms, an emerald a palm and a half in length, and many vases of crystal and porcelain of China. (Renaudot, p. 536.)

of Jerusalem to deliver Egypt from his insolent benefactors. To this union the forces of Shiracouh were unequal; he relinquished the premature conquest; and the evacuation of Belbeis or Pelusium was the condition of his safe retreat. As the Turks defiled before the enemy, and their general closed the rear, with a vigilant eye, and a battle-axe in his hand, a Frank presumed to ask him if he were not afraid of an attack? "It is doubtless in your power to begin the attack (replied the intrepid emir); but rest assured that not one of my soldiers will go to paradise till he has sent an infidel to hell." His report of the riches of the land, the effminacy of the natives, and the disorders of the government, revived the hopes of Noureddin; the caliph of Bagdad applauded the pious design; and Shiracouh descended into Egypt a second time with twelve thousand Turks and eleven thousand Arabs. Yet his forces were still inferior to the confederate armies of the Franks and Saracens; and I can discern an unusual degree of military art in his passage of the Nile, his retreat into Thebais, his masterly evolutions in the battle of Babain, the surprise of Alexandria, and his marches and countermarches in the flats and valley of Egypt, from the tropic to the sea. His conduct was seconded by the courage of his troops, and on the eve of action a Mamaluke * exclaimed, "If we cannot wrest Egypt from the Christian dogs, why do we not renounce the honours and rewards of the sultan, and retire to labour with the peasants, or to spin with the females of the harem?" Yet after all his efforts in the field,† after the obstinate defence of Alexandria ‡ by his nephew Saladin, an honourable capitulation and retreat concluded the second enterprise of Shiracouh; and Noureddin reserved his abilities

* *Mamluc*, plur. *Mamalic*, is defined by Pococke (Prolegom. ad Abulpharag. p. 7,) and D'Herbelot (p. 545), *servum emptitium*, seu qui pretio numerato in domini possessionem cedit. They frequently occur in the wars of Saladin (Bohadin, p. 236, &c.); and it was only the *Bahartie* Mamalukes that were first introduced into Egypt by his descendants.

† Jacobus à Vitriaco (p. 1116,) gives the king of Jerusalem no more than three hundred and seventy-four knights. Both the Franks and Moslems report the superior numbers of the enemy; a difference which may be solved by counting or omitting the unwarlike Egyptians.

‡ It was the Alexandria of the Arabs, a middle term in extent and riches between the period of the Greeks and Romans and that of the Turks (Savary, *Lettres sur l'Egypte*, tom. i. p. 25, 26.)

for a third and more propitious occasion. It was soon offered by the ambition and avarice of Amalric or Amaury, king of Jerusalem, who had imbibed the pernicious maxim, that no faith should be kept with the enemies of God. A religious warrior, the great master of the Hospital, encouraged him to proceed;* the emperor of Constantinople either gave, or promised, a fleet to act with the armies of Syria; and the perfidious Christian, unsatisfied with spoil and subsidy, aspired to the conquest of Egypt. In this emergency the Moslems turned their eyes towards the sultan of Damascus; the vizir, whom danger encompassed on all sides, yielded to their unanimous wishes, and Nouredin seemed to be tempted by the fair offer of one-third of the revenue of the kingdom. The Franks were already at the gates of Cairo; but the suburbs, the old city, were burnt on their approach; they were deceived by an insidious negotiation, and their vessels were unable to surmount the barriers of the Nile. They prudently declined a contest with the Turks, in the midst of a hostile country; and Amaury retired into Palestine with the shame and reproach that always adhere to unsuccessful injustice. After this deliverance, Shiracouh was invested with a robe of honour, which he soon stained with the blood of the unfortunate Shawer. For a while the Turkish emirs condescended to hold the office of vizir; but this foreign conquest precipitated the fall of the Fatimites themselves, and the bloodless change was accomplished by a message and a word. The caliphs had been degraded by their own weakness and the tyranny of the vizirs; their subjects blushed when the descendant and successor of the prophet presented his naked hand to the rude gripe of a Latin ambassador; they wept when he sent the hair of his women, a sad emblem of their grief and terror, to excite the pity of the sultan of Damascus. By the command of Nouredin, and the sentence of the doctors, the holy names of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, were solemnly restored; the caliph Mosthadi, of Bagdad, was acknowledged in the public

* [Gilbert d'Assaly, Grand Master of the Hospitallers, was easily persuaded by Amaury to assist him; but the general council of the knights hesitated, till their assent was purchased by a promise that the city of Heliopolis should be given to them. The Templars sternly refused to concur in such a breach of faith (Taaffe. i. ch. 5, p. 276).

prayers as the true commander of the faithful; and the green livery of the sons of Ali was exchanged for the black colour of the Abbassides. The last of his race, the caliph Adhed, who survived only ten days, expired in happy ignorance of his fate; his treasures secured the loyalty of the soldiers, and silenced the murmurs of the sectaries; and in all subsequent revolutions Egypt has never departed from the orthodox tradition of the Moslems.*

The hilly country beyond the Tigris is occupied by the pastoral tribes of the Curds;† a people hardy, strong, savage, impatient of the yoke, addicted to rapine, and tenacious of the government of their national chiefs. The resemblance of name, situation, and manners, seems to identify them with the Carduchians of the Greeks;‡ and they still defend against the Ottoman Porte, the antique freedom which they asserted against the successors of Cyrus. Poverty and ambition prompted them to embrace the profession of mercenary soldiers; the service of his father and uncle prepared the reign of the great Saladin;§ and the son of Job or

Wilken (iii. part 2, p. 117), hints that they held back through jealousy of the Hospitallers.—ED.] * For this great revolution of Egypt, see William of Tyre (l. 19. 5—7. 12—31. 20 5—12), Bohadin (in Vit. Saladin. p. 30—39), Abulfeda (in Excerpt. Schultens, p. 1—12), D'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. *Adhed*, *Fathemah*, but very incorrect), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 522—525. 532—537), Vertot (Hist. des Chevaliers de Malthe, tom. i. p. 141—163, in 4to.), and M. de Guignes (tom. ii. p. 2, 185—215).

† For the Curds, see De Guignes, tom. i. p. 416, 417; the Index Geographicus of Schultens, and Tavernier, Voyages, p. 1, p. 308, 309. The Ayoubites descended from the tribe of Rawadizai, one of the noblest; but as *they* were infected with the heresy of the metempsychosis, the orthodox sultans insinuated that their descent was only on the mother's side, and that their ancestor was a stranger who settled among the Curds. [The most recent account of the Curds is that, furnished by Mr. Layard. He visited Tekrit, the birth-place of Saladin, whose father, Ayub, was a chief of the Curdish tribe of Rahwanduz. Nineveh and Babylon, p. 370—376. 467.—ED.]

‡ See the fourth book of the Anabasis of Xenophon. The Ten Thousand suffered more from the arrows of the free Carduchians, than from the splendid weakness of the Great King.

§ We are indebted to the professor Schultens (Lug. Bat. 1775, in folio) for the richest and most authentic materials, a life of Saladin, by his friend and minister the cadhi Bohadin, and copious extracts from the History of his kinsman, the prince Abulfeda of Hamah. To these we may add the article of *Salaheddin* in the Bibliothèque Orientale, and all that may be gleaned from the Dynasties of Abulpharagius.

Ayub, a simple Curd, magnanimously smiled at his pedigree, which flattery deduced from the Arabian caliphs.* So unconscious was Noureddin of the impending ruin of his house, that he constrained the reluctant youth to follow his uncle Shiracouh into Egypt; his military character was established by the defence of Alexandria; and if we may believe the Latins, he solicited and obtained from the Christian general the *profane* honours of knighthood.† On the death of Shiracouh, the office of grand vizir was bestowed on Saladin, as the youngest and least powerful of the emirs; but with the advice of his father, whom he invited to Cairo, his genius obtained the ascendant over his equals, and attached the army to his person and interest. While Noureddin lived, these ambitious Curds were the most humble of his slaves; and the indiscreet murmurs of the divan were silenced by the prudent Ayub, who loudly protested, that at the command of the sultan he himself would lead his son in chains to the foot of the throne. "Such language," he added in private, "was prudent and proper in an assembly of your rivals; but we are now above fear and obedience; and the threats of Noureddin shall not extort the tribute of a sugar-cane." His seasonable death relieved them from the odious and doubtful conflict; his son, a minor of eleven years of age, was left for a while to the emirs of Damascus; and the new lord of Egypt was decorated by the caliph with every title‡ that could sanctify his usurpation in the eyes of the people. Nor was Saladin long content with the possession of Egypt; he despoiled the Christians of Jerusalem, and the Atabeks of Damascus, Aleppo, and Diarbekir; Mecca and Medina acknowledged him for their temporal protector; his brother subdued the distant regions of Yemen, or the happy Arabia; and at the hour of his death, his empire was spread from the African Tripoli to the Tigris, and from the Indian ocean to the mountains of

* Since Abulfeda was himself an Ayoubite, he may share the praise, for imitating, at least tacitly, the modesty of the founder.

† Hist. Hierosol. in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 1152. A similar example may be found in Joinville (p. 42, edition du Louvre); but the pious St. Louis refused to dignify infidels with the order of Christian knighthood. (Ducange, *Observations*, p. 70.)

‡ In these Arabic titles, *religionis* must always be understood; *Noureddin*, lumen r.; *Ezzodin*, decus; *Amadoddin*, column; our hero's proper name was Joseph, and he was styled *Salaheddin*, salus;

Armenia. In the judgment of his character, the reproaches of treason and ingratitude strike forcibly on *our* minds, impressed as they are with the principle and experience of law and loyalty. But his ambition may in some measure be excused by the revolutions of Asia,* which had erased every notion of legitimate succession; by the recent example of the Atabeks themselves; by his reverence to the son of his benefactor; his humane and generous behaviour to the collateral branches; by *their* incapacity and *his* merit; by the approbation of the caliph, the sole source of all legitimate power, and, above all, by the wishes and interest of the people, whose happiness is the first object of government. In *his* virtues, and in those of his patron, they admired the singular union of the hero and the saint; for both Nouredin and Saladin are ranked among the Mahometan saints; and the constant meditation of the holy war appears to have shed a serious and sober colour over their lives and actions. The youth of the latter † was addicted to wine and women; but his aspiring spirit soon renounced the temptations of pleasure, for the graver follies of fame and dominion; the garment of Saladin was a coarse woollen; water was his only drink; and while he emulated the temperance, he surpassed the chastity of his Arabian prophet. Both in faith and practice, he was a rigid Mussulman; he ever deplored that the defence of religion had not allowed him to accomplish the pilgrimage of Mecca; but at the stated hours, five times each day, the sultan devoutly prayed with his brethren; the involuntary omission of fasting was scrupulously repaid; and his perusal of the Koran on horseback, between the approaching armies, may be quoted as a proof, however ostentatious, of piety and courage.‡ The superstitious doctrine of the sect of Shafei, was the only study that he deigned to encourage; the poets were safe in his contempt; but all profane science was the object of his aversion; and a philosopher, who had vented some speculative novelties, was

Al Malichus, Al Nasirus, rex defensor; *Abu Modaffer*, pater victoriæ. Schultens, Præfat.

* Abulfeda, who descended from a brother of Saladin, observes from many examples, that the founders of dynasties took the guilt for themselves, and left the reward to their innocent collaterals. (Excerpt. p. 10.)

† See his life and character in Renaudot, p. 537—548.

‡ His civil and religious virtues are celebrated in the first chapter of Bohadin (p. 4—30), himself an eye-witness and an honest bigot.

seized and strangled by the command of the royal saint. The justice of his divan was accessible to the meanest suppliant against himself and his ministers; and it was only for a kingdom that Saladin would deviate from the rule of equity. While the descendants of Seljuk and Zenghi held his stirrup, and smoothed his garments, he was affable and patient with the meanest of his servants. So boundless was his liberality, that he distributed twelve thousand horses at the siege of Acre; and, at the time of his death, no more than forty-seven drachms of silver, and one piece of gold coin were found in the treasury; yet in a martial reign, the tributes were diminished, and the wealthy citizens enjoyed, without fear or danger, the fruits of their industry. Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were adorned by the royal foundations of hospitals, colleges, and moschs, and Cairo was fortified with a wall and citadel; but his works were consecrated to public use;* nor did the sultan indulge himself in a garden or palace of private luxury. In a fanatic age, himself a fanatic, the genuine virtues of Saladin commanded the esteem of the Christians; the emperor of Germany gloried in his friendship;† the Greek emperor solicited his alliance;‡ and the conquest of Jerusalem diffused, and perhaps magnified, his fame both in the East and West.

During its short existence, the kingdom of Jerusalem § was supported by the discord of the Turks and Saracens; and both the Fatimite caliphs and the sultans of Damascus were tempted to sacrifice the cause of their religion to the meaner considerations of private and present advantage. But the powers of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, were now united by a hero, whom nature and fortune had armed against the Christians. All without now bore the most threatening aspect; and all was feeble and hollow in the internal state of Jerusalem. After the two first Baldwins, the brother and cousin of Godfrey of Bouillon, the sceptre devolved by female succession to Melisenda, daughter of the second Baldwin, and her husband Fulk, count of Anjou, the

* In many works, particularly Joseph's well in the castle of Cairo, the sultan and the patriarch have been confounded by the ignorance of natives and travellers.

† Anonym. Canisii, tom. iii. p. 2, p. 504.

‡ Bohadin, p. 129, 130.

§ For the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, see William of Tyre, from the ninth to the twenty-second book. Jacob à Vitriaco, Hist. Hierosolym. l. i. and Sanutus, Secreta Fidelium Crucis, l. 3, p. 6—9.

father, by a former marriage, of our English Plantagenets.* Their two sons, Baldwin the Third, and Amaury, waged a strenuous, and not unsuccessful war, against the infidels; but the son of Amaury, Baldwin the Fourth, was deprived by the leprosy, a gift of the crusades, of the faculties both of mind and body. His sister Sybilla, the mother of Baldwin the Fifth, was his natural heiress; after the suspicious death of her child, she crowned her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, a prince of a handsome person, but of such base renown, that his own brother Jeffrey was heard to exclaim, "Since they have made *him* a king, surely they would have *me* a god!" The choice was generally blamed; and the most powerful vassal, Raymond count of Tripoli, who had been excluded from the succession and regency, entertained an implacable hatred against the king, and exposed his honour and conscience to the temptations of the sultan. Such were the guardians of the holy city; a leper, a child, a woman, a coward, and a traitor; yet its fate was delayed twelve years by some supplies from Europe, by the valour of the military orders, and by the distant or domestic avocations of their great enemy. At length, on every side the sinking state was encircled and pressed by a hostile line; and the truce was violated by the Franks, whose existence it protected. A soldier of fortune, Reginald of Chatillon, had seized a fortress on the edge of the desert, from whence he pillaged the caravans, insulted Mahomet, and threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina. Saladin condescended to complain; rejoiced in the denial of justice; and at the head of fourscore thousand horse and foot, invaded the Holy Land. The choice of Tiberias for his first siege was suggested by the count of Tripoli, to whom it belonged; and the king of Jerusalem was persuaded to drain his garrisons, and to arm his people, for the relief of that important place.† By the advice of the perfidious Raymond, the

* [Geoffrey, the son of Fulk, was the father of our Plantagenets, by his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Henry I., and widow of the emperor Henry V. The name of Plantagenet originated in the preceding century, with another Fulk. William of Malmesbury, 265, 481, edit. Bohn.—Ed.]

† Templarii ut apes bombabant, et Hospitalarii ut venti stridebant, et barones se exitio offerebant, et Turcopuli (the Christian light troops) semet ipsi in ignem injiciebant (Ispahani de Expugnatione Kudsitica, p. 18, apud Schultens); a specimen of Arabian eloquence

Christians were betrayed into a camp destitute of water; he fled on the first onset, with the curses of both nations;* Lusignan was overthrown, with the loss of thirty thousand men; and the wood of the true cross, a dire misfortune! was left in the power of the infidels. The royal captive was conducted to the tent of Saladin; and as he fainted with thirst and terror, the generous victor presented him with a cup of sherbet, cooled in snow, without suffering his companion, Reginald of Chatillon, to partake of this pledge of hospitality and pardon. "The person and dignity of a king," said the sultan, "are sacred; but this impious robber must instantly acknowledge the prophet, whom he has blasphemed, or meet the death which he has so often deserved." On the proud or conscientious refusal of the Christian warrior, Saladin struck him on the head with his scimitar, and Reginald was dispatched by the guards.† The trembling Lusignan was sent to Damascus to an honourable prison and speedy ransom; but the victory was stained by the execution of two hundred and thirty knights of the Hospital, the intrepid champions and martyrs of their faith. The kingdom was left without a head; and of the two grand masters

somewhat different from the style of Xenophon. [The *Turcopoli*, according to Taafe's account (pp. 215—222) were Turkish mercenaries, generally a light cavalry, serving under the Hospitallers. They were always commanded by a knight of that order, called *Turcopolier*, whose office was often united to that of the master at arms, or marshal. He is said (p. 215) to have been always an Englishman. —Ed.]

* The Latins affirm, the Arabians insinuate, the treason of Raymond; but had he really embraced their religion, he would have been a saint and a hero in the eyes of the latter. [Taafe (p. 328—338) rebuts the charges against "the high-minded and too-injured Tripoli," as a wicked falsehood. He says, that the irresolute Guy was urged by the Grand Master of the Temple to hazard a battle, against the advice of Raymond, who led the vanguard, performed prodigies of valour, cut his way through the Saracens, and in a few days died of grief. Wilken says the same. Vol. iii. part 2, p. 276.—Ed.]

† Renaud, Reginald, or Arnold de Chatillon, is celebrated by the Latins in his life and death; but the circumstances of the latter are more distinctly related by Bohadin and Abulfeda; and Joinville (*Hist. de St. Louis*, p. 70), alludes to the practice of Saladin, of never putting to death a prisoner who had tasted his bread and salt. Some of the companions of Arnold had been slaughtered, and almost sacrificed, in a valley of Mecca, ubi sacrificia mactantur. (Abulfeda, p. 32.) [Reginald had made himself obnoxious to Saladin by his incursions. On one of these forays he was

of the military orders, the one was slain, and the other was a prisoner. From all the cities, both of the sea-coast and the inland country, the garrisons had been drawn away for this fatal field; Tyre and Tripoli alone could escape the rapid inroad of Saladin; and three months after the battle of Tiberias, he appeared in arms before the gates of Jerusalem.*

He might expect, that the siege of a city so venerable on earth and in heaven, so interesting to Europe and Asia, would rekindle the last sparks of enthusiasm; and that of sixty thousand Christians, every man would be a soldier, and every soldier a candidate for martyrdom. But queen Sybilla trembled for herself and her captive husband; and the barons and knights, who had escaped from the sword and chains of the Turks, displayed the same factious and selfish spirit in the public ruin. The most numerous portion of the inhabitants was composed of the Greek and Oriental Christians, whom experience had taught to prefer the Mahometan before the Latin yoke;† and the holy sepulchre attracted a base and needy crowd, without arms or courage, who subsisted only on the charity of the pilgrims. Some feeble and hasty efforts were made for the defence of Jerusalem; but in the space of fourteen days, a victorious army drove back the sallies of the besieged, planted their engines, opened the wall to the breadth of fifteen cubits, applied their scaling ladders, and erected on the breach twelve banners

defeated near Mecca, and the Saracens cut the throats of their prisoners, instead of a sacrifice of sheep or lambs, which it was their custom to offer every year. Saladin pursued the marauder to the gates of Petra, where he granted him a truce. Reginald's perfidious breach of this treaty led to the fatal war which followed, and caused the indignant Saladin to vow, that he would put the perjured traitor to death, if ever he fell into his hands. Taaffe (from Arab. Chron.), i. p. 312. 315. 324—341.—Ed.]

* Vertot, who well describes the loss of the kingdom and city (*Hist. des Chevaliers de Malthe*, tom. i. l. 2, p. 226—278), inserts two original epistles of a knight-templar. [Saladin's harangue to his emirs, urging them to rescue the Holy City from the hands of the infidels, with the alteration of a few words, might have been addressed by Godfrey to his knights. Taaffe (i. 346) says, that after the siege began, in less than four days, the citizens were driven to capitulate. He adds in a note, "Michaud seems for thirteen days; but the Arab. Chron. says decidedly four."—Ed.]

† Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarch. Alex.* p. 545.

of the prophet and the sultan. It was in vain that a barefoot procession of the queen, the women, and the monks, implored the Son of God to save his tomb and his inheritance from impious violation. Their sole hope was in the mercy of the conqueror, and to the first suppliant deputation that mercy was sternly denied. "He had sworn to avenge the patience and long-suffering of the Moslems; the hour of forgiveness was elapsed, and the moment was now arrived to expiate, in blood, the innocent blood which had been spilt by Godfrey and the first crusaders." But a desperate and successful struggle of the Franks admonished the sultan that his triumph was not yet secure; he listened with reverence to a solemn adjuration in the name of the common Father of mankind; and a sentiment of human sympathy mollified the rigour of fanaticism and conquest. He consented to accept the city, and to spare the inhabitants. The Greek and Oriental Christians were permitted to live under his dominion; but it was stipulated that in forty days all the Franks and Latins should evacuate Jerusalem, and be safely conducted to the seaports of Syria and Egypt; that ten pieces of gold should be paid for each man, five for each woman, and one for every child; and that those who were unable to purchase their freedom, should be detained in perpetual slavery. Of some writers it is a favourite and invidious theme to compare the humanity of Saladin with the massacre of the first crusade. The difference would be merely personal; but we should not forget that the Christians had offered to capitulate, and that the Mahometans of Jerusalem sustained the last extremities of an assault and storm. Justice is indeed due to the fidelity with which the Turkish conqueror fulfilled the conditions of the treaty; and he may be deservedly praised for the glance of pity which he cast on the misery of the vanquished. Instead of a rigorous exaction of his debt, he accepted a sum of thirty thousand byzants for the ransom of seven thousand poor; two or three thousand more were dismissed by his gratuitous clemency; and the number of slaves was reduced to eleven or fourteen thousand persons. In his interview with the queen, his words, and even his tears, suggested the kindest consolations; his liberal alms were distributed among those who had been made orphans or widows by the fortune of war; and while the knights of the Hospital were in arms

against him, he allowed their more pious brethren to continue, during the term of a year, the care and service of the sick. In these acts of mercy the virtue of Saladin deserves our admiration and love; he was above the necessity of dissimulation, and his stern fanaticism would have prompted him to dissemble, rather than to affect, this profane compassion for the enemies of the Koran. After Jerusalem had been delivered from the presence of the strangers, the sultan made his triumphant entry, his banners waving in the wind, and to the harmony of martial music. The great mosch of Omar, which had been converted into a church, was again consecrated to one God and his prophet Mahomet; the walls and pavement were purified with rose water; and a pulpit, the labour of Nouredin, was erected in the sanctuary. But when the golden cross, that glittered on the dome, was cast down, and dragged through the streets, the Christians of every sect uttered a lamentable groan, which was answered by the joyful shouts of the Moslems. In four ivory chests the patriarch had collected the crosses, the images, the vases, and the relics, of the holy place; they were seized by the conqueror, who was desirous of presenting the caliph with the trophies of Christian idolatry. He was persuaded, however, to intrust them to the patriarch and prince of Antioch; and the pious pledge was redeemed by Richard of England, at the expense of fifty-two thousand byzants of gold.*

The nations might fear and hope the immediate and final expulsion of the Latins from Syria; which was yet delayed above a century after the death of Saladin.† In the career of victory, he was first checked by the resistance of Tyre; the troops and garrisons, which had capitulated, were imprudently conducted to the same port; their numbers were adequate to the defence of the place; and the arrival of Conrad of Montferrat inspired the disorderly crowd with confidence and union. His father, a venerable pilgrim, had been made prisoner in the battle of Tiberias; but that dis-

* For the conquest of Jerusalem, Bohadin (p. 67—75) and Abulfeda (p. 40—43), are our Moslem witnesses. Of the Christian, Bernard Thesaurarius (c. 151—167) is the most copious and authentic; see likewise Matthew Paris (p. 120—124).

† The sieges of Tyre and Acre are most copiously described by Bernard Thesaurarius (de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ, c. 167—179), the author of the *Historia Hierosolymitana* (p. 1150—1172, in Bongarsius), Abulfeda (p. 43—50), and Bohadin (p. 75—179).

aster was unknown in Italy and Greece, when the son was urged, by ambition and piety, to visit the inheritance of his royal nephew, the infant Baldwin. The view of the Turkish banners warned him from the hostile coast of Jaffa; and Conrad was unanimously hailed as the prince and champion of Tyre, which was already besieged by the conqueror of Jerusalem. The firmness of his zeal, and perhaps his knowledge of a generous foe, enabled him to brave the threats of the sultan, and to declare, that should his aged parent be exposed before the walls, he himself would discharge the first arrow, and glory in his descent from a Christian martyr.* The Egyptian fleet was allowed to enter the harbour of Tyre; but the chain was suddenly drawn, and five galleys were either sunk or taken; a thousand Turks were slain in a sally; and Saladin, after burning his engines, concluded a glorious campaign by a disgraceful retreat to Damascus. He was soon assailed by a more formidable tempest. The pathetic narratives, and even the pictures, that represented, in lively colours, the servitude and profanation of Jerusalem, awakened the torpid sensibility of Europe; the emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, and the kings of France and England, assumed the cross; and the tardy magnitude of their armaments was anticipated by the maritime states of the Mediterranean and the ocean. The skilful and provident Italians first embarked in the ships of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. They were speedily followed by the most eager pilgrims of France, Normandy, and the Western Isles. The powerful succour of Flanders, Frise, and Denmark, filled near a hundred vessels; and the northern warriors were distinguished in the field by a lofty stature and a ponderous battle-axe.† Their increasing multitudes

* I have followed a moderate and probable representation of the fact. Vertot adopts, without reluctance, a romantic tale, in which the old marquis is actually exposed to the darts of the besieged.

† Northmanni et Gothi, et cæteri populi insularum quæ inter occidentem et septentrionem sitæ sunt, gentes bellicossæ, corporis proceri, mortis intrepidæ, bipennibus armatæ, navibus rotundis quæ Ysnachiæ dicuntur advectæ. [Sundry variations of this term (*Ysnachiæ*) were applied to the ships of the maritime Goths; but what description of vessel was so denoted, is very uncertain. Some called it large, and others small; some long, and others short; some light for the purposes of piracy, others heavy for use in war. See Ducange, 5. 1132, ad voc. *Naca*, which appears to have been the original form of the word. It

could no longer be confined within the walls of Tyre, or remain obedient to the voice of Conrad. They pitied the misfortunes, and revered the dignity of Lusignan, who was released from prison, perhaps, to divide the army of the Franks. He proposed the recovery of Ptolemais, or Acre, thirty miles to the south of Tyre; and the place was first invested by two thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, under his nominal command. I shall not expatiate on the story of this memorable siege, which lasted near two years, and consumed, in a narrow space, the forces of Europe and Asia. Never did the flame of enthusiasm burn with fiercer and more destructive rage; nor could the true believers, a common appellation, who consecrated their own martyrs, refuse some applause to the mistaken zeal and courage of their adversaries. At the sound of the holy trumpet, the Moslems of Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and the Oriental provinces, assembled under the servant of the prophet:* his camp was pitched and removed within a few miles of Acre; and he laboured, night and day, for the relief of his brethren and the annoyance of the Franks. Nine battles, not unworthy of the name, were fought, in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel, with such vicissitude of fortune, that in one attack the sultan forced his way into the city; that in one sally, the Christians penetrated to the royal tent. By the means of divers and pigeons, a regular correspondence was maintained with the besieged; and, as often as the sea was left open, the exhausted garrison was withdrawn, and a fresh supply was poured into the place. The Latin camp was

was probably derived from the Gothic *knakkja*, to repel or drive off, and designated at first no particular kind of vessel but those that were kept at home for the defence of the coast against invaders. In the Saxon Chronicle (edit. Ingram, p. 235), king Edward, A.D. 1052, fitted out forty *snacca* that lay at Sandwich, to oppose the rebellious earl Godwin, who was coming with an army from Flanders. It is there translated *smacks*, but in Petrie's Mon. Hist. Britan. p. 447, and in Bohn's edit. p. 426, it is rendered "vessels." These terms do not show how the *snacca* differed from the *scips* and *ciulen*, that are so often mentioned. The word was afterwards more extensively and indiscriminately used in the German *nachen* to signify only a boat. Wilken (4. 260) cites this and other passages in which the term occurs, but does not explain it.—ED.]

* The historian of Jerusalem (p. 1108) adds the nations of the East, from the Tigris to India, and the swarthy tribes of Moors and Gethulians, so that Asia and Africa fought against Europe.

thinned by famine, the sword, and the climate; but the tents of the dead were replenished with new pilgrims, who exaggerated the strength and speed of their approaching countrymen. The vulgar was astonished by the report, that the pope himself, with an innumerable crusade, was advanced as far as Constantinople. The march of the emperor filled the East with more serious alarms; the obstacles which he encountered in Asia, and perhaps in Greece, were raised by the policy of Saladin; his joy on the death of Barbarossa was measured by his esteem; and the Christians were rather dismayed than encouraged at the sight of the duke of Swabia and his wayworn remnant of five thousand Germans. At length, in the spring of the second year, the royal fleets of France and England cast anchor in the bay of Acre, and the siege was more vigorously prosecuted by the youthful emulation of the two kings, Philip Augustus and Richard Plantagenet. After every resource had been tried, and every hope was exhausted, the defenders of Acre submitted to their fate; a capitulation was granted, but their lives and liberties were taxed at the hard conditions of a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, the deliverance of one hundred nobles and fifteen hundred inferior captives, and the restoration of the wood of the holy cross. Some doubts in the agreement, and some delay in the execution, rekindled the fury of the Franks, and three thousand Moslems, almost in the sultan's view, were beheaded by the command of the sanguinary Richard.* By the conquest of Acre, the Latin powers acquired a strong town and a convenient harbour; but the advantage was most dearly purchased. The minister and historian of Saladin computes, from the report of the enemy, that their numbers, at different periods, amounted to five or six hundred thousand; that more than one hundred thousand Christians were slain; that a far greater number was lost by disease or shipwreck; and that a small portion of this mighty host could return in safety to their native countries.†

* Bohadin, p. 180; and this massacre is neither denied nor blamed by the Christian historians. Alacriter jussa complentes (the English soldiers), says Galfrius à Vinisauf (l. 4, c. 4, p. 346), who fixes at two thousand seven hundred the number of victims; who are multiplied to five thousand by Roger Hoveden (p. 697, 698). The humanity or avarice of Philip Augustus was persuaded to ransom his prisoners. (Jacob. à Vitriaco, l. 1, c. 98, p. 1122.)

† Bohadin, p. 14

Philip Augustus and Richard the First are the only kings of France and England who have fought under the same banners; but the holy service, in which they were enlisted, was incessantly disturbed by their national jealousy; and the two factions, which they protected in Palestine, were more averse to each other than to the common enemy. In the eyes of the Orientals, the French monarch was superior in dignity and power; and, in the emperor's absence, the Latins revered him as their temporal chief.* His exploits were not adequate to his fame. Philip was brave, but the statesman predominated in his character; he was soon weary of sacrificing his health and interest on a barren coast; the surrender of Acre became the signal of his departure; nor could he justify this unpopular desertion, by leaving the duke of Burgundy, with five hundred knights, and ten thousand foot, for the service of the Holy Land. The king of England, though inferior in dignity, surpassed his rival in wealth and military renown;† and if heroism be confined to brutal and ferocious valour, Richard Plantagenet will stand high among the heroes of the age. The memory of *Cœur de Lion*, of the lion-hearted prince, was long dear and glorious to his English subjects; and, at the distance of sixty years, it was celebrated in proverbial sayings by the grandsons of the Turks and Saracens against whom he had fought; his tremendous name was employed by the Syrian mothers to silence their infants; and if a horse suddenly started from the way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Dost thou think king Richard is in that bush?"‡ His cruelty to the Mahometans was the effect of temper and

He quotes the judgment of Balianus, and the prince of Sidon, and adds, *ex illo mundo quasi hominum paucissimi redierunt*. Among the Christians who died before St. John d'Acre, I find the English names of De Ferrers, earl of Derby (Dugdale, Baronage, part 1, p. 260), Mowbray (*idem*, p. 124), De Mandevil, De Fiennes, St. John, Scrope, Pigot, Talbot, &c.

* *Magnus hic apud eos, interque reges eorum tum virtute, tum majestate eminens summus rerum arbiter*. (Bohadin, p. 159.) He does not seem to have known the names either of Philip or Richard.

† *Rex Angliæ, præstrenuus rege Gallorum minor apud eos censebatur ratione regni atque dignitatis: sed tum divitiis florentior, tum bellicâ virtute multo erat celebrior*. (Bohadin, p. 161.) A stranger might admire those riches; the national historians will tell with what lawless and wasteful oppression they were collected.

‡ Joinville, p. 17. *Cuides-tu que ce soit le roi Richard?*

zeal; but I cannot believe that a soldier, so free and fearless in the use of his lance, would have descended to whet a dagger against his valiant brother Conrad of Montferrat, who was slain at Tyre by some secret assassins.* After the surrender of Acre, and the departure of Philip, the king of England led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea-coast; and the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan. A march of one hundred miles from Acre to Ascalon was a great and perpetual battle of eleven days. In the disorder of his troops, Saladin remained on the field with seventeen guards, without lowering his standard, or suspending the sound of his brazen kettle-drum; he again rallied and renewed the charge; and his preachers or heralds called aloud on the *unitarians* manfully to stand up against the Christian idolaters. But the progress of these idolaters was irresistible; and it was only by demolishing the walls and buildings of Ascalon, that the sultan could prevent them from occupying an important fortress on the confines of Egypt. During a severe winter, the armies slept; but in the spring, the Franks advanced within a day's march of Jerusalem, under the leading standard of the English king, and his active spirit intercepted a convoy, or caravan, of seven thousand camels. Saladin† had fixed his station in the holy city; but the city was struck with consternation and discord; he fasted; he prayed; he preached; he offered to share the dangers of the siege; but his Mamalukes, who remembered the fate of

* Yet he was guilty in the opinion of the Moslems, who attest the confession of the assassins, that they were sent by the king of England (Bohadin, p. 225); and his only defence is an absurd and palpable forgery (Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 155—163), a pretended letter from the prince of the assassins, the sheich, or old man of the mountain, who justified Richard, by assuming to himself the guilt or merit of the murder. [Taaffe does not even mention this imputation on the character of Richard, who, he says, had just acknowledged Conrad king of Jerusalem. The crime, according to him, was perpetrated to avenge the murder of an "Assassin" by a Templar, whom Amaury, Conrad's father-in-law, sentenced to death, but neglected to execute the sentence. Taaffe, i. p. 304; ii. p. 49. Wilken also (iv. p. 485) exculpates Richard.—Ed.]

† See the distress and pious firmness of Saladin, as they are described by Bohadin (p. 7—9. 235—237), who himself harangued the defenders of Jerusalem; their fears were not unknown to the enemy. (Jacob. à Vitriaco, l. 1, c. 100, p. 1128. Vinisauf, l. 5, c. 50, p. 399.)

their companions at Acre, pressed the sultan, with loyal or seditious clamours, to reserve *his* person and *their* courage for the future defence of their religion and empire.* The Moslems were delivered by the sudden, or as they deemed, the miraculous retreat of the Christians;† and the laurels of Richard were blasted by the prudence, or envy, of his companions. The hero, ascending a hill, and veiling his face, exclaimed with an indignant voice, "Those who are unwilling to rescue, are unworthy to view, the sepulchre of Christ!" After his return to Acre, on the news that Jaffa was surprised by the sultan, he sailed with some merchant vessels, and leaped foremost on the beach; the castle was relieved by his presence; and sixty thousand Turks and Saracens fled before his arms. The discovery of his weakness provoked them to return in the morning; and they found him carelessly encamped before the gates, with only seventeen knights and three hundred archers. Without counting their numbers, he sustained their charge; and we learn from the evidence of his enemies, that the king of England, grasping his lance, rode furiously along their front, from the right to the left wing, without meeting an adversary who dared to encounter his career.‡ Am I writing the history of Orlando or Amadis?

* Yet unless the sultan, or an Ayoubite prince, remained in Jerusalem, nec Curdi Turcis, nec Turci essent obtemperaturi Curdis (Bohadin, p. 236). He draws aside a corner of the political curtain.

† Bohadin (p. 237), and even Jeffrey de Vinisauf (l. 6, c. 1—8, p. 403—409), ascribe the retreat to Richard himself; and Jacobus à Vitriaco observes, that in his impatience to depart, in alterum virum mutatus est (p. 1123). Yet Joinville, a French knight, accuses the envy of Hugh duke of Burgundy (p. 116), without supposing, like Matthew Paris, that he was bribed by Saladin. [According to Taaffe (ii. p. 50), the retreat of the Christians was the result of a consultation of "twenty faithful persons, five Templars, five Hospitallers, five French, and five Syrians," who decided against an attack on Jerusalem.—Ed.]

‡ The expeditions to Ascalon, Jerusalem, and Jaffa, are related by Bohadin (p. 184—249) and Abulfeda (p. 51, 52). The author of the Itinerary, or the monk of St. Albans, cannot exaggerate the cadhi's account of the prowess of Richard (Vinisauf, l. 6, c. 14—24, p. 412—421. Hist. Major, p. 137—143); and on the whole of this war, there is a marvellous agreement between the Christian and Mahometan writers, who mutually praise the virtues of their enemies. [Ricobaldus, whose Chronicle, written in 1297, is preserved in Muratori's Collection, and agrees with five Arabic MSS. in the Ferrara Municipal

During these hostilities, a languid and tedious negotiation * between the Franks and Moslems was started, and continued, and broken, and again resumed, and again broken. Some acts of royal courtesy, the gift of snow and fruit, the exchange of Norway hawks and Arabian horses, softened the asperity of religious war; from the vicissitude of success, the monarchs might learn to suspect that Heaven was neutral in the quarrel; nor, after the trial of each other, could either hope for a decisive victory.† The health both of Richard and Saladin appeared to be in a declining state; and they respectively suffered the evils of distant and domestic warfare; Plantagenet was impatient to punish a perfidious rival who had invaded Normandy in his absence; and the indefatigable sultan was subdued by the cries of the people, who was the victim, and of the soldiers, who were the instruments, of his martial zeal. The first demands of the king of England were the restitution of Jerusalem, Palestine, and the true cross; and he firmly declared, that himself and his brother pilgrims would end their lives in the pious labour, rather than return to

Library, relates a romantic incident in a battle on St. George's day, April, 23, 1192. The English having been repulsed, Richard, springing from his horse, Fauvell, placed himself at the head of the archers. Stooping down he wound round his leg, just below the knee, a small tape used by the men of Kent to tie their sheaves of arrows in the quivers, and ordered his chief knights to do the same and fight in honour of St. George. Never before had they performed such heroic actions, as on that day. Saladin, seeing Richard on foot, thought that his horse was slain, and sent him his own beautiful Arabian, begging that the king of England would accept it for the love of him. In commemoration of these occurrences, it is said that Richard instituted the Order of the Garter, to which he afterwards gave its motto during his French wars. Taaffe, ii. 51—53.—ED.]

* See the progress of negotiation and hostility in Bohadin (p. 207—260), who was himself an actor in the treaty. Richard declared his intention of returning with new armies to the conquest of the Holy Land; and Saladin answered the menace with a civil compliment. (Vinisauf, l. c. 28, p. 423.)

† The most copious and original account of this holy war is Galfridi à Vinisauf Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Richardi et aliorum in Terram Hierosolymorum, in six books, published in the second volume of Gale's *Scriptores Hist. Anglicanæ* (p. 247—429). Roger Hoveden and Matthew Paris afford likewise many valuable materials; and the former describes, with accuracy, the discipline and navigation of the English fleet. [These three historians, Godfrey de Vinsauf, Roger Hoveden, and Matthew Paris, have been well translated in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*.—ED.]

Europe with ignominy and remorse. But the conscience of Saladin refused, without some weighty compensation, to restore the idols, or promote the idolatry, of the Christians; he asserted, with equal firmness, his religious and civil claim to the sovereignty of Palestine; descanted on the importance and sanctity of Jerusalem; and rejected all terms of the establishment, or partition of the Latins. The marriage which Richard proposed, of his sister with the sultan's brother, was defeated by the difference of faith; the princess abhorred the embraces of a Turk; and Adel, or Saphadin, would not easily renounce a plurality of wives. A personal interview was declined by Saladin, who alleged their mutual ignorance of each other's language, and the negotiation was managed with much art and delay by their interpreters and envoys. The final agreement was equally disapproved by the zealots of both parties, by the Roman pontiff and the caliph of Bagdad. It was stipulated that Jerusalem and the holy sepulchre should be open, without tribute or vexation, to the pilgrimage of the Latin Christians; that, after the demolition of Ascalon, they should inclusively possess the sea-coast from Jaffa to Tyre; that the count of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch should be comprised in the truce; and that, during three years and three months all hostilities should cease. The principal chiefs of the two armies swore to the observance of the treaty; but the monarchs were satisfied with giving their word and their right hand; and the royal majesty was excused from an oath, which always implies some suspicion of falsehood and dishonour. Richard embarked for Europe to seek a long captivity and a premature grave; and the space of a few months concluded the life and glories of Saladin. The orientals describe his edifying death, which happened at Damascus; but they seem ignorant of the equal distribution of his alms among the three religions,* or of the display of a shroud, instead of a standard, to

* Even Vertot (tom. i. p. 251) adopts the foolish notion of the indifference of Saladin, who professed the Koran with his last breath. [A tolerant spirit towards the professors of other faiths, does not imply indifference to one's own. In Lessing's play of Nathan the Wise, tolerance is made a prominent feature in Saladin's character. For his protection of the Jew Maimonides, see note to ch. 15, vol. ii. p. 4, and for his kindness to Christians, Wilken, iv. 590—593, as also the *Arabian Chronicle* quoted by Taafe, ii. p. 6 and 61.—ED.]

admonish the East of the instability of human greatness. The unity of empire was dissolved by his death; his sons were oppressed by the stronger arm of their uncle Saphadin; the hostile interests of the sultans of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo,* were again revived; and the Franks or Latins stood, and breathed, and hoped, in their fortresses along the Syrian coast.

The noblest monument of a conqueror's fame, and of the terror which he inspired, is the Saladin tenth, a general tax, which was imposed on the laity, and even the clergy, of the Latin church, for the service of the holy war. The practice was too lucrative to expire with the occasion; and this tribute became the foundation of all the tithes and tenths on ecclesiastical benefices which have been granted by the Roman pontiffs to Catholic sovereigns, or reserved for the immediate use of the apostolic see.† This pecuniary emolument must have tended to increase the interest of the popes in the recovery of Palestine; after the death of Saladin they preached the crusade, by their epistles, their legates, and their missionaries; and the accomplishment of the pious work might have been expected from the zeal and talents of Innocent the Third.‡ Under that young and ambitious priest, the successors of St. Peter attained the full meridian of their greatness; and in a reign of eighteen years, he exercised a despotic command over the emperors and kings, whom he raised and deposed; over the nations, whom an interdict of months or years deprived, for the offence of their rulers, of the exercise of Christian worship. In the council of the Lateran he acted as the

* See the succession of the Ayoubites, in Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 277, &c.), and the tables of M. de Guignes, *l'Art de Verifier les Dates*, and the *Bibliothèque Orientale*.

† Thomassin (*Discipline de l'Eglise*, tom. iii. p. 311—374) has copiously treated of the origin, abuses, and restrictions, of these *tenths*. A theory was started, but not pursued, that they were rightfully due to the pope, a tenth of the Levites' tenth to the high-priest. (Selden on Tithes, see his works, vol. iii. p. 2, p. 1083.)

‡ See the *Gesta Innocentii*, 3, in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* (tom. iii. p. 1, p. 486—568.) [The character of Innocent III. may be found drawn by Hallam (l. 360) and by Wilken (5. 61). Of all the popes he was the most active promoter of the crusades, and none realized so fully the ambitious designs of their first author. For his bold pretensions and arrogated power, see Hallam, vol. ii. p. 282, and Wilken, vol. v. p. 93. 182. 184, &c.—ED.]

ecclesiastical, almost as the temporal, sovereign of the East and West. It was at the feet of his legate that John of England surrendered his crown; and Innocent may boast of the two most signal triumphs over sense and humanity, the establishment of transubstantiation, and the origin of the inquisition. At his voice, two crusades, the fourth and the fifth, were undertaken; but except a king of Hungary, the princes of the second order were at the head of the pilgrims; the forces were inadequate to the design; nor did the effects correspond with the hopes and wishes of the pope and the people. The fourth crusade was diverted from Syria to Constantinople; and the conquest of the Greek or Roman empire by the Latins will form the proper and important subject of the next chapter. In the fifth,* two hundred thousand Franks were landed at the eastern mouth of the Nile. They reasonably hoped that Palestine must be subdued in Egypt, the seat and storehouse of the sultan; and after a siege of sixteen months, the Moslems deplored the loss of Damietta. But the Christian army was ruined by the pride and insolence of the legate Pelagius, who, in the pope's name, assumed the character of general. The sickly Franks were encompassed by the waters of the Nile, and the Oriental forces; and it was by the evacuation of Damietta that they obtained a safe retreat, some concessions for the pilgrims, and the tardy restitution of the doubtful relic of the true cross. The failure may in some measure be ascribed to the abuse and multiplication of the crusades, which were preached at the same time against

* See the fifth crusade, and the siege of Damietta, in Jacobus à Vitriaco (l. 3, p. 1125—1149, in the *Gesta Dei of Bongarsius*), an eye-witness, Bernard Thesaurarius (in *Script. Muratori*, tom. vii. p. 825—846, c. 190—207), a contemporary, and Sanutus (*Secreta Fidel. Crucis*, l. 3, p. 11, c. 4—9), a diligent compiler; and of the Arabians, Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 294), and the extracts at the end of Joinville (p. 533. 537. 540. 547, &c.) [Damietta was taken by breaking through a strong chain that stretched across the entrance of the harbour. This was accomplished by a vessel, which the citizens of Haerlem, in Holland, had fitted out. A model of it, and of the saws which cut through the massive impediment, is preserved in their church. Near it are also suspended some silver bells, that were among the spoils of the captured town. This exploit is the subject of one of Crabeth's fine painted windows in the church at Gouda. When Saphadin received the intelligence, he died of grief. The campaign in Egypt and the arrogance of "the firebrand" Pelagius, are honestly related

the Pagans of Livonia, the Moors of Spain, the Albigeois of France, and the kings of Sicily of the imperial family.* In these meritorious services the volunteers might acquire at home the same spiritual indulgence, and a larger measure of temporal rewards; and even the popes in their zeal against a domestic enemy, were sometimes tempted to forget the distress of their Syrian brethren. From the last age of the crusades they derived the occasional command of an army and revenue; and some deep reasoners have suspected that the whole enterprise, from the first synod of Placentia, was contrived and executed by the policy of Rome. The suspicion is not founded either in nature or in fact. The successors of St. Peter appear to have followed, rather than guided, the impulse of manners and prejudice; without much foresight of the seasons, or cultivation of the soil, they gathered the ripe and spontaneous fruits of the superstition of the times. They gathered these fruits without toil or personal danger. In the council of the Lateran, Innocent the Third declared an ambiguous resolution of animating the crusaders by his example; but the pilot of the sacred vessel could not abandon the helm; nor was Palestine ever blessed with the presence of a Roman pontiff.†

by Taaffe, ii. p. 96—106.—Ed.]

* To those who took the cross against Mainfroy, the pope (A.D. 1255) granted plenissimam peccatorum remissionem. Fideles mirabantur quod tantum eis promitteret pro sanguine christianorum effundendo quantum pro cruore infidelium aliquando. (Matthew Paris, p. 785.) A high flight for the reason of the thirteenth century!

† This simple idea is agreeable to the good sense of Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 332), and the fine philosophy of Hume (Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 330). [Hume and Mosheim were not led by their subjects to do more than hint their opinion. It may be sustained by the clearest proofs. The popes wanted to reduce all the nations of Europe under their supreme control. To effect this, they sought to repress the silently growing spirit of the age, by wearing it out in fruitless conflicts. The crusades did this, and of them the popes were the first authors and most strenuous promoters. So long as this vain enthusiasm drained the numbers and resources of every people, checked their industry and blunted their faculties, the popes continued to stride onward unresisted. The most decisive facts are overlooked by Gibbon, when he says, that the popes followed, rather than guided, the impulse of manners and prejudice. The letters of Gregory VII. first started the project. The arts of Urban II. carried it into effect. Innocent III. persuaded his ward Frederic II., at the

The persons, the families, and estates, of the pilgrims, were under the immediate protection of the popes; and these spiritual patrons soon claimed the prerogative of directing their operations, and enforcing, by commands and censures, the accomplishment of their vow. Frederic the Second,* the grandson of Barbarossa, was successively the pupil, the enemy, and the victim, of the church. At the age of twenty-one years, and in obedience to his guardian, Innocent the Third, he assumed the cross; the same promise was repeated at his royal and imperial coronations; and his marriage with the heiress of Jerusalem for ever bound him to defend the kingdom of his son Conrad. But as Frederic advanced in age and authority, he repented of

early age of twenty-one, to assume the cross. Gregory IX. excommunicated him for suspending his vow. The very first act of Innocent IV. was to address a circular to all Christendom, calling for a new crusade. He consulted with and urged Louis IX. to the undertaking, sent Cardinal Odo de Chateauroux to preach it up in France, and exacted even from ecclesiastics a tenth of their incomes, to support its charges, although the reluctance of the people to engage in it was so great that the king employed the most unworthy artifices to pledge his knights surreptitiously to the undertaking. (Wilken, vii. p. 3. 19. 27. Taaffe, ii. p. 133.) Clement IV. imposed again the same tax, for three successive years, on all the ecclesiastical revenues of France and Navarre, to promote the last of the crusades; and when the clergy of Rheims, Sens, and Rouen protested, he compelled them by his threats to pay the money. (Ib. p. 510.) Even to the last, when all Europe, disheartened by repeated failures, abandoned the hopeless enterprise, Clement V. and Innocent VI. were still indefatigable in their efforts to rekindle the extinguished flame. (Ib. p. 784.) These are some, of innumerable proofs of the part acted by the popes, first to excite the spirit and then to revive it, when they saw that it was sinking. They, too, alone profited by the insane fury which they aroused. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they were supreme over all Europe; kings and people trembled before them, and for three hundred years they stopped the progress of growing intellect. (Hallam, 2, p. 284—286). See also the second section of Heeren's *Essay on the Influence of the Crusades*, where the objects, proceedings, and successes of the popes are fully displayed. The chain of evidence is complete; nothing is wanting to establish the most undeniable proofs of a pre-conceived design and concerted plan.—ED.]

* The original materials for the crusade of Frederic II. may be drawn from Richard de St. Germano (in Muratori, *Script. Rerum Ital.* tom. vii. p. 1002—1013), and Matthew Paris) p. 286. 291. 302, 304). The most rational moderns are Fleury (*Hist. Eccles.* tom. 16), Vertot (*Chevaliers de Malthe*, tom. i. l. 3), Giannone (*Istoria Civile di Napoli*, tom. ii. l. 16), and Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. 10).

the rash engagements of his youth; his liberal sense and knowledge taught him to despise the phantoms of superstition and the crowns of Asia; he no longer entertained the same reverence for the successors of Innocent; and his ambition was occupied by the restoration of the Italian monarchy from Sicily to the Alps. But the success of this project would have reduced the popes to their primitive simplicity; and, after the delays and excuses of twelve years they urged the emperor, with entreaties and threats, to fix the time and place of his departure for Palestine. In the harbours of Sicily and Apulia, he prepared a fleet of one hundred galleys, and of one hundred vessels, that were framed to transport and land two thousand five hundred knights, with their horses and attendants; his vassals of Naples and Germany formed a powerful army; and the number of English crusaders was magnified to sixty thousand by the report of fame. But the inevitable or affected slowness of these mighty preparations consumed the strength and provisions of the more indigent pilgrims; the multitude was thinned by sickness and desertion, and the sultry summer of Calabria anticipated the mischiefs of a Syrian campaign. At length the emperor hoisted sail at Brundisium, with a fleet and army of forty thousand men; but he kept the sea no more than three days; and his hasty retreat, which was ascribed by his friends to a grievous indisposition, was accused by his enemies as a voluntary and obstinate disobedience. For suspending his vow was Frederic excommunicated by Gregory the Ninth; for presuming, the next year, to accomplish his vow, he was again excommunicated by the same pope.* While he served under the banner of the cross, a crusade was preached against him in Italy; and after his return he was compelled to ask pardon for the

* Poor Muratori knows what to think, but knows not what to say: "*Chino qui il capo,*" &c. p. 322. [Taaffe makes a bold effort to throw a veil over these proceedings, which, he says (ii. p. 118), are "the invention of malignancy or ignorance, copied by historians of the highest estimation, even by the most devout Roman Catholic Michaud." To prove his case, he adduces (Appendix, lxiii.) a bull, in which Gregory commands the Hospitallers to obey and fight for "his dearest son in Christ, Frederic the emperor." But he gives none of the preceding contrary documents, while this which he inserts, is dated 1236, after Frederic's submission, and is clearly a reversal of the previous interdict.—Ed.]

injuries which he had suffered. The clergy and military orders of Palestine were previously instructed to renounce his communion and dispute his commands; and in his own kingdom, the emperor was forced to consent that the orders of the camp should be issued in the name of God and of the Christian republic. Frederic entered Jerusalem in triumph; and with his own hands (for no priest would perform the office) he took the crown from the altar of the holy sepulchre. But the patriarch cast an interdict on the church which his presence had profaned; and the knights of the Hospital and Temple informed the sultan how easily he might be surprised and slain in his unguarded visit to the river Jordan. In such a state of fanaticism and faction, victory was hopeless, and defence was difficult: but the conclusion of an advantageous peace may be imputed to the discord of the Mahometans, and their personal esteem for the character of Frederic. The enemy of the church is accused of maintaining with the miscreants an intercourse of hospitality and friendship, unworthy of a Christian; of despising the barrenness of the land; and of indulging a profane thought, that if Jehovah had seen the kingdom of Naples, he never would have selected Palestine for the inheritance of his chosen people. Yet Frederic obtained from the sultan the restitution of Jerusalem, of Bethlem and Nazareth, of Tyre and Sidon; the Latins were allowed to inhabit and fortify the city; an equal code of civil and religious freedom was ratified for the sectaries of Jesus and those of Mahomet; and, while the former worshipped at the holy sepulchre, the latter might pray and preach in the mosch of the temple,* from whence the prophet undertook his nocturnal journey to heaven. The clergy deplored this scandalous toleration; and the weaker Moslems were gradually expelled; but every rational object of the crusades was accomplished without bloodshed;

* The clergy artfully confounded the mosch or church of the temple with the holy sepulchre, and their wilful error has deceived both Vertot and Muratori. [Before he left Palestine, Frederic passed two days at Jerusalem. A Moslem who officially accompanied him, has left an amusing narrative of this visit, which Taaffe has copied. It displays the liberal tendencies of the emperor. There is no mention of any triumphal entry or coronation; but there are evident proofs of mutual forbearance and reciprocal endeavours to check the outbreaks of priestly and fanatical zeal. See Taaffe, ii. p. 117. 118.—ED.]

the churches were restored, the monasteries were replenished; and in the space of fifteen years, the Latins of Jerusalem exceeded the number of six thousand. This peace and prosperity, for which they were ungrateful to their benefactor, was terminated by the irruption of the strange and savage hordes of Carizmians.* Flying from the arms of the Moguls, those shepherds of the Caspian rolled headlong on Syria; and the union of the Franks with the sultans of Aleppo, Hems, and Damascus, was insufficient to stem the violence of the torrent. Whatever stood against them was cut off by the sword, or dragged into captivity; the military orders were almost exterminated in a single battle; and in the pillage of the city, in the profanation of the holy sepulchre, the Latins confess and regret the modesty and discipline of the Turks and Saracens.

Of the seven crusades, the two last were undertaken by Louis the Ninth, king of France; who lost his liberty in Egypt, and his life on the coast of Africa. Twenty-eight years after his death, he was canonized at Rome; and sixty-five miracles were readily found, and solemnly attested, to justify the claim of the royal saint.† The voice of history renders a more honourable testimony, that he united the virtues of a king, a hero, and a man; that his martial spirit was tempered by the love of private and public justice; and that Louis was the father of his people, the friend of his neighbours, and the terror of the infidels. Superstition alone, in all the extent of her baleful influence,‡ corrupted

* The irruption of the Carizmians, or Corasmins, is related by Matthew Paris (p. 546, 547), and by Joinville, Nangis, and the Arabians (p. 111, 112. 191, 192. 528. 530). [The Carizmians first crossed the Tigris and Euphrates in 1232. Mussulman ambassadors implored assistance in Europe. The Christians of Palestine held back in consequence of their disapproving Frederic's treaty. Gregory, who had been just reconciled to the emperor, issued a bull, August 1, 1232, directing the Hospitallers to act, and this he more formally confirmed in 1236. The Carizmians leagued with the Ayubites of Egypt; the Christians united with the Moslems of Syria under the prince of Hems, and were defeated in 1243 at Gaza; only thirty-three Templars, twenty-six Hospitallers, and three Teutonic knights, escaped from that battle. Taaffe, ii. p. 123—132. Appendix, lxx.—Ed.]

† Read, if you can, the life and miracles of St. Louis, by the confessor of queen Margaret (p. 291—523. Joinville, edit. du Louvre.)

‡ He believed all that mother-church taught (Joinville, p. 10), but he cautioned Joinville against disputing with infidels. "L'homme lay

his understanding and his heart; his devotion stooped to admire and imitate the begging friars of Francis and Dominic; he pursued with blind and cruel zeal the enemies of the faith; and the best of kings twice descended from his throne to seek the adventures of a spiritual knight-errant. A monkish historian would have been content to applaud the most despicable part of his character; but the noble and gallant Joinville,* who shared the friendship and captivity of Louis, has traced with the pencil of nature the free portrait of his virtues as well as of his failings. From this intimate knowledge, we may learn to suspect the political views of depressing their great vassals, which are so often imputed to the royal authors of the crusades. Above all the princes of the middle ages, Louis the Ninth successfully laboured to restore the prerogatives of the crown; but it was at home, and not in the East, that he acquired for himself and his posterity; his vow was the result of enthusiasm and sickness; and if he were the promoter, he was likewise the victim, of this holy madness. For the invasion of Egypt, France was exhausted of her troops and treasures; he covered the sea of Cyprus with eighteen hundred sails; the most modest enumeration amounts to fifty thousand men; and if we might trust his own confession, as it is reported by Oriental vanity, he disembarked nine thousand five hundred horse and one hundred and thirty thousand foot, who performed their pilgrimage under the shadow of his power.†

In complete armour, the oriflamme waving before him, Louis leaped foremost on the beach; and the strong city of Damietta, which had cost his predecessors a siege of sixteen months, was abandoned on the first assault by the trembling Moslems. But Damietta was the first and the last of his conquests; and in the fifth and sixth crusades, the same

(said he, in his old language) quand il ot medire de la loy Crestienne, ne doit pas deffendre la loy Crestienne ne mais que de l'espée, dequoi il doit donner parmi le ventre dedens, tant comme elle y peut entrer." (p. 12.)

* I have two editions of Joinville, the one (Paris, 1668), most valuable for the observations of Ducange; the other (Paris, au Louvre, 1761), most precious for the pure and authentic text, a MS. of which has been recently discovered. The last editor proves that the History of St. Louis was finished A.D. 1309, without explaining, or even admiring, the age of the author, which must have exceeded ninety years. (Preface, p. 11. Observations de Ducange, p. 17.)

† Joinville, p. 32. Arabic Extracts, p. 549.

causes, almost on the same ground, were productive of similar calamities.* After a ruinous delay, which introduced into the camp the seeds of an epidemical disease, the Franks advanced from the sea-coast towards the capital of Egypt, and strove to surmount the unseasonable inundation of the Nile, which opposed their progress. Under the eye of their intrepid monarch, the barons and knights of France displayed their invincible contempt of danger and discipline; his brother, the count of Artois, stormed with inconsiderate valour the town of Massoura; and the carrier-pigeons announced to the inhabitants of Cairo, that all was lost. But a soldier, who afterwards usurped the sceptre, rallied the flying troops; the main body of the Christians was far behind their vanguard; and Artois was overpowered and slain. A shower of Greek fire was incessantly poured on the invaders; the Nile was commanded by the Egyptian galleys, the open country by the Arabs; all provisions were intercepted; each day aggravated the sickness and famine; and about the same time a retreat was found to be necessary and impracticable. The Oriental writers confess that Louis might have escaped, if he would have deserted his subjects; he was made prisoner, with the greatest part of his nobles; all who could not redeem their lives by service or ransom, were inhumanly massacred; and the walls of Cairo were decorated with a circle of Christian heads.†

The king of France was loaded with chains; but the generous victor, a great grandson of the brother of Saladin, sent a robe of honour to his royal captive; and his deliverance, with that of his soldiers, was obtained by the restitution of Damietta‡ and the payment of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. In a soft and luxurious climate, the dege-

* The last editors have enriched their Joinville with large and curious extracts from the Arabic historians, Macrizi, Abulfeda, &c. See likewise Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 322—325), who calls him by the corrupt name of *Redefrans*. Matthew Paris (p. 683, 684), has described the rival folly of the French and English who fought and fell at Massoura.

† Savary, in his agreeable *Lettres sur l'Egypte*, has given a description of Damietta (tom. i. lettre 23, p. 274—290), and a narrative of the expedition of St. Louis (25, p. 306—350).

‡ For the ransom of St. Louis, a million of byzants was asked and granted; but the sultan's generosity reduced that sum to eight hundred thousand byzants, which are valued by Joinville at four hundred thousand French livres of his own time.

nerate children of the companions of Nouredin and Saladin were incapable of resisting the flower of European chivalry ; they triumphed by the arms of their slaves or Mamalukes, the hardy natives of Tartary, who, at a tender age, had been purchased of the Syrian merchants, and were educated in the camp and palace of the sultan. But Egypt soon afforded a new example of the danger of prætorian bands ; and the rage of these ferocious animals, who had been let loose on the strangers, was provoked to devour their benefactor. In the pride of conquest, Touran Shah, the last of his race, was murdered by his Mamalukes ; and the most daring of the assassins entered the chamber of the captive king, with drawn scimitars, and their hands imbrued in the blood of their sultan. The firmness of Louis commanded their respect ;* their avarice prevailed over cruelty and zeal ; the treaty was accomplished ; and the king of France, with the relics of his army, was permitted to embark for Palestine. He wasted four years within the walls of Acre, unable to visit Jerusalem, and unwilling to return without glory to his native country.

The memory of his defeat excited Louis, after sixteen years of wisdom and repose, to undertake the seventh and last of the crusades. His finances were restored, his kingdom was enlarged ; a new generation of warriors had arisen ; and he embarked, with fresh confidence, at the head of six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. The loss of Antioch had provoked the enterprise ; a wild hope of baptising the king of Tunis tempted him to steer for the African coast ; and the report of an immense treasure reconciled his troops to the delay of their voyage to the Holy Land. Instead of a proselyte, he found a siege ; the French panted and died on the burning sands ; St. Louis expired in his tent ; and no sooner had he closed his eyes, than his son and successor gave the signal of the retreat.† “It is thus,”

and expressed by Matthew Paris by one hundred thousand marks of silver. (Ducange, Dissertation 20, sur Joinville.)

* The idea of the emirs to choose Louis for their sultan is seriously attested by Joinville (p. 77, 78), and does not appear to me so absurd as to M. de Voltaire (*Hist. Générale*, tom. ii. p. 386, 387). The Mamalukes themselves were strangers, rebels, and equals ; they had felt his valour, they hoped his conversion : and such a motion, which was not seconded, might be made, perhaps by a secret Christian, in their tumultuous assembly.

† See the expedition in the

says a lively writer, "that a Christian king died near the ruins of Carthage, waging war against the sectaries of Mahomet, in a land to which Dido had introduced the deities of Syria." *

A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves. Yet such has been the state of Egypt above five hundred years. The most illustrious sultans of the Baharite and Borgite dynasties† were themselves promoted from the Tartar and Circassian bands; and the four-and-twenty beys, or military chiefs, have ever been succeeded, not by their sons, but by their servants. They produce the great charter of their liberties, the treaty of Selim the First with the republic;‡ and the Othman emperor still accepts from Egypt a slight acknowledgment of tribute and subjection. With some breathing intervals of peace and order, the two dynasties are marked as a period of rapine and bloodshed;§ but their throne, however shaken, reposed on the two pillars of discipline and valour; their sway extended over Egypt, Nubia, Arabia, and Syria; their Mamalukes were multiplied from eight hundred to twenty-five thousand horse; and their numbers were increased by a provincial militia of one hundred and seven thousand foot, and the occasional aid of sixty-six thousand Arabs.¶ Princes of

Annals of St. Louis, by William de Nangis, p. 270—287, and the Arabic Extracts, p. 545, 555, of the Louvre edition of Joinville.

* Voltaire, *Hist. Générale*, tom. ii. p. 391.

† The chronology of the two dynasties of Mamalukes, the Baharites, Turks or Tartars of Kipzak, and the Borgites, Circassians, is given by Pococke (*Prolegom. ad Abulpharag.* p. 6—31), and De Guignes (tom. i. p. 264—270); their history from Abulfeda, Macrizi, &c., to the beginning of the fifteenth century by the same, M. de Guignes (tom. iv. p. 110—328.).

‡ Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte*, tom. ii. lettre 15, p. 189—208. I much question the authenticity of this copy; yet it is true, that sultan Selim concluded a treaty with the Circassians or Mamalukes of Egypt, and left them in possession of arms, riches, and power. See a new *Abrégé de l'Histoire Ottomane*, composed in Egypt, and translated by M. Digeon (tom. i. p. 55—58, Paris, 1781), a curious, authentic, and national history.

§ Si totum quo regnum occuparunt tempus respicias, præsertim quod fini propius, reperies illud bellis, pugnis, injuriis, ac rapinis refertum. (*Al Jannabi*, apud Pococke, p. 31.) The reign of Mahomet (A.D. 1311—1341), affords a happy exception (*De Guignes*, tom. iv. p. 208—219.).

¶ They are now reduced to eight

such power and spirit could not long endure on their coast a hostile and independent nation; and if the ruin of the Franks was postponed about forty years, they were indebted to the cares of an unsettled reign, to the invasion of the Moguls, and to the occasional aid of some warlike pilgrims. Among these, the English reader will observe the name of our first Edward, who assumed the cross in the life-time of his father Henry. At the head of a thousand soldiers, the future conqueror of Wales and Scotland delivered Acre from a siege; marched as far as Nazareth with an army of nine thousand men; emulated the fame of his uncle Richard; extorted, by his valour, a ten years' truce; and escaped, with a dangerous wound, from the dagger of a fanatic *assassin*.* Antioch,† whose situation had been less exposed to the calamities of the holy war, was finally occupied and ruined by Bondocdar, or Bibars, sultan of Egypt and Syria; the Latin principality was extinguished; and the first seat of the Christian name was dispeopled by the slaughter of seventeen, and the captivity of one hundred, thousand of her inhabitants. The maritime towns of Laodicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre and Jaffa, and the stronger castles of the Hospitallers and Templars, successively fell; and the whole existence of the Franks was confined to the

thousand five hundred; but the expense of each Mamaluke may be rated at one hundred louis; and Egypt groans under the avarice and insolence of these strangers. (*Voyages de Volney*, tom. i. p. 89—187.)

* See Carte's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 165—175, and his original authors, Thomas Wikes and Walter Hemingford (l. 3, c. 34, 35), in Gale's *Collection* (tom. ii. p. 97, 589—592). They are both ignorant of the princess Eleanor's piety in sucking the poisoned wound, and saving her husband at the risk of her own life. [Wilken (7. 605) does not doubt this illustrious proof of a wife's affection, and in support of it adduces a contemporary writer of some authority, Ptolemæus of Lucca, whose *Chronicle* is preserved in the *Bibliotheca Messina* and in Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* Various authorities are quoted by Taafe (ii. 171—174), which all agree that an attempt was made to assassinate Edward; but they differ widely as to the mode in which the poison was extracted or counteracted. One of them (*Chron. Bertinian.*), says that it was sucked out by an attendant of the name of Grandison. But this is accompanied by a tale so marvellous, that, although attested by the Abbot Joannes d'Ypre, it throws suspicion on the whole story.—ED.]

† Sanutus, *Secret. Fidelium Crucis*, l. 3, p. 12, c. 9, and De Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, tom. iv. p. 143, from the Arabic historians.

city and colony of St. John of Acre, which is sometimes described by the more classic title of Ptolemais.

After the loss of Jerusalem, Acre,* which is distant about seventy miles, became the metropolis of the Latin Christians, and was adorned with strong and stately buildings, with aqueducts, an artificial port, and a double wall. The population was increased by the incessant streams of pilgrims and fugitives; in the pauses of hostility the trade of the East and West was attracted to this convenient station; and the market could offer the produce of every clime and the interpreters of every tongue. But in this conflux of nations every vice was propagated and practised; of all the disciples of Jesus and Mahomet, the male and female inhabitants of Acre were esteemed the most corrupt; nor could the abuse of religion be corrected by the discipline of law. The city had many sovereigns, and no government. The kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, of the house of Lusignan, the princes of Antioch, the counts of Tripoli and Sidon, the great masters of the Hospital, the Temple, and the Teutonic order, the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, the pope's legate, the kings of France and England, assumed an independent command; seventeen tribunals exercised the power of life and death; every criminal was protected in the adjacent quarter; and the perpetual jealousy of the nations often burst forth in acts of violence and blood. Some adventurers who disgraced the ensign of the cross, compensated their want of pay by the plunder of the Mahometan villages; nineteen Syrian merchants, who traded under the public faith, were despoiled and hanged by the Christians; and the denial of satisfaction justified the arms of the Sultan Khalil. He marched against Acre, at the head of sixty thousand horse and one hundred and forty thousand foot; his train of artillery (if I may use the word) was numerous and weighty; the separate timbers of a single engine were transported in one hundred wagons; and the royal historian Abulfeda, who served with the troops of Hamah, was himself a spectator of the holy war. Whatever might be the vices of the Franks, their courage was rekindled by enthusiasm

* The state of Acre is represented in all the chronicles of the times, and most accurately in John Villani, l. 7, c. 144, in Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. xiii. p. 337, 338.

and despair; but they were torn by the discord of seventeen chiefs, and overwhelmed on all sides by the powers of the sultan. After a siege of thirty-three days, the double wall was forced by the Moslems; the principal tower yielded to their engines; the Mamalukes made a general assault; the city was stormed; and death or slavery was the lot of sixty thousand Christians. The convent, or rather fortress, of the Templars resisted three days longer; but the great master was pierced with an arrow; and, of five hundred knights, only ten were left alive, less happy than the victims of the sword, if they lived to suffer on a scaffold in the unjust and cruel proscription of the whole order. The king of Jerusalem, the patriarch, and the great master of the Hospital, effected their retreat to the shore; but the sea was rough, the vessels were insufficient; and great numbers of the fugitives were drowned before they could reach the isle of Cyprus, which might comfort Lusignan for the loss of Palestine. By the command of the sultan, the churches and fortifications of the Latin cities were demolished; a motive of avarice or fear still opened the holy sepulchre to some devout and defenceless pilgrims; and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the WORLD'S DEBATE.*

CHAPTER LX.—SCHISM OF THE GREEKS AND LATINS.—STATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE.—REVOLT OF THE BULGARIANS.—ISAAC ANGELUS DETHRONED BY HIS BROTHER ALEXIUS.—ORIGIN OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE.—ALLIANCE OF THE FRENCH AND VENETIANS WITH THE SON OF ISAAC.—THEIR NAVAL EXPEDITION TO CONSTANTINOPLE.—THE TWO SIEGES AND FINAL CONQUEST OF THE CITY BY THE LATINS.

THE restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne was speedily followed by the separation of the Greek and Latin churches.† A religious and national animosity still

* See the final expulsion of the Franks, in Sanutus, l. 3, p. 12, c. 11—22. Abulfeda, Macrizi, &c. in De Guignes, tom. iv. p. 162 164, and Vertot, tom. i. l. 3, p. 407—428.

† In the successive centuries, from the ninth to the eighteenth, Mosheim traces the schism of the Greeks with learning, clearness, and

divides the two largest communions of the Christian world; and the schism of Constantinople, by alienating her most useful allies and provoking her most dangerous enemies, has precipitated the decline and fall of the Roman empire in the East.

In the course of the present history, the aversion of the Greeks for the Latins has been often visible and conspicuous. It was originally derived from the disdain of servitude, inflamed, after the time of Constantine, by the pride of equality or dominion; and finally exasperated by the preference which their rebellious subjects had given to the alliance of the Franks. In every age the Greeks were proud of their superiority in profane and religious knowledge; they had first received the light of Christianity; they had pronounced the decrees of the seven general councils; they alone possessed the language of Scripture and philosophy; nor should the Barbarians, immersed in the darkness of the West,* presume to argue on the high and mysterious questions of theological science. Those Barbarians despised in their turn the restless and subtle levity of the Orientals, the authors of every heresy; and blessed their own simplicity, which was content to hold the tradition of the apostolic church. Yet in the seventh century, the synods of Spain, and afterwards of France, improved or corrupted the Nicene creed, on the mysterious subject of the third person of the Trinity.† In the long controversies of the East, the nature and generation of the Christ had been scrupulously defined; and the well-known relation of father and son seemed to convey a faint image to the human mind. The idea of birth was less analogous to the Holy Spirit, who, instead of a divine gift or attribute, was considered by the Catholics as a substance, a person, a god; he was not be-

impartiality; the *filioque* (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 277); Leo III. p. 303; Photius, p. 307, 308; Michael Cerularius, p. 370, 371, &c.

* "Ἄνδρες δυσσεβεῖς καὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι, ἄνδρες ἐκ σκότους ἀνάρχοντες, τῆς γὰρ Ἐσπερίου μοῖρας ὑπῆρχον γεννήματα. (Phot. Epist. p. 47. edit. Montacut.) The Oriental patriarch continues to apply the images of thunder earthquake, hail, wild boar, precursors of anti-christ, &c. &c.

† The mysterious subject of the procession of the Holy Ghost is discussed in the historical, theological, and controversial sense, or nonsense, by the Jesuit Petavius. (Dogmata Theologica, tom. ii. l. 7, p. 362—440.)

gotten, but in the orthodox style he *proceeded*. Did he proceed from the Father alone, perhaps by the son? or from the Father and the Son? The first of these opinions was asserted by the Greeks, the second by the Latins; and the addition to the Nicene creed of the word *filiogue* kindled the flame of discord between the Oriental and the Gallic churches. In the origin of the dispute, the Roman pontiffs affected a character of neutrality and moderation;* they condemned the innovation, but they acquiesced in the sentiment, of their Transalpine brethren; they seemed desirous of casting a veil of silence and charity over the superfluous research; and in the correspondence of Charlemagne and Leo the Third, the pope assumes the liberality of a statesman, and the prince descends to the passions and prejudices of a priest.† But the orthodoxy of Rome spontaneously obeyed the impulse of her temporal policy; and the *filiogue*, which Leo wished to erase, was transcribed in the symbol and chanted in the liturgy of the Vatican. The Nicene and Athanasian creeds are held as the Catholic faith, without which none can be saved; and both Papists and Protestants must now sustain and return the anathemas of the Greeks, who deny the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, as well as from the Father. Such articles of faith are not susceptible of treaty; but the rules of discipline will vary in remote and independent churches; and the reason, even of divines, might allow that the difference is inevitable and harmless. The craft or superstition of Rome has imposed on her priests and deacons the rigid obligation of celibacy; among the Greeks, it is confined to the bishops; the loss is compensated by dignity, or annihilated by age; and the parochial clergy, the papas, enjoy the conjugal society of the wives whom they have married before their entrance into holy orders. A question concerning the *Azysms* was

* Before the shrine of St. Peter he placed two shields of the weight of ninety-four pounds and a half of pure silver; on which he inscribed the texts of both creeds (utroque symbolo) pro amore et *cantell* orthodoxæ fidei. (Anastasi in Leon. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. pars 1, p. 208.) His language most clearly proves, that neither the *filiogue*, nor the Athanasian creed, were received at Rome about the year 830.

† The missi of Charlemagne pressed him to declare that all who rejected the *filiogue*, at least the doctrine, must be damned. All, replies the pope, are not capable of reaching the altiora mysteria; qui potuerit, et non voluerit, salvus esse non potest. (Collect. Concil.

fiercely debated in the eleventh century, and the essence of the eucharist was supposed in the East and West to depend on the use of leavened or unleavened bread. Shall I mention in a serious history the furious reproaches that were urged against the Latins, who for a long while remained on the defensive? They neglected to abstain, according to the apostolical decree, from things strangled and from blood; they fasted, a Jewish observance! on the Saturday of each week; during the first week of Lent they permitted the use of milk and cheese;* their infirm monks were indulged in the taste of flesh; and animal grease was substituted for the want of vegetable oil; the holy chrism or unction in baptism was reserved to the episcopal order; the bishops, as the bridegrooms of their churches, were decorated with rings; their priests shaved their faces and baptized by a single immersion. Such were the crimes which provoked the zeal of the patriarchs of Constantinople, and which were justified with equal zeal by the doctors of the Latin church.†

Bigotry and national aversion are powerful magnifiers of every object of dispute; but the immediate cause of the schism of the Greeks may be traced in the emulation of the leading prelates, who maintained the supremacy of the old metropolis superior to all, and of the reigning capital, inferior to none, in the Christian world. About the middle of the ninth century, Photius,‡ an ambitious layman, the captain of the guards and principal secretary, was promoted by merit and favour to the more desirable office of patriarch of Constantinople. In science, even ecclesiastical science, he surpassed the clergy of the age; and the purity of his

tom. ix. p. 277—286.) The *potuerit* would leave a large loophole of salvation!

* In France, after some harsher laws, the ecclesiastical discipline is now relaxed; milk, cheese, and butter, are become a perpetual, and eggs an annual, indulgence in Lent. (Vie privée des François, tom. ii. p. 27—38.)

† The original monuments of the schism, of the charges of the Greeks against the Latins, are deposited in the Epistles of Photius (Epist. Encyclica, 2, p. 47—61), and of Michael Cerularius. (Canisii Antiq. Lectiones, tom. iii. p. 1, p. 281—324, edit. Basnage, with the prolix answer of cardinal Humbert.)

‡ The tenth volume of the Venice edition of the Councils contains all the acts of the synods, and history of Photius; they are abridged, with a faint tinge of prejudice or prudence, by Dupin and Fleury.

morals has never been impeached; but his ordination was hasty, his rise was irregular; and Ignatius, his abdicated predecessor, was yet supported by the public compassion and the obstinacy of his adherents. They appealed to the tribunal of Nicholas the First, one of the proudest and most aspiring of the Roman pontiffs, who embraced the welcome opportunity of judging and condemning his rival of the East. Their quarrel was imbittered by a conflict of jurisdiction over the king and nation of the Bulgarians; nor was their recent conversion to Christianity of much avail to either prelate, unless he could number the proselytes among the subjects of his power. With the aid of his court, the Greek patriarch was victorious; but in the furious contest he deposed, in his turn, the successor of St. Peter, and involved the Latin church in the reproach of heresy and schism. Photius sacrificed the peace of the world to a short and precarious reign; he fell with his patron, the Cæsar Bardas; and Basil the Macedonian performed an act of justice in the restoration of Ignatius, whose age and dignity had not been sufficiently respected. From his monastery, or prison, Photius solicited the favour of the emperor by pathetic complaints and artful flattery; and the eyes of his rival were scarcely closed when he was again restored to the throne of Constantinople. After the death of Basil, he experienced the vicissitudes of courts and the ingratitude of a royal pupil; the patriarch was again deposed; and in his last solitary hours he might regret the freedom of a secular and studious life. In each revolution, the breath, the nod, of the sovereign had been accepted by a submissive clergy; and a synod of three hundred bishops was always prepared to hail the triumph, or to stigmatize the fall, of the holy, or the execrable, Photius.* By a delusive promise of succour or reward, the popes were tempted to countenance these various proceedings; and the synods of Constantinople were ratified by their epistles or legates. But the court and the people, Ignatius and Photius, were equally adverse to their claims; their ministers were insulted or imprisoned; the

* The synod of Constantinople, held in the year 869, is the eighth of the general councils, the last assembly of the East which is recognised by the Roman church. She rejects the synods of Constantinople of the years 867 and 879, which were, however, equally numerous and noisy; but they were favourable to Photius.

procession of the Holy Ghost was forgotten; Bulgaria was for ever annexed to the Byzantine throne; and the schism was prolonged by their rigid censure of all the multiplied ordinations of an irregular patriarch. The darkness and corruption of the tenth century suspended the intercourse, without reconciling the minds, of the two nations. But when the Norman sword restored the churches of Apulia to the jurisdiction of Rome, the departing flock was warned, by a petulant epistle of the Greek patriarch, to avoid and abhor the errors of the Latins. The rising majesty of Rome could no longer brook the insolence of a rebel; and Michael Cerularius was excommunicated in the heart of Constantinople by the pope's legates. Shaking the dust from their feet, they deposited on the altar of St. Sophia a direful anathema,* which enumerates the seven mortal heresies of the Greeks, and devotes the guilty teachers, and their unhappy sectaries, to the eternal society of the devil and his angels. According to the emergencies of the church and state, a friendly correspondence was sometimes resumed; the language of charity and concord was sometimes affected; but the Greeks have never recanted their errors; the popes have never repealed their sentence; and from this thunderbolt we may date the consummation of the schism. It was enlarged by each ambitious step of the Roman pontiffs; the emperors blushed and trembled at the ignominious fate of their royal brethren of Germany; and the people were scandalized by the temporal power and military life of the Latin clergy.†

The aversion of the Greeks and Latins was nourished and manifested in the three first expeditions to the Holy Land. Alexis Comnenus contrived the absence at least of the formidable pilgrims; his successors, Manuel and Isaac Angelus, conspired with the Moslems for the ruin of the greatest princes of the Franks; and their crooked and malignant policy was seconded by the active and voluntary obedience of every order of their subjects. Of this hostile temper, a

* See this anathema in the Councils, tom. xi. p. 1457—1460.

† Anna Comnena (*Alexiad.* l. 1, p. 31—33), represents the abhorrence, not only of the church, but of the palace, for Gregory VII. the popes, and the Latin communion. The style of Cinnamus and Nicetas is still more vehement. Yet how calm is the voice of history, compared with that of polemics!

large portion may doubtless be ascribed to the difference of language, dress, and manners, which severs and alienates the nations of the globe. The pride, as well as the prudence, of the sovereign was deeply wounded by the intrusion of foreign armies, that claimed a right of traversing his dominions, and passing under the walls of his capital; his subjects were insulted and plundered by the rude strangers of the West, and the hatred of the pusillanimous Greeks was sharpened by secret envy of the bold and pious enterprises of the Franks. But these profane causes of national enmity were fortified and inflamed by the venom of religious zeal. Instead of a kind embrace, a hospitable reception, from their Christian brethren of the East, every tongue was taught to repeat the names of schismatic and heretic, more odious to an orthodox ear than those of Pagan and infidel; instead of being loved for the general conformity of faith and worship, they were abhorred for some rules of discipline, some questions of theology, in which themselves or their teachers might differ from the Oriental church. In the crusade of Louis the Seventh, the Greek clergy washed and purified the altars which had been defiled by the sacrifice of a French priest. The companions of Frederic Barbarossa deplored the injuries which they endured, both in word and deed, from the peculiar rancour of the bishops and monks. Their prayers and sermons excited the people against the impious Barbarians; and the patriarch is accused of declaring, that the faithful might obtain the redemption of all their sins by the extirpation of the schismatics;* an enthusiast, named Dorotheus, alarmed the fears, and restored the confidence, of the emperor, by a prophetic assurance, that the German heretic, after assaulting the gate of Blachernes, would be made a signal example of the divine

* His anonymous historian (*de Expedit. Asiat. Fred. I. in Canisii Lection. Antiq. tom. iii. pars 2, p. 511, edit. Basnage*) mentions the sermons of the Greek patriarch, *quomodo Græcis injunxerat in remissionem peccatorum peregrinos occidere et delere de terra*. Tagino observes (in *Scriptores Freher. tom. i. p. 409, edit. Struv.*): *Græci hæreticos nos appellant; clerici et monachi dictis et factis persequuntur*. We may add the declaration of the emperor Baldwin, fifteen years afterwards: *Hæc est (gens) quæ Latinos omnes non hominum nomine, sed canum dignabatur; quorum sanguinem effundere penè inter merita reputabant*. (*Gesta Innocent. III. c. 92, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. par. 1, p. 536.*) There

vengeance. The passage of these mighty armies were rare and perilous events; but the crusades introduced a frequent and familiar intercourse between the two nations, which enlarged their knowledge without abating their prejudices. The wealth and luxury of Constantinople demanded the productions of every climate; these imports were balanced by the art and labour of her numerous inhabitants; her situation invites the commerce of the world; and, in every period of her existence, that commerce has been in the hands of foreigners. After the decline of Amalphi, the Venetians, Pisans, and Genoese, introduced their factories and settlements into the capital of the empire; their services were rewarded with honours and immunities; they acquired the possession of lands and houses; their families were multiplied by marriages with the natives; and after the toleration of a Mahometan mosch, it was impossible to interdict the churches of the Roman rite.* The two wives of Manuel Comnenus† were of the race of the Franks; the first a sister-in-law of the emperor Conrad; the second, a daughter of the prince of Antioch; he obtained for his son Alexius a daughter of Philip Augustus king of France; and he bestowed his own daughter on a marquis of Montferrat, who was educated and dignified in the palace of Constantinople. The Greek encountered the arms, and aspired to the empire, of the West; he esteemed the valour, and trusted the fidelity, of the Franks;‡ their military talents were unfitly recompensed by the lucrative offices of judges and treasurers; the policy of Manuel had solicited the alliance of the pope; and the popular voice accused him of a partial bias to the nation and religion of the Latins.§ During his

may be some exaggeration; but it was as effectual for the action and reaction of hatred.

* See Anna Comnena (Alexiad. l. 6, p. 161, 162), and a remarkable passage of Nicetas (in Manuel. l. 5, c. 9), who observes of the Venetians, *κατὰ σμῆνῃ καὶ φρατρίας τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν τῆς οἰκίας ἡλλάξαντο*, &c.

† Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 186, 187.

‡ Nicetas in Manuel. l. 7, c. 2. *Regnante enim (Manuele) . . . apud eum tantam Latinus populus repererat gratiam ut neglectis Græculis suis tanquam viris mollibus et effeminatis . . . solis Latinis grandia committeret negotia . . . erga eos profusâ liberalitate abundabat . . . ex omni orbe ad eum tanquam ad beneficentorem nobiles et ignobiles concurrebant.* Willerm. Tyr. 22, c. 10.

§ The suspicions of the Greeks would have been confirmed, if they

reign, and that of his successor Alexius, they were exposed at Constantinople to the reproach of foreigners, heretics, and favourites; and this triple guilt was severely expiated in the tumult which announced the return and elevation of Andronicus.* The people rose in arms; from the Asiatic shore the tyrant dispatched his troops and galleys to assist the national revenge, and the hopeless resistance of the strangers served only to justify the rage, and sharpen the daggers, of the assassins. Neither age nor sex, nor the ties of friendship or kindred, could save the victims of national hatred, and avarice, and religious zeal; the Latins were slaughtered in their houses and in the streets; their quarter was reduced to ashes, the clergy were burnt in their churches, and the sick in their hospitals; and some estimate may be formed of the slain from the clemency which sold above four thousand Christians in perpetual slavery to the Turks. The priests and monks were the loudest and most active in the destruction of the schismatics; and they chanted a thanksgiving to the Lord, when the head of a Roman cardinal, the pope's legate, was severed from his body, fastened to the tail of a dog, and dragged, with savage mockery, through the city. The more diligent of the strangers had retreated on the first alarm to their vessels, and escaped through the Hellespont from the scene of blood. In their flight, they burned and ravaged two hundred miles of the sea-coast; inflicted a severe revenge on the guiltless subjects of the empire; marked the priests and monks as their peculiar enemies; and compensated, by the accumulation of plunder, the loss of their property and friends. On their return, they exposed to Italy and Europe the wealth and weakness, the perfidy and malice, of the Greeks, whose vices were painted as the genuine characters of heresy and schism. The scruples of the first crusaders had neglected the fairest opportunities of securing, by the possession of Constantinople, the way to the Holy Land; a

had seen the political epistles of Manuel to pope Alexander III. the enemy of his enemy Frederic I. in which the emperor declares his wish of uniting the Greeks and Latins as one flock under one shepherd, &c. (See Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xv. p. 187. 213. 243.)

* See the Greek and Latin narratives in Nicetas (in Alexio Comneno, c. 10) and William of Tyre (l. 22, c. 10—13); the first soft and concise, the second loud, copious, and tragical.

domestic revolution invited, and almost compelled, the French and Venetians to achieve the conquest of the Roman empire of the East.

In the series of the Byzantine princes, I have exhibited the hypocrisy and ambition, the tyranny and fall, of Andronicus, the last male of the Comnenian family, who reigned at Constantinople. The revolution, which cast him headlong from the throne, saved and exalted Isaac Angelus,* who descended by the females from the same imperial dynasty. The successor of a second Nero might have found it an easy task to deserve the esteem and affection of his subjects; they sometimes had reason to regret the administration of Andronicus. The sound and vigorous mind of the tyrant was capable of discerning the connection between his own and the public interest; and while he was feared by all who could inspire him with fear, the unsuspected people, and the remote provinces, might bless the inexorable justice of their master. But his successor was vain and jealous of the supreme power, which he wanted courage and abilities to exercise; his vices were pernicious, his virtues (if he possessed any virtues) were useless to mankind; and the Greeks, who imputed their calamities to his negligence, denied him the merit of any transient or accidental benefits of the times. Isaac slept on the throne, and was awakened only by the sound of pleasure; his vacant hours were amused by comedians and buffoons, and even to these buffoons the emperor was an object of contempt; his feasts and buildings exceeded the examples of royal luxury; the number of his eunuchs and domestics amounted to twenty thousand; and a daily sum of four thousand pounds of silver would swell to four millions sterling the annual expense of his household and table. His poverty was relieved by oppression; and the public discontent was inflamed by equal abuses in the collection and the application of the revenue. While the Greeks numbered the days of their servitude, a flattering prophet whom he rewarded with the dignity of patriarch, assured him of a long and victorious

* The history of the reign of Isaac Angelus is composed, in three books, by the senator Nicetas (p. 228—290); and his offices of logothete, or principal secretary and judge of the veil or palace, could not bribe the impartiality of the historian. He wrote, it is true, after the fall and death of his benefactor.

reign of thirty-two years, during which he should extend his sway to mount Libanus, and his conquests beyond the Euphrates. But his only step towards the accomplishment of the prediction, was a splendid and scandalous embassy to Saladin,* to demand the restitution of the holy sepulchre, and to propose an offensive and defensive league with the enemy of the Christian name. In these unworthy hands, of Isaac and his brother, the remains of the Greek empire crumbled into dust. The island of Cyprus, whose name excites the ideas of elegance and pleasure, was usurped by his namesake, a Comnenian prince; and by a strange concatenation of events, the sword of our English Richard bestowed that kingdom on the house of Lusignan, a rich compensation for the loss of Jerusalem.

The honour of the monarchy, and the safety of the capital, were deeply wounded by the revolt of the Bulgarians and Wallachians. Since the victory of the second Basil, they had supported, above a hundred and seventy years, the loose dominion of the Byzantine princes; but no effectual measures had been adopted to impose the yoke of laws and manners on these savage tribes. By the command of Isaac, their sole means of subsistence, their flocks and herds, were driven away, to contribute towards the pomp of the royal nuptials; and their fierce warriors were exasperated by the denial of equal rank and pay in the military service. Peter and Asan, two powerful chiefs, of the race of the ancient kings,† asserted their own rights and the national freedom; their demoniac impostors proclaimed to the crowd, that their glorious patron, St. Demetrius, had for ever deserted the cause of the Greeks; and the conflagration spread from the banks of the Danube to the hills of Macedonia and Thrace. After some faint efforts, Isaac Angelus and his brother acquiesced in their independence; and the imperial troops were soon discouraged by the bones of their fellow-soldiers that were scattered along the passes of mount Hæmus. By the arms and policy of John, or

* See Bohadin, Vit. Saladin. p. 129—131. 226, vera. Schultens. The ambassador of Isaac was equally versed in the Greek, French, and Arabic languages; a rare instance in those times. His embassies were received with honour, dismissed without effect, and reported with scandal in the West.

† Ducange, Familis Dalmaticæ. p. 318—320. The original correspondence of the Bulgarian king and

Joanices, the second kingdom of Bulgaria was firmly established. The subtle Barbarian sent an embassy to Innocent the Third, to acknowledge himself a genuine son of Rome in descent and religion;* and humbly received from the pope the licence of coining money, the royal title, and a Latin archbishop or patriarch. The Vatican exulted in the spiritual conquest of Bulgaria, the first object of the schism; and if the Greeks could have preserved the prerogatives of the church, they would gladly have resigned the rights of the monarchy.

The Bulgarians were malicious enough to pray for the long life of Isaac Angelus, the surest pledge of their freedom and prosperity. Yet their chiefs could involve, in the same indiscriminate contempt, the family and nation of the emperor. "In all the Greeks," said Asan to his troops, "the same climate, and character, and education, will be productive of the same fruits. Behold my lance," continued the warrior, "and the long streamers that float in the wind. They differ only in colour; they are formed of the same silk, and fashioned by the same workman; nor has the stripe that is stained in purple, any superior price or value above its fellows."† Several of these candidates for the purple successively rose and fell under the empire of Isaac; a general who had repelled the fleets of Sicily, was driven to revolt and ruin by the ingratitude of the prince; and his luxurious repose was disturbed by secret conspiracies and popular insurrections. The emperor was saved by accident, or the merit of his servants; he was at length oppressed by an ambitious brother, who, for the hope of a precarious diadem, forgot the obligations of nature, of loyalty, and of friendship.‡

the Roman pontiff is inscribed in the *Gesta Innocent. III.*, c. 66—82, p. 513—525.

* The pope acknowledged his pedigree, *a nobili urbis Romæ prosapia genitores tui originem traxerunt*. This tradition, and the strong resemblance of the Latin and Wallachian idioms, is explained by M. d'Anville (*Etats de l'Europe*, p. 258—262). The Italian colonies of the Dacia of Trajan were swept away by the tide of emigration from the Danube to the Volga, and brought back by another wave from the Volga to the Danube. Possible, but strange!

† This parable is in the best savage style; but I wish the Wallach had not introduced the classic names of Mysians, the experiment of the magnet or loadstone, and the passage of an old comic poet. (*Nicetas*, in *Alex. Comneno*, l. 1, p. 299, 300.)

‡ The Latins aggravate the ingratitude of Alexius, by supposing

While Isaac in the Thracian valleys pursued the idle and solitary pleasures of the chase, his brother, Alexius Angelus, was invested with the purple, by the unanimous suffrage of the camp; the capital and the clergy subscribed to their choice; and the vanity of the new sovereign rejected the name of his fathers for the lofty and royal appellation of the Comnenian race. On the despicable character of Isaac I have exhausted the language of contempt; and can only add, that in a reign of eight years, the baser Alexius* was supported by the masculine vices of his wife Euphrosyne. The first intelligence of his fall was conveyed to the late emperor by the hostile aspect and pursuit of the guards, no longer his own; he fled before them above fifty miles, as far as Stagyræ in Macedonia; but the fugitive, without an object or a follower, was arrested, brought back to Constantinople, deprived of his eyes, and confined in a lonesome tower, on a scanty allowance of bread and water. At the moment of the revolution, his son Alexius, whom he educated in the hope of empire, was twelve years of age. He was spared by the usurper, and reduced to attend his triumph both in peace and war; but as the army was encamped on the sea-shore, an Italian vessel facilitated the escape of the royal youth; and, in the disguise of a common sailor, he eluded the search of his enemies, passed the Hellespont, and found a secure refuge in the isle of Sicily. After saluting the threshold of the apostles, and imploring the protection of pope Innocent the Third, Alexius accepted the kind invitation of his sister Irene, the wife of Philip of Swabia, king of the Romans. But in his passage through Italy, he heard that the flower of western chivalry was assembled at Venice for the deliverance of the Holy Land; and a ray of hope was kindled in his bosom, that their invincible swords might be employed in his father's restoration.

About ten or twelve years after the loss of Jerusalem, the nobles of France were again summoned to the holy war by the voice of a third prophet, less extravagant,

that he had been released by his brother Isaac from Turkish captivity. This pathetic tale had, doubtless, been repeated at Venice and Zara; but I do not readily discover its grounds in the Greek historians.

* See the reign of Alexius Angelus, or Comnenus, in the three

perhaps, than Peter the hermit, but far below St. Bernard in the merit of an orator and a statesman. An illiterate priest of the neighbourhood of Paris, Fulk of Neuilly,* forsook his parochial duty, to assume the more flattering character of a popular and itinerant missionary. The fame of his sanctity and miracles was spread over the land; he declaimed, with severity and vehemence, against the vices of the age; and his sermons, which he preached in the streets of Paris, converted the robbers, the usurers, the prostitutes, and even the doctors and scholars of the university. No sooner did Innocent the Third ascend the chair of St. Peter, than he proclaimed in Italy, Germany, and France, the obligation of a new crusade.† The eloquent pontiff described the ruin of Jerusalem, the triumph of the Pagans, and the shame of Christendom; his liberality proposed the redemption of sins, a plenary indulgence to all who should serve in Palestine, either a year in person, or two years by a substitute;‡ and among his legates and orators who blew the sacred trumpet, Fulk of Neuilly was the loudest and most successful. The situation of the

books of Nicetas, p. 291—352.

* See Fleury, Hist.

Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 26, &c. and Villehardouin, No. 1, with the observations of Ducange, which I always mean to quote with the original text.

† The contemporary life of pope Innocent III., published by Baluze and Muratori (*Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, tom. iii. pars 1, p. 486—568), is most valuable for the important and original documents which are inserted in the text. The bull of the crusade may be read, c. 84, 85.

‡ *Por-ce que cil pardon fut issi gran, si s'en esmeurent mult li cuers des genz, et mult s'en croisierent, porce que li pardons ere si gran.* Villehardouin, No. 1. Our philosophers may refine on the causes of the crusades, but such were the genuine feelings of a French knight. [The feelings might be genuine; but how were they called forth? That they were not spontaneous outbursts of zeal, which papal interference merely seconded, is evident from the inducements by which they were stimulated, and the continued employment of such itinerant emissaries as Fulk, to stir up languid and unwilling exertion. For this he had recourse to the grossest deceptions, called miracles. Yet he was far less successful than his predecessors. Bernard, though so superior in talent, fell very short of Peter the Hermit in the effect which he produced; but the impression made by Fulk, was weaker still. The "genuine feelings" of his auditory were sometimes vented in doubts, suspicions, and accusations; to defend himself against which, he exhibited letters given him by Innocent III. (*Wilken*, 5. p. 96. 105.) These clearly prove the complicity of that pontiff in the low arts used

principal monarchs was averse to the pious summons. The emperor Frederic the Second was a child, and his kingdom of Germany was disputed by the rival houses of Brunswick and Swabia, the memorable factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelins. Philip Augustus of France had performed, and could not be persuaded to renew, the perilous vow; but as he was not less ambitious of praise than of power, he cheerfully instituted a perpetual fund for the defence of the Holy Land. Richard of England was satiated with the glory and misfortunes of his first adventure, and he presumed to deride the exhortations of Fulk of Neuilly, who was not abashed in the presence of kings. "You advise me," said Plantagenet, "to dismiss my three daughters, Pride, Avarice, and Incontinence; I bequeath them to the most deserving; my Pride to the knights-templars, my Avarice to the monks of Cisteaux, and my Incontinence to the prelates." But the preacher was heard and obeyed by the great vassals, the princes of the second order; and Theobald, or Thibaut, count of Champagne, was the foremost in the holy race. The valiant youth, at the age of twenty-two years, was encouraged by the domestic examples of his father, who marched in the second crusade, and of his elder brother, who had ended his days in Palestine with the title of king of Jerusalem; two thousand two hundred knights owed service and homage to his peerage;* the nobles of Champagne excelled in all the exercises of war;† and, by his marriage with the heiress of Navarre, Thibaut could draw a band of hardy Gascons from either side of the Pyrenean mountains. His companion in arms was Louis, count of Blois and Chartres; like himself of regal lineage, for both the princes were nephews, at the same time, of the kings of France and England. In a crowd of prelates and barons, who imitated their zeal, I distinguish the birth and merit of Matthew of Montmorency; the famous Simon of

to force an excitement, to which the public mind of Europe was indisposed.—ED.]

* This number of fiefs (of which one thousand eight hundred owed liege homage) was enrolled in the church of St. Stephen at Troyes, and attested, A.D. 1213, by the marshal and butler of Champagne. (Ducange, *Observ.* p. 254.)

† Campania militiæ privilegio singularius excellit in tyrociniis prolusione armorum, &c. Ducange, p. 249, from the old Chronicle of Jerusalem, A.D. 1177—1199.

Montfort, the scourge of the Albigeois; and a valiant noble, Jeffrey of Villehardouin,* marshal of Champagne,† who has condescended, in the rude idiom of his age and country,‡ to write or dictate§ an original narrative of the councils and actions in which he bore a memorable part. At the same time, Baldwin count of Flanders, who had married the sister of Thibaut, assumed the cross at Bruges, with his brother Henry and the principal knights and citizens of that rich and industrious province.¶ The vow which the chiefs had pronounced in churches, they ratified in tournaments; the operations of the war were debated in full and frequent assemblies; and it was resolved to seek the deliverance of Palestine in Egypt, a country, since Saladin's death, which was almost ruined by famine and civil war. But the fate of so many royal armies displayed the toils and perils of a land expedition; and, if the Flemings dwelt along the ocean, the French barons were destitute of ships, and ignorant of navigation. They embraced the

* The name of Villehardouin was taken from a village and castle in the diocese of Troyes, near the river Aube, between Bar and Arcis. The family was ancient and noble: the elder branch of our historian existed after the year 1400; the younger, which acquired the principality of Achaia, merged in the house of Savoy. (Ducange, p. 235—245.)

† This office was held by his father and his descendants; but Ducange has not hunted it with his usual sagacity. I find that in the year 1356, it was in the family of Conflans; but these provincial have been long since eclipsed by the national marshals of France.

‡ This language, of which I shall produce some specimens, is explained by Vigenere and Ducange, in a version and glossary. The president des Broesses (*Mécanisme des Langues*, tom. ii. p. 83), gives it as the example of a language which has ceased to be French, and is understood only by grammarians.

§ His age and his own expression, *moi qui ceste œuvre dicta* (No. 62, &c.), may justify the suspicion (more probable than Mr. Wood's on Homer) that he could neither read nor write. Yet Champagne may boast of the two first historians, the noble authors of French prose, Villehardouin and Joinville. [When the talent that could note events was not competent to write them down, the lay observer was altogether dependent on the fidelity of the clerical scribe, whose pen he used, and whose duty to his church was paramount above the voice of conscience and the claims of truth. —ED.]

¶ The crusade and reigns of the counts of Flanders, Baldwin, and his brother Henry, are the subject of a particular history by the Jesuit Doutremens. (*Constantinopolis Belgica; Turnaci*, 1638, in 4to), which I have only seen with the eyes of Ducange.

wise resolution of choosing six deputies or representatives, of whom Villehardouin was one, with a discretionary trust to direct the motions, and to pledge the faith, of the whole confederacy. The maritime States of Italy were alone possessed of the means of transporting the holy warriors with their arms and horses; and the six deputies proceeded to Venice to solicit, on motives of piety or interest, the aid of that powerful republic.

In the invasion of Italy by Attila, I have mentioned * the flight of the Venetians from the fallen cities of the continent, and their obscure shelter in the chain of islands that line the extremity of the Adriatic gulf. In the midst of the waters, free, indigent, laborious, and inaccessible, they gradually coalesced into a republic. The first foundations of Venice were laid in the island of Rialto; and the annual election of the twelve tribunes was superseded by the permanent office of a duke or doge. On the verge of the two empires, the Venetians exult in the belief of primitive and perpetual independence.† Against the Latins, their antique freedom has been asserted by the sword, and may be justified by the pen. Charlemagne himself resigned all claims of sovereignty to the islands of the Adriatic gulf; his son Pepin was repulsed in the attacks of the *lagunas* or canals, too deep for the cavalry, and too shallow for the vessels; and in every age, under the German Cæsars, the lands of the republic have been clearly distinguished from the kingdom of Italy. But the inhabitants of Venice were considered by themselves, by strangers, and by their sovereigns, as an inalienable portion of the Greek empire;‡ in the ninth and tenth centuries, the

* History, &c., vol. iv, p. 28, 29.

† The foundation and independence of Venice, and Pepin's invasion, are discussed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. A.D. 810, No. 4, &c.) and Beretti (Dissert. Chorograph. Italiæ medii Ævi, in Muratori, Script. tom. x. p. 153). The two critics have a slight bias: the Frenchman adverse, the Italian favourable, to the republic. [For the origin of Venice, see ch. 35, vol. iv. p. 28, 29 and 45; vol. v. p. 104, and notes.—ED.]

‡ When the son of Charlemagne asserted his right of sovereignty, he was answered by the loyal Venetians, *ὅτι ἡμεῖς δούλοι θελομέν εἶναι τοῦ Ρωμαίων βασιλέως* (Constantin. Porphyrogenit. de Administ. Imp. pars 2, c. 28, p. 85); and the report of the ninth establishes the fact of the tenth century, which is confirmed by the embassy of Luitprand of Cremona. The annual tribute, which the

proofs of their subjection are numerous and unquestionable; and the vain titles, the servile honours, of the Byzantine court, so ambitiously solicited by their dukes, would have degraded the magistrates of a free people. But the bands of this dependence, which was never absolute or rigid, were imperceptibly relaxed by the ambition of Venice and the weakness of Constantinople. Obedience was softened into respect, privilege ripened into prerogative, and the freedom of domestic government was fortified by the independence of foreign dominion. The maritime cities of Istria and Dalmatia bowed to the sovereigns of the Adriatic; and when they armed against the Normans in the cause of Alexius, the emperor applied, not to the duty of his subjects, but to the gratitude and generosity of his faithful allies. The sea was their patrimony;* the western parts of the Mediterranean, from Tuscany to Gibraltar, were indeed abandoned to their rivals of Pisa and Genoa; but the Venetians acquired an early and lucrative share of the commerce of Greece and Egypt. Their riches increased with the increasing demand of Europe; their manufactures of silk and glass, perhaps the institution of their bank, are of high antiquity; and they enjoyed the fruits of their industry in the magnificence of public and private life. To assert her flag, to avenge her injuries, to protect the freedom of navigation, the republic could launch and man a fleet of a hundred galleys; and the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Normans, were encountered by her naval arms. The Franks of Syria were assisted by the Venetians in the reduction of the sea-coast; but their zeal was neither blind nor disinterested; and in the conquest of Tyre, they shared the sovereignty of a city, the first seat of the commerce of the

emperor allows them to pay to the king of Italy, alleviates, by doubling their servitude; but the hateful word *δουλοι* must be translated as in the charter of 827 (Laugier, *Hist. de Venice*, tom. i. p. 67, &c.), by the softer appellation of *subditi*, or *fideles*.

* See the twenty-fifth and thirtieth dissertations of the *Antiquitates medii Ævi* of Muratori. From Anderson's *History of Commerce*, I understand that the Venetians did not trade to England before the year 1323. The most flourishing state of their wealth and commerce, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, is agreeably described by the Abbé Dubos. (*Hist. de la Ligue de Cambray*, tom. ii. p. 443 —480.)

world. The policy of Venice was marked by the avarice of a trading, and the insolence of a maritime, power; yet her ambition was prudent; nor did she often forget, that if armed galleys were the effect and safeguard, merchant vessels were the cause and supply, of her greatness. In her religion she avoided the schism of the Greeks, without yielding a servile obedience to the Roman pontiff; and a free intercourse with the infidels of every clime appears to have allayed betimes the fever of superstition. Her primitive government was a loose mixture of democracy and monarchy: the doge was elected by the votes of the general assembly; as long as he was popular and successful, he reigned with the pomp and authority of a prince; but in the frequent revolutions of the State, he was deposed, or banished, or slain, by the justice or injustice of the multitude. The twelfth century produced the first rudiments of the wise and jealous aristocracy, which has reduced the doge to a pageant, and the people to a cipher.*

When the six ambassadors of the French pilgrims arrived at Venice, they were hospitably entertained in the palace of St. Mark, by the reigning duke: his name was Henry Dandolo;† and he shone in the last period of human life as one of the most illustrious characters of the times. Under the weight of years, and after the loss of his eyes,‡ Dandolo

* The Venetians have been slow in writing and publishing their history. Their most ancient monuments are, 1. The rude Chronicle (perhaps) of John Sagorninus (Venezia, 1765, in octavo), which represents the state and manners of Venice in the year 1008. 2. The larger history of the doge (1342—1354) Andrew Dandolo, published for the first time in the twelfth tom. of Muratori, A.D. 1728. The History of Venice by the Abbé Laugier (Paris, 1728), is a work of some merit, which I have chiefly used for the constitutional part.

† Henry Dandolo was eighty-four at his election (A.D. 1192), and ninety-seven at his death (A.D. 1205). See the Observations of Ducange sur Villehardouin, No. 204. But this extraordinary longevity is not observed by the original writers, nor does there exist another example of a hero near a hundred years of age. Theophrastus might afford an instance of a writer of ninety-nine; but instead of *εννενήκοντα* (Proem. ad Character.), I am much inclined to read *ισδομήκοντα*, with his last editor Fischer, and the first thoughts of Casaubon. It is scarcely possible that the powers of the mind and body should support themselves till such a period of life.

‡ The modern Venetians (Laugier, tom. ii. p. 119) accuse the emperor Manuel; but the calumny is refuted by Villehardouin and the older writers, who suppose that Dandolo lost his eyes by a wound (No. 34, and Ducange).

retained a sound understanding and a manly courage; the spirit of a hero, ambitious to signalize his reign by some memorable exploits; and the wisdom of a patriot, anxious to build his fame on the glory and advantage of his country. He praised the bold enthusiasm and liberal confidence of the barons and their deputies; in such a cause and with such associates, he should aspire, were he a private man, to terminate his life; but he was the servant of the republic, and some delay was requisite to consult, on this arduous business, the judgment of his colleagues. The proposal of the French was first debated by the six *sages* who had been recently appointed to control the administration of the doge; it was next disclosed to the forty members of the Council of State; and finally communicated to the Legislative Assembly of four hundred and fifty representatives, who were annually chosen in the six quarters of the city. In peace and war, the doge was still the chief of the republic; his legal authority was supported by the personal reputation of Dandolo; his arguments of public interest were balanced and approved; and he was authorized to inform the ambassadors of the following conditions of the treaty.* It was proposed, that the crusaders should assemble at Venice, on the feast of St. John of the ensuing year; that flat-bottomed vessels should be prepared for four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand squires, with a number of ships sufficient for the embarkation of four thousand five hundred knights, and twenty thousand foot; that during a term of nine months they should be supplied with provisions, and transported to whatsoever coast the service of God and Christendom should require; and that the republic should join the armament with a squadron of fifty galleys. It was required, that the pilgrims should pay, before their departure, a sum of eighty-five thousand marks of silver; and that all conquests, by sea and land, should be equally divided between the confederates. The terms were hard; but the emergency was pressing, and the French barons were not less profuse of money than of blood. A general assembly was convened to ratify the treaty; the stately chapel and place of St. Mark were filled with ten thousand citizens; and the noble deputies were

* See the original treaty in the Chronicle of Andrew Dandolo,

taught a new lesson of humbling themselves before the majesty of the people. "Illustrious Venetians," said the marshal of Champagne, "we are sent by the greatest and most powerful barons of France, to implore the aid of the masters of the sea, for the deliverance of Jerusalem. They have enjoined us to fall prostrate at your feet; nor will we rise from the ground, till you have promised to avenge with us the injuries of Christ." The eloquence of their words and tears,* their martial aspect, and suppliant attitude, were applauded by a universal shout; as it were, says Jeffrey, by the sound of an earthquake. The venerable doge ascended the pulpit to urge their request by those motives of honour and virtue, which alone can be offered to a popular assembly; the treaty was transcribed on parchment, attested with oaths and seals, mutually accepted by the weeping and joyful representatives of France and Venice; and dispatched to Rome for the approbation of Pope Innocent the Third. Two thousand marks were borrowed of the merchants for the first expenses of the armament. Of the six deputies, two repassed the Alps to announce their success, while their four companions made a fruitless trial of the zeal and emulation of the republics of Genoa and Pisa.

The execution of the treaty was still opposed by unforeseen difficulties and delays. The marshal, on his return to Troyes, was embraced and approved by Thibaut, count of Champagne, who had been unanimously chosen general of the confederates. But the health of that valiant youth already declined, and soon became hopeless; and he deplored the untimely fate which condemned him to expire, not in a field of battle, but on a bed of sickness. To his brave and numerous vassals the dying prince distributed his treasures; they swore in his presence to accomplish his vow and their own; but some there were, says the marshal, who accepted his gifts and forfeited their word. The more resolute champions of the cross held a parliament at Soissons for the election of a new general; but such was the inca-

p. 323—326.

* A reader of Villehardouin must observe the frequent tears of the marshal and his brother knights. *Sachiez que la ot mainte lerne plorée de pitié* (No. 17); *mult plorant* (ibid.); *mainte lerne plorée* (No. 34); *si orent mult pitié et plorerent mult durement* (No. 60); *i ot mainte lerne plorée de pitié* (No. 202). They weep on every occasion of grief, joy, or devotion.

capacity, or jealousy, or reluctance, of the princes of France, that none could be found both able and willing to assume the conduct of the enterprise. They acquiesced in the choice of a stranger, of Boniface marquis of Montferrat, descended of a race of heroes, and himself of conspicuous fame in the wars and negotiations of the times;* nor could the piety or ambition of the Italian chief decline this honourable invitation. After visiting the French court, where he was received as a friend and kinsman, the marquis, in the church of Soissons, was invested with the cross of a pilgrim and the staff of a general; and immediately re-passed the Alps, to prepare for the distant expedition of the East. About the festival of the Pentecost he displayed his banner, and marched towards Venice at the head of the Italians; he was preceded or followed by the counts of Flanders and Blois, and the most respectable barons of France; and their numbers were swelled by the pilgrims of Germany,† whose object and motives were similar to their own. The Venetians had fulfilled, and even surpassed, their engagements; stables were constructed for the horses, and barracks for the troops; the magazines were abundantly replenished with forage and provisions; and the fleet of transports, ships, and galleys, was ready to hoist sail, as soon as the republic had received the price of the freight and armament. But that price far exceeded the wealth of the crusaders who were assembled at Venice. The Flemings, whose obedience to their count was voluntary and precarious, had embarked in their vessels for the long navigation of the ocean and Mediterranean; and many of the French and Italians had preferred a cheaper and more convenient passage from Marseilles and Apulia to the Holy Land. Each pilgrim might complain, that after he had furnished his own contribution, he was made responsible for the deficiency of his absent brethren; the gold and silver plate of the chiefs, which they freely delivered to the treasury of

* By a victory (A.D. 1191) over the citizens of Asti, by a crusade to Palestine, and by an embassy from the pope to the German princes. (Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, tom. x. p. 163. 202.)

† See the crusade of the Germans in the *Historia C. P.* of Gunther (Canisii *Antiq. Lect.* tom. iv. p. 5—8), who celebrates the pilgrimage of his abbot Martin, one of the preaching rivals of Fulk of Neuilly. His monastery, of the Cistercian order, was situate in the diocese of Basil.

St. Mark, was a generous but inadequate sacrifice; and after all their efforts, thirty-four thousand marks were still wanting to complete the stipulated sum. The obstacle was removed by the policy and patriotism of the doge, who proposed to the barons, that if they would join their arms in reducing some revolted cities of Dalmatia, he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from the republic a long indulgence, till some wealthy conquest should afford the means of satisfying the debt. After much scruple and hesitation, they chose rather to accept the offer than to relinquish the enterprise; and the first hostilities of the fleet and army were directed against Zara,* a strong city of the Sclavonian coast, which had renounced its allegiance to Venice, and implored the protection of the king of Hungary.† The crusaders burst the chain or boom of the harbour; landed their horses, troops, and military engines; and compelled the inhabitants, after a defence of five days, to surrender at discretion; their lives were spared, but the revolt was punished by the pillage of their houses and the demolition of their walls. The season was far advanced; the French and Venetians resolved to pass the winter in a secure harbour and plentiful country; but their repose was disturbed by national and tumultuous quarrels of the soldiers and mariners. The conquest of Zara had scattered the seeds of discord and scandal; the arms of the allies had been stained in their outset with the blood, not of infidels, but of Christians; the king of Hungary and his new subjects were themselves enlisted under

* Jadera, now Zara, was a Roman colony, which acknowledged Augustus for its parent. It is now only two miles round, and contains five or six thousand inhabitants; but the fortifications are strong, and it is joined to the main land by a bridge. See the travels of the two companions, Spon and Wheeler (*Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce, &c.* tom. i. p. 64—70. Journey into Greece, p. 8—14); the last of whom, by mistaking *Sestertia* for *Sestertii*, values an arch with statues and columns at twelve pounds. If, in his time, there were no trees near Zara, the cherry-trees were not yet planted which produce our incomparable *marasquin*. [Reichard (Tab. x.) cites from coins, as an ancient designation of Jadera, COLONIA CLAUDIA AUGUSTA FELIX. The condition of Zara is not altered since Gibbon's time. See Malte Brun and Balbi, p. 461.—ED.] † Katona (*Hist. Critica Reg. Hungariæ, Stirpis Arpad.* tom. iv. p. 536—558) collects all the facts and testimonies most adverse to the conquerors of Zara.

the banner of the cross; and the scruples of the devout were magnified by the fear or lassitude of the reluctant pilgrims. The pope had excommunicated the false crusaders who had pillaged and massacred their brethren,* and only the marquis Boniface and Simon of Montfort escaped these spiritual thunders; the one by his absence from the siege, the other by his final departure from the camp. Innocent might absolve the simple and submissive penitents of France; but he was provoked by the stubborn reason of the Venetians, who refused to confess their guilt, to accept their pardon, or to allow, in their temporal concerns, the interposition of a priest.

The assembly of such formidable powers by sea and land had revived the hopes of young† Alexius; and, both at Venice and Zara, he solicited the arms of the crusaders, for his own restoration and his father's‡ deliverance. The royal youth was recommended by Philip king of Germany; his prayers and presence excited the compassion of the camp; and his cause was embraced and pleaded by the marquis of Montferrat and the doge of Venice. A double alliance, and the dignity of Cæsar, had connected with the imperial family the two elder brothers of Boniface;§ he expected to derive a kingdom from the important service; and the more generous ambition of Dandolo was eager to secure the inestimable benefits of trade and dominion that

* See the whole transaction and the sentiments of the pope, in the Epistles of Innocent III. *Gesta*, c. 86—88. [Without the aid of popular ignorance, excommunication would have been a mere “*brutum fulmen*.” The dread which it inspired, and the efficacy with which it was employed in those times, tell us what stupid multitudes composed the mass of society, and what enormous power the popes had acquired. Well might they deprecate and retard the change that was coming on.—*Ed.*]

† A modern reader is surprised to hear of the valet de Constantinople as applied to young Alexius, on account of his youth, like the *infants* of Spain, and the *nobilissimus puer* of the Romans. The pages and *valets* of the knights were as noble as themselves. (Villehardouin and Ducange, No. 36.)

‡ The emperor Isaac is styled by Villehardouin, *Sursac* (No. 35, &c.), which may be derived from the French *Sire*, or the Greek *Κυρ* (*κυριος*) melted into his proper name; the farther corruptions of Tursac and Conserac will instruct us what licence may have been used in the old dynasties of Assyria and Egypt.

§ Reinier and Conrad: the former married Maria, daughter of the emperor Manuel Comnenus; the latter was the husband of Theodora Angela, sister of the emperor

might accrue to his country.* Their influence procured a favourable audience for the ambassadors of Alexius; and if the magnitude of his offers excited some suspicion, the motives and rewards which he displayed might justify the delay and diversion of those forces which had been consecrated to the deliverance of Jerusalem. He promised, in his own and his father's name, that as soon as they should be seated on the throne of Constantinople, they would terminate the long schism of the Greeks, and submit themselves and their people to the lawful supremacy of the Roman church. He engaged to recompense the labours and merits of the crusaders, by the immediate payment of two hundred thousand marks of silver; to accompany them in person to Egypt; or, if it should be judged more advantageous, to maintain, during a year, ten thousand men, and, during his life, five hundred knights, for the service of the Holy Land. These tempting conditions were accepted by the republic of Venice; and the eloquence of the doge and marquis persuaded the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Pol, with eight barons of France, to join in the glorious enterprise. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was confirmed by their oaths and seals; and each individual, according to his situation and character, was swayed by the hope of public or private advantage; by the honour of restoring an exiled monarch; or by the sincere and probable opinion, that their efforts in Palestine would be fruitless and unavailing, and that the acquisition of Constantinople must precede and prepare the recovery of Jerusalem. But they were the chiefs or equals of a valiant band of freemen and volunteers, who thought and acted for themselves; the soldiers and clergy were divided; and, if a large majority subscribed to the alliance, the numbers and arguments of the dissidents were strong and respectable.† The boldest

Isaac and Alexius. Conrad abandoned the Greek court and princes for the glory of defending Tyre against Saladin. (Ducange, *Fam. Byzant.* p. 187. 203.)

* Nicetas (in Alexio Comneno, l. 3, c. 9) accuses the doge and Venetians as the first authors of the war against Constantinople, and considers only as a *κῦμα ἐπὶ κύματι*, the arrival and shameful offers of the royal exile.

† Villehardouin and Gunther represent the sentiments of the two parties. The abbot Martin left the army at Zara, proceeded to Palestine, was sent ambassador to Constantinople, and became a reluctant witness of the second siege.

hearts were appalled by the report of the naval power and impregnable strength of Constantinople; and their apprehensions were disguised to the world, and perhaps to themselves, by the more decent objections of religion and duty. They alleged the sanctity of a vow, which had drawn them from their families and homes to the rescue of the holy sepulchre; nor should the dark and crooked councils of human policy divert them from a pursuit, the event of which was in the hands of the Almighty. Their first offence, the attack of Zara, had been severely punished by the reproach of their conscience and the censures of the pope; nor would they again imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow Christians. The apostle of Rome had pronounced; nor would they usurp the right of avenging with the sword the schism of the Greeks, and the doubtful usurpation of the Byzantine monarch. On these principles or pretences, many pilgrims, the most distinguished for their valour and piety, withdrew from the camp; and their retreat was less pernicious than the open or secret opposition of a discontented party, that laboured, on every occasion, to separate the army and disappoint the enterprise.

Notwithstanding this defection, the departure of the fleet and army was vigorously pressed by the Venetians, whose zeal for the service of the royal youth concealed a just resentment to his nation and family. They were mortified by the recent preference which had been given to Pisa, the rival of their trade; they had a long arrear of debt and injury to liquidate with the Byzantine court; and Dandolo might not discourage the popular tale, that he had been deprived of his eyes by the emperor Manuel, who perfidiously violated the sanctity of an ambassador. A similar armament, for ages, had not rode the Adriatic; it was composed of one hundred and twenty flat-bottomed vessels or *palanders* for the horses; two hundred and forty transports filled with men and arms; seventy store-ships laden with provisions; and fifty stout galleys, well prepared for the encounter of an enemy.* While the wind was favourable,

* The birth and dignity of Andrew Dandolo gave him the motive and the means of searching in the archives of Venice the memorable story of his ancestor. His brevity seems to accuse the copious and more recent narratives of Sanuto (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxii.), Blondus, Sabellicus, and Rhamnusius.

the sky serene, and the water smooth, every eye was fixed with wonder and delight on the scene of military and naval pomp which overspread the sea. The shields of the knights and squires, at once an ornament and a defence, were arranged on either side of the ships; the banners of the nations and families were displayed from the stern; our modern artillery was supplied by three hundred engines for casting stones and darts; the fatigues of the way were cheered with the sound of music; and the spirits of the adventurers were raised by the mutual assurance, that forty thousand Christian heroes were equal to the conquest of the world.* In the navigation† from Venice and Zara, the fleet was successfully steered by the skill and experience of the Venetian pilots; at Durazzo, the confederates first landed on the territories of the Greek empire; the isle of Corfu afforded a station and repose; they doubled without accident the perilous cape of Malea, the southern point of Peloponnesus or the Morea; made a descent in the islands of Negropont and Andros; and cast anchor at Abydus on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. These preludes of conquest were easy and bloodless; the Greeks of the provinces, without patriotism or courage, were crushed by an irresistible force; the presence of the lawful heir might justify their obedience; and it was rewarded by the modesty and discipline of the Latins. As they penetrated through the Hellespont, the magnitude of their navy was compressed in a narrow channel; and the face of the waters was darkened with innumerable sails. They again expanded in the basin of the Propontis, and traversed that placid sea, till they approached the European shore, at the abbey of St. Stephen, three leagues to the west of Constantinople. The prudent doge dissuaded them from dispersing themselves in a populous and hostile land; and, as their stock of provisions was reduced, it was resolved, in the season of harvest, to replenish their store-ships in the fertile islands of the Pro-

* Villehardouin, No. 62. His feelings and expressions are original; he often weeps, but he rejoices in the glories and perils of war, with a spirit unknown to a sedentary writer.

† In this voyage almost all the geographical names are corrupted by the Latins. The modern appellation of Chalcis, and all Eubœa, is derived from its *Euripus*. *Euripo*, *Negri-po*, *Negropont*, which dishonours our maps (D'Anville, *Géographie Ancienne*, tom. i. p. 263).

pontis. With this resolution, they directed their course; but a strong gale, and their own impatience, drove them to the eastward; and so near did they run to the shore and the city, that some volleys of stones and darts were exchanged between the ships and the rampart. As they passed along, they gazed with admiration on the capital of the East, or, as it should seem, of the earth; rising from her seven hills, and towering over the continents of Europe and Asia. The swelling domes and lofty spires of five hundred palaces and churches were gilded by the sun and reflected in the waters; the walls were crowded with soldiers and spectators, whose numbers they beheld, of whose temper they were ignorant; and each heart was chilled by the reflection, that, since the beginning of the world, such an enterprise had never been undertaken by such a handful of warriors. But the momentary apprehension was dispelled by hope and valour; and every man, says the marshal of Champagne, glanced his eye on the sword or lance which he must speedily use in the glorious conflict.* The Latins cast anchor before Chalcedon; the mariners only were left in the vessels; the soldiers, horses, and arms, were safely landed; and in the luxury of an imperial palace, the barons tasted the first fruits of their success. On the third day, the fleet and army moved towards Scutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople; a detachment of five hundred Greek horse was surprised and defeated by fourscore French knights; and in a halt of nine days, the camp was plentifully supplied with forage and provisions.

In relating the invasion of a great empire, it may seem strange that I have not described the obstacles which should have checked the progress of the strangers. The Greeks, in truth, were an unwarlike people; but they were rich, industrious, and subject to the will of a single man, had that man been capable of fear, when his enemies were at a distance, or of courage, when they approached his person. The first rumour of his nephew's alliance with the French and Venetians was despised by the usurper Alexius; his flatterers persuaded him that in his contempt he was bold

* Et sachiez que il ni ot si hardi cui le cuer ne fremist (c. 66) . . . Chascuns regardoit ses armes . . . que par tems en arons mestier (c. 67). Such is the honesty of courage.

and sincere; and each evening, in the close of the banquet, he thrice discomfited the Barbarians of the West. These Barbarians had been justly terrified by the report of his naval power; and the sixteen hundred fishing-boats of Constantinople* could have manned a fleet, to sink them in the Adriatic, or stop their entrance in the mouth of the Hellespont. But all force may be annihilated by the negligence of the prince and the venality of his ministers. The great duke, or admiral, made a scandalous, almost a public, auction of the sails, the masts, and the rigging; the royal forests were reserved for the more important purpose of the chase; and the trees, says Nicetas, were guarded by the eunuchs, like the groves of religious worship.† From his dream of pride, Alexius was awakened by the siege of Zara and the rapid advances of the Latins: as soon as he saw the danger was real, he thought it inevitable, and his vain presumption was lost in abject despondency and despair. He suffered these contemptible Barbarians to pitch their camp in the sight of the palace; and his apprehensions were thinly disguised by the pomp and menace of a suppliant embassy. The sovereign of the Romans was astonished (his ambassadors were instructed to say) at the hostile appearance of the strangers. If these pilgrims were sincere in their vow for the deliverance of Jerusalem, his voice must applaud, and his treasures should assist, their pious design; but should they dare to invade the sanctuary of empire, their numbers, were they ten times more considerable, should not protect them from his just resentment. The answer of the doge and barons was simple and magnanimous. "In the cause of honour and justice," they said, "we despise the usurper of Greece, his threats, and his offers. OUR friendship and HIS allegiance are due to the lawful heir, to the young prince who is seated among us, and to his father, the emperor Isaac, who has been deprived of his sceptre, his freedom, and his eyes, by the crime of an ungrateful brother. Let that brother confess his guilt, and implore forgiveness,

* Eandem urbem plus in solis navibus piscatorum abundare, quam illos in toto navigio. Habebat enim mille et sexcentas piscatorias naves . . . Bellicas autem sive mercatorias habebant infinitas multitudinis et portum tutissimum. Gunther, Hist. C. P. c. 8, p. 10.

† Καθάπερ ἱερῶν ἄλσεων, εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ θεοφυτεύτων παραδείσων ἰφείδοντε ρουρωνί. Nicetas in Alex. Comneno, l. 3, c. 9, p. 348.

and we ourselves will intercede, that he may be permitted to live in affluence and security. But let him not insult us by a second message; our reply will be made in arms, in the palace of Constantinople."

On the tenth day of their encampment at Scutari, the crusaders prepared themselves, as soldiers and as Catholics, for the passage of the Bosphorus. Perilous indeed was the adventure; the stream was broad and rapid; in a calm the current of the Euxine might drive down the liquid and unextinguishable fires of the Greeks; and the opposite shores of Europe were defended by seventy thousand horse and foot in formidable array. On this memorable day, which happened to be bright and pleasant, the Latins were distributed in six battles or divisions; the first, or vanguard, was led by the count of Flanders, one of the most powerful of the Christian princes in the skill and number of his cross-bows. The four successive battles of the French were commanded by his brother Henry, the counts of St. Pol and Blois, and Matthew of Montmorency, the last of whom was honoured by the voluntary service of the marshal and nobles of Champagne. The sixth division, the rear-guard and reserve of the army, was conducted by the marquis of Montferrat, at the head of the Germans and Lombards. The chargers, saddled, with their long caparisons dragging on the ground, were embarked in the flat *palanders*,* and

* From the version of Vigenere, I adopt the well-sounding word *palander*, which is still used, I believe, in the Mediterranean. But had I written in French, I should have preferred the original and expressive denominations of *vessiers*, or *huissiers*, from the *huis*, or door, which was let down as a drawbridge, but which at sea, was closed into the side of the ship. See Ducange au Villehardouin, No. 14, and Joinville, p. 27, 28, edit. du Louvre. [*Palandrea* was the Turkish name for these vessels (Ducange, 3. 1243). By the Europeans they were generally termed *huissers*, *usseria*, *vessiers*, *ursers*, or *wisers*. *Hus* was the original Gothic word which the Germans have formed into *haus*, the Dutch into *huys*, and the English into *house*. In France alone, the entrance was made equivalent to the whole dwelling, and the *door* designated by the word *huis*, from which the term *huissier* (usher), is derived. Unless these vessels, therefore, were of French invention, Ducange's etymology will not hold good. France had no marine, and these very means of transport were supplied by Venice. According to Spelman (Gloss. 580), the *huissers* owed their origin to the Normans of Sicily. They were a kind of Noah's ark, or floating *house*, and it was from this that their name was

the knights stood by the side of their horses, in complete armour, their helmets laced, and their lances in their hands. Their numerous train of *serjeants** and archers occupied the transports; and each transport was towed by the strength and swiftness of a galley. The six divisions traversed the Bosphorus, without encountering an enemy or an obstacle; to land the foremost was the wish, to conquer or die was the resolution, of every division and of every soldier. Jealous of the pre-eminence of danger, the knights in their heavy armour leaped into the sea, when it rose as high as their girdle; the serjeants and archers were animated by their valour; and the squires, letting down the drawbridges of the palanders, led the horses to the shore. Before the squadrons could mount, and form, and couch their lances, the seventy thousand Greeks had vanished from their sight; the timid Alexius gave the example to his troops; and it was only by the plunder of his rich pavilions that the Latins were informed that they had fought against an emperor. In the first consternation of the flying enemy, they resolved, by a double attack, to open the entrance of the harbour. The tower of Galata,† in the suburb of Pera, was attacked and stormed by the French, while the Venetians assumed the more difficult task of forcing the boom, or chain, that was stretched from that

derived. The door was probably in the side, as described, but not a sufficiently marked feature to give a name to the whole structure. Wilken (5. 117), places it in the stern, which is very improbable. Villehardouin, describing the embarkation of the horses in the *vissiers*, uses the phrases, *ouvrir les portes, giter les pons fors*; he would surely have employed the word *huis*, if that had been the distinguishing mark from which those vessels were denominated.—ED.]

* To avoid the vague expressions of followers, &c., I use, after Villehardouin, the word *serjeants*, for all horsemen who were not knights. There were serjeants-at-arms, and serjeants-at-law; and if we visit the parade and Westminster Hall, we may observe the strange result of the distinction. (Ducange, Glossar. Latin. *Servientes*, &c. tom. vi. p. 226—231. [In this article, Ducange was much assisted by Spelman, whose Glossary (p. 512) shows how the "*Servientes ad legem*," from being mere "*ministri doctorum*" (doctors' clerks or apprentices), rose in English courts as "*serjeants-at-law*," to hold the highest rank next to the representatives of the crown.—ED.]

† It is needless to observe, that on the subject of Galata, the chain, &c., Ducange is accurate and full. Consult likewise the proper chapters of the C. P. Christiana of the same author. The inhabitants

tower to the Byzantine shore. After some fruitless attempts, their intrepid perseverance prevailed; twenty ships of war, the relics of the Grecian navy, were either sunk or taken; the enormous and massy links of iron were cut asunder by the shears, or broken by the weight, of the galleys;* and the Venetian fleet, safe and triumphant, rode at anchor in the port of Constantinople. By these daring achievements, a remnant of twenty thousand Latins solicited the licence of besieging a capital which contained above four hundred thousand inhabitants,† able, though not willing, to bear arms in the defence of their country. Such an account would indeed suppose a population of near two millions; but whatever abatement may be required in the numbers of the Greeks, the *belief* of those numbers will equally exalt the fearless spirit of their assailants.

In the choice of the attack, the French and Venetians were divided by their habits of life and warfare. The former affirmed with truth, that Constantinople was most accessible on the side of the sea and the harbour. The latter might assert with honour, that they had long enough trusted their lives and fortunes to a frail bark and a precarious element, and loudly demanded a trial of knighthood, a firm ground, and a close onset, either on foot or horseback. After a prudent compromise, of employing the two nations

of Galata were so vain and ignorant, that they applied to themselves St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

* The vessel that broke the chain was named the Eagle, *Aquila* (Dandol. Chronicon, p. 322), which Blondus (*De Gestis Venet.*) has changed into *Aquilo*, the north wind. Ducange, *Observations*, No. 83, maintains the latter reading; but he had not seen the respectable text of Dandolo, nor did he enough consider the topography of the harbour. The south-east would have been a more effectual wind.

† Quatre cens mil hommes ou plus (Villehardouin, No. 134), must be understood of *men* of a military age. Le Beau (*Hist. du Bas Empire*, tom. xx. p. 417) allows Constantinople a million of inhabitants, of whom sixty thousand horse, and an infinite number of foot soldiers. In its present decay, the capital of the Ottoman empire may contain four hundred thousand souls (Bell's *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 401, 402), but as the Turks keep no registers, and as circumstances are fallacious, it is impossible to ascertain (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i. p. 18, 19) the real populousness of their cities. [Malte Brun and Balbi (p. 609) state the population of Constantinople in 1838, to have been 846,000, of whom there were 500,000 Turks, 200,000 Armenians, 100,000 Jews, 28,000 Greeks, and 18,000 Franks or other strangers.—Ed.]

by sea and land, in the service best suited to their character, the fleet covering the army, they both proceeded from the entrance to the extremity of the harbour; the stone bridge of the river was hastily repaired; and the six battles of the French formed their encampment against the front of the capital, the basis of the triangle which runs about four miles from the port to the Propontis.* On the edge of a broad ditch, at the foot of a lofty rampart, they had leisure to contemplate the difficulties of their enterprise. The gates to the right and left of their narrow camp poured forth frequent sallies of cavalry and light infantry, which cut off their stragglers, swept the country of provisions, sounded the alarm five or six times in the course of each day, and compelled them to plant a palisade, and sink an intrenchment, for their immediate safety. In the supplies and convoys the Venetians had been too sparing, or the Franks too voracious; the usual complaints of hunger and scarcity were heard, and perhaps felt; their stock of flour would be exhausted in three weeks; and their disgust of salt meat tempted them to taste the flesh of their horses. The trembling usurper was supported by Theodore Lascaris, his son-in-law, a valiant youth, who aspired to save and to rule his country; the Greeks, regardless of that country, were awakened to the defence of their religion; but their firmest hope was in the strength and spirit of the Varangian guards, of the Danes and English, as they are named in the writers of the times.† After ten days' incessant labour, the ground

* On the most correct plans of Constantinople, I know not how to measure more than four thousand paces. Yet Villehardouin computes the space at three leagues (No. 86). If his eyes were not deceived, he must reckon by the old Gallic league of one thousand five hundred paces, which might still be used in Champagne.

† The guards, the Varangi, are styled by Villehardouin (No. 89—95, &c.), Anglois et Danois avec leurs hâches. Whatever had been their origin, a French pilgrim could not be mistaken in the nations of which they were at that time composed. [The supposed emigrants from England to Constantinople, are never represented to have been more than a small band. Nearly a hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the period at which they are said to have been infused into the large, previously constituted Varangian guard. In that space of time, their descendants would have assimilated themselves to their companions, and lost their national distinction. It has already been shown (ch. 55, p. 278) who the Angli probably were, that belonged, from the first, to this body; and when Villehardouin, who knew no language

was levelled, the ditch filled, the approaches of the besiegers were regularly made, and two hundred and fifty engines of assault exercised their various powers to clear the rampart, to batter the walls, and to sap the foundations. On the first appearance of a breach, the scaling-ladders were applied, the numbers that defended the vantage ground, repulsed and oppressed the adventurous Latins; but they admired the resolution of fifteen knights and serjeants, who had gained the ascent, and maintained their perilous station till they were precipitated or made prisoners by the imperial guards. On the side of the harbour, the naval attack was more successfully conducted by the Venetians; and that industrious people employed every resource that was known and practised before the invention of gunpowder. A double line, three bow-shots in front, was formed by the galleys and ships; and the swift motion of the former was supported by the weight and loftiness of the latter, whose decks, and poops, and turret, were the platforms of military engines, that discharged their shot over the heads of the first line. The soldiers, who leaped from the galleys on shore, immediately planted and ascended their scaling-ladders, while the large ships, advancing more slowly into the intervals, and lowering a drawbridge, opened a way through the air from their masts to the rampart. In the midst of the conflict, the doge, a venerable and conspicuous form, stood aloft in complete armour on the prow of his galley. The great standard of St. Mark was displayed before him; his threats, promises, and exhortations, urged the diligence of the rowers; his vessel was the first that struck; and Dandolo was the first warrior on the shore. The nations admired the magnanimity of the blind old man, without reflecting that his age and infirmities diminished the price of life, and enhanced the value of immortal glory. On a sudden, by an invisible hand (for the standard-bearer was probably slain), the banner of the republic was fixed on the rampart;

but his own, heard of them, he concluded that they came from England; and he had no means of obtaining more correct information. Battle-axes, as we have seen, were well-known among the German tribes; they do not appear to have been at that time generally used by the English. In a note to the preceding chapter, the Normans and Goths, who joined the third crusade, are described as "*gentes bipennibus armatae*."—ED.]

twenty-five towers were rapidly occupied; and, by the cruel expedient of fire, the Greeks were driven from the adjacent quarter. The doge had despatched the intelligence of his success, when he was checked by the danger of his confederates. Nobly declaring that he would rather die with the pilgrims than gain a victory by their destruction, Dandolo relinquished his advantage, recalled his troops, and hastened to the scene of action. He found the six weary diminutive *battles* of the French encompassed by sixty squadrons of the Greek cavalry, the least of which was more numerous than the largest of their divisions. Shame and despair had provoked Alexius to the last effort of a general sally; but he was awed by the firm order and manly aspect of the Latins; and, after skirmishing at a distance, withdrew his troops in the close of the evening. The silence or tumult of the night exasperated his fears; and the timid usurper, collecting a treasure of ten thousand pounds of gold, basely deserted his wife, his people, and his fortune, threw himself into a bark, stole through the Bosphorus, and landed in shameful safety in an obscure harbour of Thrace. As soon as they were apprised of his flight, the Greek nobles sought pardon and peace in the dungeon where the blind Isaac expected each hour the visit of the executioner. Again saved and exalted by the vicissitudes of fortune, the captive, in his imperial robes, was replaced on the throne, and surrounded with prostrate slaves, whose real terror and affected joy he was incapable of discerning. At the dawn of day, hostilities were suspended; and the Latin chiefs were surprised by a message from the lawful and reigning emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son, and to reward his generous deliverers.*

But these generous deliverers were unwilling to release their hostage till they had obtained from his father the

* For the first siege and conquest of Constantinople, we may read the original letter of the crusaders to Innocent III. *Gesta*, c. 91, p. 533, 534. Villehardouin, No. 75—99. Nicetas in Alexio Comnen. l. 3, c. 10, p. 349—352. Dandolo, in Chron. p. 322. Gunther, and his abbot Martin, were not yet returned from their obstinate pilgrimage to Jerusalem, or St. John d'Acre, where the greatest part of the company had died of the plague. [More than two thousand Christians were buried in one day at Acre. Among the victims was Baldwin's wife, "the faithful and affectionate Margaret," who had preceded her husband, hoping to be joined by him in Palestine. *Taafe*, ii. 89.—Ed.]

payment, or at least the promise, of their recompense. They chose four ambassadors, Matthew of Montmorency, our historian the marshal of Champagne, and two Venetians, to congratulate the emperor. The gates were thrown open on their approach, the streets on both sides were lined with the battle-axes of the Danish and English guard; the presence-chamber glittered with gold and jewels, the false substitutes of virtue and power; by the side of the blind Isaac his wife was seated, the sister of the king of Hungary; and by her appearance, the noble matrons of Greece were drawn from their domestic retirement, and mingled with the circle of senators and soldiers. The Latins, by the mouth of the marshal, spoke like men conscious of their merits, but who respected the work of their own hands; and the emperor clearly understood that his son's engagements with Venice and the pilgrims must be ratified without hesitation or delay. Withdrawing into a private chamber with the empress, a chamberlain, an interpreter, and the four ambassadors, the father of young Alexius inquired with some anxiety into the nature of his stipulations. The submission of the Eastern empire to the pope, the succour of the Holy Land, and a present contribution of two hundred thousand marks of silver—"These conditions are weighty," was his prudent reply; "they are hard to accept, and difficult to perform. But no conditions can exceed the measure of your services and deserts." After this satisfactory assurance, the barons mounted on horseback, and introduced the heir of Constantinople to the city and palace. His youth and marvellous adventures engaged every heart in his favour, and Alexius was solemnly crowned with his father in the dome of St. Sophia. In the first days of his reign, the people, already blessed with the restoration of plenty and peace, was delighted by the joyful catastrophe of the tragedy; and the discontent of the nobles, their regret, and their fears, were covered by the polished surface of pleasure and loyalty. The mixture of two discordant nations in the same capital might have been pregnant with mischief and danger; and the suburb of Galata, or Pera, was assigned for the quarters of the French and Venetians. But the liberty of trade and familiar intercourse was allowed between the friendly nations; and each day the pilgrims were tempted, by devotion or curiosity, to visit the churches and

palaces of Constantinople. Their rude minds, insensible perhaps of the finer arts, were astonished by the magnificent scenery; and the poverty of their native towns enhanced the populousness and riches of the first metropolis of Christendom.* Descending from his state, young Alexius was prompted by interest and gratitude to repeat his frequent and familiar visits to his Latin allies; and in the freedom of the table, the gay petulance of the French sometimes forgot the emperor of the East.† In their more serious conferences, it was agreed, that the reunion of the two churches must be the result of patience and time; but avarice was less tractable than zeal; and a large sum was instantly disbursed to appease the wants, and silence the importunity, of the crusaders.‡ Alexius was alarmed by the approaching hour of their departure; their absence might have relieved him from the engagement which he was yet incapable of performing; but his friends would have left him naked and alone, to the caprice and prejudice of a perfidious nation. He wished to bribe their stay, the delay of a year, by undertaking to defray their expense, and to satisfy in their name the freight of the Venetian vessels. The offer was agitated in the council of the barons; and, after a repetition of their debates and scruples, a majority of votes again acquiesced in the advice of the doge, and the prayer of the young emperor. At the price of sixteen hundred pounds of gold, he prevailed on the marquis of Montferrat to lead him with an army round the provinces of Europe; to establish his authority, and pursue his uncle, while Constantinople was awed by the presence of Baldwin, and his confederates of France and Flanders. The expe-

* Compare, in the rude energy of Villehardouin (No. 66. 100), the inside and outside views of Constantinople, and their impression on the minds of the pilgrims; *cette ville (says he) que de toutes les autres ére souveraine*. See the parallel passages of Fulcherius Carnotensis, Hist. Hierosol. l. 1, c. 4, and Wil. Tyr. 2, 3. 20. 26.

† As they played at dice, the Latins took off his diadem, and clapped on his head a woollen or hairy cap, *τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ παγκλείστον κατεῤῥύπαινεν ὄνομα*. (Nicetas, p. 358.) If these merry companions were Venetians, it was the insolence of trade and a commonwealth.

‡ Villehardouin, No. 101. Dandolo, p. 322. The doge affirms, that the Venetians were paid more slowly than the French; but he owns that the histories of the two nations differed on that subject. Had he read Villehardouin? The Greeks complained, however, *quod totius Græciæ opes transtulisset*. (Gunther,

dition was successful; the blind emperor exulted in the success of his arms, and listened to the predictions of his flatterers, that the same Providence which had raised him from the dungeon to the throne, would heal his gout, restore his sight, and watch over the long prosperity of his reign. Yet the mind of the suspicious old man was tormented by the rising glories of his son; nor could his pride conceal from his envy, that while his own name was pronounced in faint and reluctant acclamations, the royal youth was the theme of spontaneous and universal praise.*

By the recent invasion, the Greeks were awakened from a dream of nine centuries; from the vain presumption that the capital of the Roman empire was impregnable to foreign arms. The strangers of the West had violated the city, and bestowed the sceptre of Constantine; their imperial clients soon became as unpopular as themselves; the well-known vices of Isaac were rendered still more contemptible by his infirmities, and the young Alexius was hated as an apostate, who had renounced the manners and religion of his country. His secret covenant with the Latins was divulged or suspected; the people, and especially the clergy, were devoutly attached to their faith and superstition; and every convent, and every shop, resounded with the danger of the church, and the tyranny of the pope.† An empty treasury could ill supply the demands of regal luxury and foreign extortion; the Greeks refused to avert, by a general tax, the impending evils of servitude and pillage; the oppression of the rich excited a more dangerous and personal resentment; and if the emperor melted the plate, and despoiled the images, of the sanctuary, he seemed to justify the complaints of heresy and sacrilege. During the absence of marquis Boniface and his imperial pupil, Constantinople was visited with a calamity which might be justly imputed

Hist. C. P. c. 13.) See the lamentations and invectives of Nicetas (p. 355).

* The reign of Alexius Comnenus occupies three books in Nicetas, p. 291—352. The short restoration of Isaac and his son is dispatched in five chapters, p. 352—362.

† When Nicetas reproaches Alexius for his impious league, he bestows the harshest names on the pope's new religion; *μῆζον καὶ ἀτοπώτατον . . . παρεκτροπήν πίστεως . . . τῶν τοῦ Παπᾶ προνομίων καινισμὸν . . . μετάρθεσιν . . . τε καὶ μεταποίησιν τῶν παλαιῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰθῶν* (p. 348). Such was the sincere language of every Greek to the last gasp of the empire.

to the zeal and indiscretion of the Flemish pilgrims.* In one of their visits to the city, they were scandalized by the aspect of a mosch or synagogue, in which one God was worshipped without a partner or a son. Their effectual mode of controversy was to attack the infidels with the sword, and their habitation with fire; but the infidels, and some Christian neighbours, presumed to defend their lives and properties; and the flames which bigotry had kindled consumed the most orthodox and innocent structures. During eight days and nights, the conflagration spread above a league in front, from the harbour to the Propontis, over the thickest and most populous regions of the city. It is not easy to count the stately churches and palaces that were reduced to a smoking ruin, to value the merchandise that perished in the trading streets, or to number the families that were involved in the common destruction. By this outrage, which the doge and the barons in vain affected to disclaim, the name of the Latins became still more unpopular; and the colony of that nation, above fifteen thousand persons, consulted their safety in a hasty retreat from the city to the protection of their standard in the suburb of Pera. The emperor returned in triumph; but the firmest and most dexterous policy would have been insufficient to steer him through the tempest, which overwhelmed the person and government of that unhappy youth. His own inclination, and his father's advice, attached him to his benefactors; but Alexius hesitated between gratitude and patriotism, between the fear of his subjects and of his allies.† By his feeble and fluctuating conduct he lost the esteem and confidence of both; and while he invited the marquis of Montferrat to occupy the palace, he suffered the nobles to conspire, and the people to arm, for the deliverance of their country. Regardless of his painful situation, the Latin chiefs repeated their demands, resented

* Nicetas (p. 355) is positive in the charge, and specifies the Flemings (Φλαμίονες), though he is wrong in supposing it an ancient name. Villehardouin (No. 107) exculpates the barons, and is ignorant (perhaps affectedly ignorant) of the names of the guilty.

† Compare the suspicions and complaints of Nicetas (p. 359—362), with the blunt charges of Baldwin of Flanders (Gesta Innocent. III. c. 92, p. 534), cum patriarcha et mole nobilium, nobis promissis perjurus et mendax.

his delays, suspected his intentions, and exacted a decisive answer of peace or war. The haughty summons was delivered by three French knights and three Venetian deputies, who girded their swords, mounted their horses, pierced through the angry multitude, and entered with a fearless countenance the palace and presence of the Greek emperor. In a peremptory tone, they recapitulated their services and his engagements; and boldly declared, that unless their just claims were fully and immediately satisfied, they should no longer hold him either as a sovereign or a friend. After this defiance, the first that had ever wounded an imperial ear, they departed without betraying any symptoms of fear; but their escape from a servile palace and a furious city astonished the ambassadors themselves; and their return to the camp was the signal of mutual hostility.

Among the Greeks, all authority and wisdom were overborne by the impetuous multitude, who mistook their rage for valour, their numbers for strength, and their fanaticism for the support and inspiration of heaven. In the eyes of both nations Alexius was false and contemptible; the base and spurious race of the Angeli was rejected with clamorous disdain; and the people of Constantinople encompassed the senate, to demand at their hands a more worthy emperor. To every senator, conspicuous by his birth or dignity, they successively presented the purple; by each senator the deadly garment was repulsed; the contest lasted three days; and we may learn from the historian Nicetas, one of the members of the assembly, that fear and weakness were the guardians of their loyalty. A phantom, who vanished in oblivion, was forcibly proclaimed by the crowd;* but the author of the tumult, and the leader of the war, was a prince of the house of Ducas; and his common appellation of Alexius must be discriminated by the epithet of Mourzoufle,† which in the vulgar idiom expressed the close junction of his black and shaggy eyebrows. At once a patriot and a courtier, the perfidious Mourzoufle, who was

* His name was Nicholas Canabus; he deserved the praise of Nicetas and the vengeance of Mourzoufle (p. 362).

† Villehardouin (No. 116) speaks of him as a favourite, without knowing that he was a prince of the blood, *Angelus* and *Ducas*. Ducange, who pries into every corner, believes him to be the son of Isaac Ducas Sebastocrator, and second cousin of young Alexius.

not destitute of cunning and courage, opposed the Latins both in speech and action, inflamed the passions and prejudices of the Greeks, and insinuated himself into the favour and confidence of Alexius, who trusted him with the office of great chamberlain, and tinged his buskins with the colours of royalty. At the dead of night he rushed into the bed-chamber with an affrighted aspect, exclaiming, that the palace was attacked by the people and betrayed by the guards. Starting from his couch, the unsuspecting prince threw himself into the arms of his enemy, who had contrived his escape by a private staircase. But that staircase terminated in a prison; Alexius was seized, stripped, and loaded with chains; and, after tasting some days the bitterness of death, he was poisoned, or strangled, or beaten with clubs, at the command and in the presence of the tyrant. The emperor, Isaac Angelus, soon followed his son to the grave, and Mourzoufle, perhaps, might spare the superfluous crime of hastening the extinction of impotence and blindness.

The death of the emperors, and the usurpation of Mourzoufle, had changed the nature of the quarrel. It was no longer the disagreement of allies who over-valued their services, or neglected their obligations; the French and Venetians forgot their complaints against Alexius, dropped a tear on the untimely fate of their companion, and swore revenge against the perfidious nation who had crowned his assassin. Yet the prudent doge was still inclined to negotiate; he asked as a debt, a subsidy, or a fine, fifty thousand pounds of gold—about two millions sterling; nor would the conference have been abruptly broken, if the zeal or policy of Mourzoufle had not refused to sacrifice the Greek church to the safety of the State.* Amidst the invectives of his foreign and domestic enemies, we may discern, that he was not unworthy of the character which he had assumed, of the public champion; the second siege of Constantinople was far more laborious than the first; the treasury was replenished, and discipline was restored, by a severe inquiry into the abuses of the former reign; and Mourzoufle, an iron mace in his hand, visiting the posts, and affecting the port and aspect of a warrior, was an object of

* This negotiation, probable in itself, and attested by Nicetas (p. 365), is omitted as scandalous by the delicacy of Dandolo and

terror to his soldiers, at least, and to his kinsmen. Before and after the death of Alexius, the Greeks made two vigorous and well-conducted attempts to burn the navy in the harbour; but the skill and courage of the Venetians repulsed the fire-ships, and the vagrant flames wasted themselves without injury in the sea.* In a nocturnal sally, the Greek emperor was vanquished by Henry, brother of the count of Flanders; the advantages of number and surprise aggravated the shame of his defeat; his buckler was found on the field of battle; and the imperial standard,† a divine image of the Virgin, was presented, as a trophy and a relic, to the Cistercian monks, the disciples of St. Bernard. Near three months, without excepting the holy season of Lent, were consumed in skirmishes and preparations, before the Latins were ready or resolved for a general assault. The land fortifications had been found impregnable; and the Venetian pilots represented, that, on the shore of the Propontis, the anchorage was unsafe, and the ships must be driven by the current far away to the straits of the Hellespont—a prospect not unpleasing to the reluctant pilgrims, who sought every opportunity of breaking the army. From the harbour, therefore, the assault was determined by the assailants, and expected by the besieged; and the emperor had placed his scarlet pavilions on a neighbouring height, to direct and animate the efforts of his troops. A fearless spectator, whose mind could entertain the ideas of pomp and pleasure, might have admired the long array of two embattled armies, which extended above half a league, the one on the ships and galleys, the other on the walls and towers raised above the ordinary level by several stages of wooden turrets. Their first fury was spent in the discharge of darts, stones, and fire, from the engines; but the water was deep, the French were bold, the Venetians were skilful; they approached the walls, and a desperate conflict

Villehardouin.

* Baldwin mentions both attempts to fire the fleet (Gest. c. 92, p. 534, 535); Villehardouin (No. 113—115) only describes the first. It is remarkable that neither of these warriors observes any peculiar properties in the Greek fire.

† Ducange (No. 119) pours forth a torrent of learning on the *Gonfanon Imperial*. This banner of the Virgin is shown at Venice as a trophy and relic: if it be genuine, the pious doge must have cheated the monks of Cîteaux.

of swords, spears, and battle-axes, was fought on the trembling bridges that grappled the floating, to the stable, batteries. In more than a hundred places the assault was urged, and the defence was sustained, till the superiority of ground and numbers finally prevailed, and the Latin trumpets sounded a retreat. On the ensuing days, the attack was renewed with equal vigour, and a similar event; and in the night the doge, and the barons held a council, apprehensive only for the public danger; not a voice pronounced the words of escape or treaty; and each warrior, according to his temper, embraced the hope of victory, or the assurance of a glorious death.* By the experience of the former siege, the Greeks were instructed, but the Latins were animated; and the knowledge that Constantinople might be taken, was of more avail than the local precautions which that knowledge had inspired for its defence. In the third assault, two ships were linked together to double their strength; a strong north-wind drove them on the shore; the bishops of Troyes and Soissons led the van; and the auspicious names of the *pilgrim* and the *paradise* resounded along the line.† The episcopal banners were displayed on the walls; a hundred marks of silver had been promised to the first adventurers; and if their reward was intercepted by death, their names have been immortalized by fame. Four towers were scaled, three gates were burst open, and the French knights, who might tremble on the waves, felt themselves invincible on horseback on the solid ground. Shall I relate that the thousands who guarded the emperor's person fled on the approach, and before the lance, of a single warrior? Their ignominious flight is attested by their countryman Nicetas—an army of phantoms marched with the French hero, and he was magnified to a giant in the eyes of the Greeks.‡ While the

* Villehardouin (No. 126) confesses, that mult ere grant peril; and Guntherus (Hist. C. P. c. 13) affirms, that nulla spes victoriæ arridere poterat. Yet the knight despises those who thought of flight, and the monk praises his countrymen who were resolved on death.

† Baldwin, and all the writers, honour the names of these two galleys, felici auspicio.

‡ With an allusion to Homer, Nicetas calls him ἐννεόρυσιος, nine orgyæ or eighteen yards high, a stature which would indeed have excused the terror of the Greeks. On this occasion, the historian seems fonder of the marvellous than of

fugitives deserted their posts and cast away their arms, the Latins entered the city under the banners of their leaders; the streets and gates opened for their passage; and either design or accident kindled a third conflagration, which consumed in a few hours the measure of three of the largest cities of France.* In the close of evening, the barons checked their troops, and fortified their stations; they were awed by the extent and populousness of the capital, which might yet require the labour of a month, if the churches and palaces were conscious of their internal strength. But in the morning, a suppliant procession, with crosses and images, announced the submission of the Greeks, and deprecated the wrath of the conquerors; the usurper escaped through the golden gate—the palaces of Blachernæ and Boucoleon were occupied by the count of Flanders and the marquis of Montferrat, and the empire, which still bore the name of Constantine, and the title of Roman, was subverted by the arms of the Latin pilgrims.†

Constantinople had been taken by storm; and no restraints, except those of religion and humanity, were imposed on the conquerors by the laws of war. Boniface, marquis of Montferrat, still acted as their general; and the Greeks, who revered his name as that of their future sovereign, were heard to exclaim in a lamentable tone, “Holy marquis-king, have mercy upon us!” His prudence or compassion opened the gates of the city to the fugitives; and he exhorted the soldiers of the cross to spare the lives of their fellow-Christians. The streams of blood that flow down the pages of Nicetas, may be reduced to the slaughter of two thousand of his unresisting countrymen;‡ and the greater part was

his country, or perhaps of truth. Baldwin exclaims, in the words of the psalmist, *persequitur unus ex nobis centum alienos*.

* Villehardouin (No. 130) is again ignorant of the authors of *this* more legitimate fire, which is ascribed by Gunther to a quidam comes Teutonicus (c. 14). They seem ashamed, the incendiaries!

† For the second siege and conquest of Constantinople, see Villehardouin (No. 113—132), Baldwin's Second Epistle to Innocent III. (Gesta, c. 92, p. 534—537, with the whole reign of Mourzoufle, in Nicetas (p. 363—375); and borrow some hints from Dandolo (Chron. Venet. p. 323—330) and Gunther (Hist. C. P. c. 14—18), who add the decorations of prophecy and vision. The former produces an oracle of the Erythræan sybil, of a great armament on the Adriatic, under a blind chief, against Byzantium, &c. Curious enough, were the prediction anterior to the fact.

‡ *Ceciderunt tamen eâ die*

massacred, not by the strangers, but by the Latins, who had been driven from the city, and who exercised the revenge of a triumphant faction. Yet of these exiles, some were less mindful of injuries than of benefits; and Nicetas himself was indebted for his safety to the generosity of a Venetian merchant. Pope Innocent the Third accuses the pilgrims of respecting, in their lust, neither age, nor sex, nor religious profession; and bitterly laments that the deeds of darkness, fornication, adultery, and incest, were perpetrated in open day; and that noble matrons and holy nuns were polluted by the grooms and peasants of the Catholic camp.* It is indeed probable that the licence of victory prompted and covered a multitude of sins; but it is certain, that the capital of the East contained a stock of venal or willing beauty, sufficient to satiate the desires of twenty thousand pilgrims; and female prisoners were no longer subject to the right or abuse of domestic slavery. The marquis of Montferrat was the patron of discipline and decency; the count of Flanders was the mirror of chastity; they had forbidden, under pain of death, the rape of married women, or virgins, or nuns; and the proclamation was sometimes invoked by the vanquished † and respected by the victors. Their cruelty and lust were moderated by the authority of the chiefs and feelings of the soldiers; for we are no longer describing an irruption of the Northern savages; and however ferocious they might still appear, time, policy, and religion had civilized the manners of the French, and still more of the Italians. But a free scope was allowed to their avarice, which was glutted, even in the holy week, by the

civium quasi duo millia, &c. (Gunther, c. 18.) Arithmetic is an excellent touchstone to try the amplifications of passion and rhetoric.

* Quidam (says Innocent III. Gesta, c. 94, p. 538) nec religioni, nec ætati, nec sexui pepercerunt: sed fornicationes, adulteria, et incestus, in oculis omnium exercentes, non solum maritatas et viduas, sed et matronas et virgines Deoque dicatas, exposuerunt spurcitiis gargonum. Villehardouin takes no notice of these common incidents.

† Nicetas saved, and afterwards married, a noble virgin (p. 380), whom a soldier, *ἐπὶ μάρτυσι πολλοῖς ὀνηδὸν ἐπιβριμώμενος*, had almost violated in spite of the *ἐντολαί, ἐντάλματα εὐ γεγονότων*. [Such incidents are pleasing episodes in the painful history of warfare. A now distinguished veteran in the British army, (Sir H. Smith) owes the partner of his life to a similar adventure that occurred to him, while yet a young subaltern, at the storming of Badajoz, in 1812.—Ed.]

pillage of Constantinople. The right of victory, unshackled by any promise or treaty, had confiscated the public and private wealth of the Greeks; and every hand, according to its size and strength, might lawfully execute the sentence and seize the forfeiture. A portable and universal standard of exchange was found in the coined and uncoined metals of gold and silver, which each captor at home or abroad might convert into the possessions most suitable to his temper and situation. Of the treasures which trade and luxury had accumulated, the silks, velvets, furs, the gems, spices, and rich moveables, were the most precious, as they could not be procured for money in the ruder countries of Europe. An order of rapine was instituted; nor was the share of each individual abandoned to industry or chance. Under the tremendous penalties of perjury, excommunication, and death, the Latins were bound to deliver their plunder into the common stock; three churches were selected for the deposit and distribution of the spoil; a single share was allotted to a foot-soldier; two for a serjeant on horseback; four to a knight; and larger proportions according to the rank and merit of the barons and princes. For violating this sacred engagement, a knight belonging to the count of St. Pol was hanged with his shield* and coat of arms round his neck; his example might render similar offenders more artful and discreet; but avarice was more powerful than fear; and it is generally believed, that the secret far exceeded the acknowledged plunder. Yet the magnitude of the prize surpassed the largest scale of experience or expectation.* After the whole had been equally divided between the French and Venetians, fifty thousand marks were deducted to satisfy the debts of the former and the demands of the latter. The residue of the French amounted to four hundred thousand marks of silver,† about eight hundred thousand pounds sterling; nor can I better appreciate the

* Of the general mass of wealth, Gunther observes, *ut de pauperibus et advenis cives ditissimi redderentur* (Hist. C. P. c. 18), Villehardouin (No. 132), that since the creation, *ne fu tant gaignié dans une ville*; Baldwin (Gesta, c. 92), *ut tantum tota non videatur possidere Latinitas*.

† Villehardouin, No. 133—135. Instead of four hundred thousand there is a various reading of five hundred thousand. The Venetians had offered to take the whole booty, and to give four hundred marks to each knight, two hundred to each priest and horseman, and one hundred to each foot soldier: they would have been great losers

value of that sum in the public and private transactions of the age, than by defining it as seven times the annual revenue of the kingdom of England.*

In this great revolution we enjoy the singular felicity of comparing the narratives of Villehardouin and Nicetas, the opposite feelings of the marshal of Champagne and the Byzantine senator.† At the first view it should seem that the wealth of Constantinople was only transferred from one nation to another; and that the loss and sorrow of the Greeks are exactly balanced by the joy and advantage of the Latins. But in the miserable account of war, the gain is never equivalent to the loss, the pleasure to the pain; the smiles of the Latins were transient and fallacious; the Greeks for ever wept over the ruins of their country; and their real calamities were aggravated by sacrilege and mockery. What benefits accrued to the conquerors from the three fires which annihilated so vast a portion of the buildings and riches of the city? What a stock of such things, as could neither be used nor transported, was maliciously or wantonly destroyed! How much treasure was idly wasted in gaming, debauchery, and riot! And what precious objects were bartered for a vile price by the impatience or ignorance of the soldiers, whose reward was stolen by the base industry of the last of the Greeks! These alone, who had nothing to lose, might derive some profit from the revolution; but the misery of the upper ranks of society is strongly painted in the personal adventures of Nicetas himself. His stately palace had been reduced to ashes in the second conflagration; and the senator, with his family and friends, found an obscure shelter in another house which he possessed near the church of St. Sophia. It was the door of this mean habitation that his friend the Venetian merchant guarded in the disguise of a

(Le Beau, *Hist. du Bas Emp.* tom. xx. p. 506.) I know not from whence.

* At the Council of Lyons (A.D. 1245), the English ambassadors stated the revenue of the crown as below that of the foreign clergy, which amounted to sixty thousand marks a year. (Matthew Paris, p. 451. Hume's *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 170.)

† The disorders of the sack of Constantinople, and his own adventures, are feelingly described by Nicetas, p. 367—369, and in the *Status Urb. C. P.* p. 375—384. His complaints even of sacrilege are justified by Innocent III. (*Gesta*, c. 92), but Villehardouin does not betray a symptom of pity or remorse.

soldier, till Nicetas could save, by a precipitate flight, the relics of his fortune and the chastity of his daughter. In a cold wintry season, these fugitives, nursed in the lap of prosperity, departed on foot; his wife was with child; the desertion of their slaves compelled them to carry their baggage on their own shoulders; and their women, whom they placed in the centre, were exhorted to conceal their beauty with dirt, instead of adorning it with paint and jewels. Every step was exposed to insult and danger; the threats of the strangers were less painful than the taunts of the plebeians, with whom they were now levelled; nor did the exiles breathe in safety till their mournful pilgrimage was concluded at Selymbria, above forty miles from the capital. On the way they overtook the patriarch, without attendance, and almost without apparel, riding on an ass, and reduced to a state of apostolical poverty, which, had it been voluntary, might perhaps have been meritorious. In the meanwhile, his desolate churches were profaned by the licentiousness and party zeal of the Latins. After stripping the gems and pearls, they converted the chalices into drinking-cups; their tables, on which they gamed and feasted, were covered with the pictures of Christ and the saints; and they trampled under foot the most venerable objects of the Christian worship. In the cathedral of St. Sophia, the ample veil of the sanctuary was rent asunder for the sake of the golden fringe; and the altar, a monument of art and riches, was broken in pieces and shared among the captors. Their mules and horses were laden with the wrought silver and gilt carvings which they tore down from the doors and pulpit; and if the beasts stumbled under the burden, they were stabbed by their impatient drivers, and the holy pavement streamed with their impure blood. A prostitute was seated on the throne of the patriarch; and that daughter of Belial, as she is styled, sang and danced in the church, to ridicule the hymns and processions of the Orientals. Nor were the repositories of the royal dead secure from violation; in the church of the apostles, the tombs of the emperors were rifled; and it is said, that after six centuries the corpse of Justinian was found without any signs of decay or putrefaction. In the streets, the French and Flemings clothed themselves and their horses in painted robes and flowing head-dresses of linen; and the coarse

intemperance of their feasts * insulted the splendid sobriety of the East. To expose the arms of a people of scribes and scholars, they affected to display a pen, an inkhorn, and a sheet of paper, without discerning that the instruments of science and valour were *alike* feeble and useless in the hands of the modern Greeks.

Their reputation and their language encouraged them, however, to despise the ignorance, and to overlook the progress of the Latins.† In the love of the arts, the national difference was still more obvious and real; the Greeks preserved with reverence the works of their ancestors, which they could not imitate; and, in the destruction of the statues of Constantinople, we are provoked to join in the complaints and invectives of the Byzantine historian.‡ We have seen how the rising city was adorned by the vanity and despotism of the imperial founder; in the ruins of Pa-

* If I rightly apprehend the Greek of Nicetas's receipts, their favourite dishes were boiled buttocks of beef, salt pork and peas, and soup made of garlic and sharp or sour herbs (p. 382).

† Nicetas uses very harsh expressions, *παρ' ἀγραμμάτοις Βαρβάρους καὶ τέλειον ἀναλφάβητοις*. (Fragment. apud Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 414.) This reproach, it is true, applies most strongly to their ignorance of Greek and of Homer. In their own language, the Latins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were not destitute of literature. See Harris's *Philological Inquiries*, p. 3, c. 9—11. [If, as we have lately seen, reading and writing were neglected even in the high station occupied by Villehardouin, literature cannot have been very useful or much encouraged. Light was undoubtedly beginning to break through the dark cloud; but wherever it shone, the cauldrons of superstition were more vehemently stirred up to veil it by their densest fumes. There were neither royal nor private libraries at that time (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, 3. 337). Manuscripts were shut up in monasteries; and if some were fortunately preserved there for our instruction, this merit must not make us forget that the founders of institutions which saved a few, caused the irretrievable loss of a far greater number.—ED.]

‡ Nicetas was of Chonæ in Phrygia (the old Colossæ of St. Paul): he raised himself to the honours of senator, judge of the veil, and great logothete; beheld the fall of the empire, retired to Nice, and composed an elaborate history from the death of Alexius Comnenus to the reign of Henry. [The birth-place of Nicetas had the name of Chonæ in the acts of the second council of Nice (A.D. 787). That of Colossæ was quite lost, so that the Anglo-Saxon traveller, Sæward (A.D. 1102), and Sir John Maundeville (A.D. 1322), imagined that the church to which St. Paul addressed his Epistle, was designated from the *Colossus* of Rhodes. Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn, p. 33. 140. Pococke calls the modern town Konas.—ED.]

ganism, some gods and heroes were saved from the axe of superstition; and the forum and hippodrome were dignified with the relics of a better age. Several of these are described by Nicetas,* in a florid and affected style; and, from his descriptions, I shall select some interesting particulars.

1. The victorious charioteers were cast in bronze, at their own, or the public, charge, and fitly placed in the hippodrome; they stood aloft in their chariots, wheeling round the goal; the spectators could admire their attitude, and judge of the resemblance; and of these figures, the most perfect might have been transported from the Olympic stadium. 2. The sphynx, river-horse, and crocodile, denote the climate and manufacture of Egypt, and the spoils of that ancient province. 3. The she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus; a subject alike pleasing to the *old* and the *new* Romans; but which could rarely be treated before the decline of the Greek sculpture. 4. An eagle holding and tearing a serpent in his talons; a domestic monument of the Byzantines, which they ascribed, not to a human artist, but to the magic power of the philosopher Apollonius, who, by this talisman, delivered the city from such venomous reptiles.† 5. An ass, and his driver; which were erected by Augustus in his colony of Nicopolis, to commemorate a verbal omen of the victory of Actium. 6. An equestrian statue; which passed, in the vulgar opinion, for Joshua the Jewish conqueror, stretching out his hand to stop the course of the descending sun. A more classical tradition recognised the figures of Bellerophon and Pegasus; and the free attitude of the steed seemed to mark that he trode on air, rather than on the earth. 7. A square and lofty obelisk of brass; the sides were embossed with a variety of picturesque and rural scenes; birds singing; rustics labouring, or playing on their pipes; sheep bleating; lambs skipping; the sea, and a scene of fish and fishing; little naked Cupids

* A manuscript of Nicetas in the Bodleian library contains this curious fragment on the statues of Constantinople, which fraud, or shame, or rather carelessness, has dropped in the common editions. It is published by Fabricius (*Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 405—416*), and immoderately praised by the late ingenious Mr. Harris of Salisbury. (*Philological Inquiries, p. iii. c. 5, p. 301—312.*)

† [This talismanic influence was ascribed in after-times to the brass twisted column of the three serpents, which still remains in the Atmeidan or Hippodrome. See Chishull's *Travels, p. 45*, and a note to chap. 63, in this volume.—Ed.]

laughing, playing, and pelting each other with apples; and, on the summit, a female figure turning with the slightest breath, and thence denominated the *winds' attendant*. 8. The Phrygian shepherd presenting to Venus the prize of beauty, the apple of discord. 9. The incomparable statue of Helen, which is delineated by Nicetas in the words of admiration and love; her well-turned feet, snowy arms, rosy lips, bewitching smiles, swimming eyes, arched eyebrows, the harmony of her shape, the lightness of her drapery, and her flowing locks that waved in the wind: a beauty that might have moved her Barbarian destroyers to pity and remorse. 10. The manly or divine form of Hercules,* as he was restored to life by the master-hand of Lysippus; of such magnitude, that his thumb was equal to the waist, his leg to the stature, of a common man;† his chest ample, his shoulders broad, his limbs strong and muscular, his hair curled, his aspect commanding. Without his bow, or quiver, or club, his lion's skin carelessly thrown over him, he was seated on an osier basket, his right leg and arm stretched to the utmost, his left knee bent, and supporting his elbow, his head reclining on his left hand, his countenance indignant and pensive. 11. A colossal statue of Juno, which had once adorned her temple of Samos; the enormous head by four yoke of oxen was laboriously drawn to the palace. 12. Another colossus, of Pallas or Minerva, thirty feet in height, and representing with admirable spirit the attributes and character of the martial maid. Before we accuse the Latins, it is just to remark, that this Pallas was destroyed after the first siege; by the fear and superstition of the Greeks themselves.‡ The other statues of brass which I have enumerated were broken and melted by the unfeeling avarice of the crusaders; the cost and labour were consumed in a moment; the soul of genius evaporated in smoke; and the remnant of base metal was coined into money for the payment of the troops. Bronze is not the

* To illustrate the statue of Hercules, Mr. Harris quotes a Greek epigram, and engraves a beautiful gem, which does not however copy the attitude of the statue: in the latter, Hercules had not his club, and his right leg and arm were extended.

† I transcribe these proportions, which appear to me inconsistent with each other; and may possibly shew that the boasted taste of Nicetas was no more than affectation and vanity.

‡ Nicetas in Isaaco Angelo et Alexio, c. 3, p. 359. The Latin editor very properly observes, that the historian, in his bombast style, produces *ex pulice elephantem*.

most durable of monuments; from the marble forms of Phidias and Praxiteles, the Latins might turn aside with stupid contempt;* but unless they were crushed by some accidental injury, those useless stones stood secure on their pedestals.† The most enlightened of the strangers, above the gross and sensual pursuits of their countrymen, more piously exercised the right of conquest in the search and seizure of the relics of the saints.‡ Immense was the supply of heads and bones, crosses and images, that were scattered by this revolution over the churches of Europe; and such was the increase of pilgrimage and oblation, that no branch, perhaps, of more lucrative plunder was imported from the East.§ Of the writings of antiquity, many that still existed in the twelfth century are now lost. But the pilgrims were not solicitous to save or transport the volumes of an unknown tongue; the perishable substance of paper or parchment can only be preserved by the multiplicity of copies; the literature of the Greeks had almost centered in the metropolis; and, without computing the extent of our loss, we may drop a tear over the libraries that have perished in the triple fire of Constantinople.¶

* In two passages of Nicetas (edit. Paris, p. 360. Fabric. p. 408) the Latins are branded with the lively reproach of *οἱ τοῦ καλοῦ ἀνέραστοι βάρβαροι*, and their avarice of brass is clearly expressed. Yet the Venetians had the merit of removing four bronze horses from Constantinople to the place of St. Mark. (Sanuto, *Vite dei Dogi*, in Muratori, *Script. Rerum. Italicarum*, tom. xxii. p. 534.)

† Winckelmann, *Hist. de l'Art*, tom. iii. p. 269, 270.

‡ See the pious robbery of the abbot Martin, who transferred a rich cargo to his monastery of Paris, diocese of Basil. (Gunther, *Hist. C. P. c.* 19. 23, 24.) Yet in secreting this booty, the saint incurred an excommunication, and perhaps broke his oath.

§ Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* tom. xvi. p. 139—145.

¶ I shall conclude this chapter with the notice of a modern history, which illustrates the taking of Constantinople by the Latins; but which has fallen somewhat late into my hands. Paolo Ramusio, the son of the compiler of voyages, was directed by the senate of Venice to write the history of the conquest; and this order, which he received in his youth, he executed in a mature age, by an elegant Latin work, *de Bello Constantinopolitano et Imperatoribus Comnenis per Gallos et Venetos restitutis*. (Venet. 1635, in folio.) Ramusio, or Rhamnusius, transcribes and translates, *sequitur ad unguem*, a MS. of Villehardouin which he possessed; but he enriches his narrative with Greek and Latin materials, and we are indebted to him for a correct state of the fleet, the names of the fifty Venetian nobles who commanded the galleys of the republic, and the patriot opposition of Pantaleon Barbus to the choice of the doge for emperor.

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